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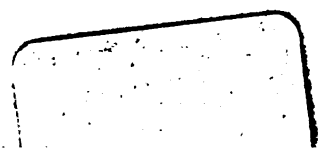

CP
Pinkerton

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO THE

HISTORY

OF

SCOTLAND

PRECEDING THE REIGN OF
MALCOM III. OR THE YEAR 1056.

INCLUDING

THE AUTHENTIC HISTORY
OF THAT PERIOD.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

BY JOHN PINKERTON.

ΗΜΕΡΑΙ ΕΠΙΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ ΣΟΦΩΤΑΤΟΙ.
VERITAS TEMPORIS FILIA. *ADAGIA.*

VOLUME I.

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ON the publication of this work, in 1789, more copies having been printed than appear to have been neceſſary in a mere antiquarian production, little adapted to the general reader, and a conſiderable number of courſe remaining, the author has been adviſed to impart to theſe ſome advantages of a new edition. Though many attacks on this Enquiry have appeared, few or no reaſons have ariſen for retractation, a ſacrifice chearfully to be offered to truth, but ever to be refuſed to prejudice: and the paſſages, cancelled in theſe remaining copies, conſiſt almoſt entirely of ſuch as were objectionable on account of acrimony. In works of long and dry labour ſome warmth and impatience may, at firſt, ſeem pardonable; but after the toil is forgotten temporary feelings yield to deliberate reflection; nor can the author omit to expreſs his regret that he has not a further opportunity of removing blemiſhes of this kind, from this, and ſome of his preceding publications.

To paſs in ſilence the principal attacks, made on this work, might be perhaps interpreted as a meaſure partaking of pride, or petulance; and a few remarks ſhall therefore be offered on them, the neceſſary brevity of this advertiſement forbidding a more formal reply; nor is it the author's intention ever to enter into regular controverſy.

Dr. Campbell, in his ingenious and ſpirited "Strictures on the Eccleſiaſtical and Literary Hiſtory of Ireland," London, 1790, 8vo, p. 70, 71, 72, has warmly aſſerted that druidiſm exiſted in Ireland, in oppoſition to the author's obſervations on the ſubject. But as the worthy doctor diſplays more wit than learning on this topic, only two errors in his pages ſhall be noticed: 1. The word *Barditus* in Tacitus, Germ. 3. is a wanton correction of Lipſius; the MSS. and old editions rightly bear *Barritus*; and in German *Barren* ſignifies to make a great noiſe, a ſenſe ſtrictly correſponding with Tacitus. 2. Dr. Percy's valuable tranſlation of Mallet is

unfortunately little known; and was not ſeen by the author till, mentioning by chance the materials and plan of the diſſertation on the Goths to a friend, Dr. Percy's preface was recommended, and peruſed by the author with infinite ſatisfaction, as affording the collateral ſupport of a moſt learned and ingenious writer.

In 1791 appeared, at Dublin, "An Analyſis of the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Ireland prior to the Fifth Century; to which is ſubjoined A Review of the General Hiſtory of the Celtic Nations; by W. Webb," 8vo. This review of the hiſtory of the Celtic nations is, in fact, an elaborate anſwer to the author's diſſertation on the Goths; and Mr. Webb's deſign is to ſhew that the poſſeſſions of the Celts were more extenſive than that diſſertation would infer. It would be riſible in the author, who has uſed ſuch freedom in that way in his early productions, to complain of Mr. Webb's acerbity; but, leaving this, his work may aſpire to ſome merit of reſearch, ſo far as it pretends to anſwer ſome parts of the diſſertation. Yet he ſometimes abuſes, ſometimes comprehends not, the authorities adduced; and the reader has only to compare his remarks with the work attacked, in order to form a proper judgment. The Carnutes were not, as he aſſerts p. 47, in the center of all Gaul, but *rather* in that of Celtic Gaul. In p. 182, 183, he forgets that the Belgæ and Aquitani were, by his own confeſſion, invading nations, while the Celtæ were the old inhabitants of Gaul. He confounds, p. 186, the author's argument from Diodorus, who is only adduced to prove that the Germans were Scythæ; Mr. Webb ſtrangely ſuppoſes that the argument is that the Gauls of Diodorus are Goths. The paſſage of Cæſar, p. 187, is vague and indeciſive: that a few Celtic tribes extended towards Switzerland would not affect the author's poſitions. It was not meant in the diſſertation, p. 85, to infer that Celtic Gaul was conquered by one legion; that a great part was, is ſufficient: but that paſſage is certainly not expreſſed with accuracy. In ſpeaking of the Atuatici, p. 223, Mr. Webb forgets that the Teutones were Germans. The Loire, p. 226, is a mere ſlip in the diſſertation, p. 84: repeated paſſages ſhew that Garonne was meant to be put. In his attempt to prove that the Gallic colonies conſiſted of Celts, Mr. Webb has been forced to have recourſe to miſquotation, and

conteſts

conteſts with ancient authorities; and has after all completely failed. And his extreme acrimony in cenſuring that of the author is highly ludicrous. Yet gratitude is due for the applauſe, equally extreme, which he at intervals beſtows.

To Mr. Lane Buchanan the author can only reply, that he is ſorry to have ſo weak an antagoniſt. His work called "A defence of the Scots Highlanders in general, and ſome learned characters in particular, (the Macphersons,)" &c. &c. againſt this Enquiry, was publiſhed at London 1794, 8vo; and conſiſts of nearly 300 pages in anſwer to half a dozen ſentences.

In 1794 appeared at Perth, the firſt book of "A new general hiſtory of Scotland, by Robert Heron," 8vo. This part extends from the earlieſt accounts to the acceſſion of Malcom Kenmore; and proceeds in a great meaſure upon the plan, and materials, of this enquiry, as often acknowledged in the notes. It is the moſt rational, and exact, hiſtory of the period yet publiſhed. Mr. Heron has occaſionally diſſented from, and animadverted on, this work: but as he gives only opinions, and no new documents or arguments, it is unneceſſary to enter the field of conjectural diſpute againſt him.

The author is much indebted to moſt of the literary journals for their general candour; and he is obliged to the writers of the articles concerning his work, for the labour they have taken, in accompanying him, through ſuch a long diſcuſſion of ſubjects far from being generally intereſting. Yet a few miſtakes he may be permitted to point out, in his own vindication.

In the Analytical Review, Vol. V. p. 12, the critic cannot be ſerious, when he ſuppoſes that the Enquiry into the Hiſtory of Scotland is merely an enlargement of the diſſertation on the Goths; nay that the author's Hiſtory of Scotland, to the year 1542, will prove only an enlargement of this Enquiry, which extends to 1056! As if the progreſs of the Goths, terminating at the year 200 before Chriſt, were the ſame with the hiſtory of Scotland from the time of Agricola to the year 1056: or a regular hiſtory of Scotland, from the earlieſt accounts to the year 1542, could, by the wildeſt imagination, be confounded with a mere controverſial work, diſtinct in its nature and manner from hiſtory, and ending at the year 1056! Had the critic been more converſant in antiqua-

rian diſcuſſion, he muſt have ſeen that this work is not a hiſtory, any more than a quarry is a palace. It's very nature ſometimes demanded the repetitions, and digreſſions, arraigned by the journaliſt, in order to throw all poſſible light on obſcure topics. On a diligent reviſal the author can diſcover but few repetitions which he could have avoided; many detached branches of argument requiring a recourſe to the ſame authorities, and proofs; and a ſhort reference only tending to entangle the chain of ratiocination.

The Monthly Review, (Vol. I. of the New Series, p. 387—404) preſents an account of this work, written with ſome appearance of care and ability. The critic's objections therefore deſerve particular anſwers; though his context often betray a perſonal enmity, irreconcileable with literary juſtice.

1. The collection of angry paſſages, p. 392, 393, far from being caſually ſelected, is nearly complete; and to gather into two pages the blemiſhes of a work of more than a thouſand is unfair.

2. The ceſſion by the Piks to the Dalriads of a part of their territory, in the years 258, and 503, is magnified, p. 390, 393, into a partition of Scotland; and the critic miſquotes the author for this purpoſe. This Enquiry, and the maps, ſhew that the Dalriads only held Argyleſhire: yet the reviewer ſolemnly appeals to the author for the extenſion of their territory from the Forth and the Clyde to Invernefs! The critic's Drum Albin, between Perth and Aberdeen, is only known to himſelf: it is a mountain on the eaſt of Argyleſhire, as here demonſtrated, Vol. I. p. 316, Vol. II. p. 96.

3. In p. 394, 395, the journaliſt perplexes his reader, concerning the origin of the highlanders and iſlanders of Scotland, and ſuppoſes that the author contradicts himſelf; while the peruſal of p. 139, and 303, Vol. II. would have ſatisfied his doubts, if he had not delighted in miſrepreſentation. Even among the Gothic barbarians of Scotland there was little of art or induſtry, in the fourteenth century, as Froiſſart evinces: the reproach of the highlanders is not that they were barbarians, but that they continue ſtrangers to civilization.

4. The reviewer, p. 395, ſays that the author ſets aſide the traditional ſongs of the Celts, as no evidence; while he grants the Gothic ſongs to bear authority. Yet the

author builds on the Duan Albanach, and often rejects the Gothic ſongs! But the critic is a believer in Oſſian: and when one ancient MS. of that bard appears (of the Gothic ſongs there are many,) the author will become a convert; nay will cry out, with Tertullian, *Credo quia impoſſibile eſt.*

5. If any fundamental arguments of this work (p. 400), reſt on etymologies, they are only known to the critic.

6. The reviewer, p. 403, charges the author with a looſe mode of quotation, while others have accuſed him of too minute references. It is impoſſible to pleaſe all; but the critic's remark can only proceed from his not knowing the nature of many of the books quoted, in which a reference to the year in the text, and to the author in the margin, is equal to a reference to the page.

Other more minute objections would, if examined, prove equally unfounded, they generally proceed from miſinterpretation, or from dipping into particular paſſages, without conſidering the work as one whole.

To counterbalance theſe attacks, the author might have the conſolation to quote teſtimonies of many moſt reſpectable writers, in favour of theſe volumes. Among others might be adduced thoſe of Dr. Campbell, in his Strictures above quoted; Mr. Ledwich in his Antiquities of Ireland *; the tranſlator of D'Anville's Ancient Geography; Major Rennel, in the enlarged edition of his invaluable Memoir of a Map of Hindoſtan; Sir William Jones, in his diſſertations on the origin of the oriental nations, publiſhed in the Tranſactions of the Aſiatic Society of Sciences.

With the ſigh of ſorrow, and not with the exultation of vanity, the author's gratitude may add the moſt eminent judge in Europe of ſuch ſubjects, the late Mr. Gibbon; who was induced by this work only to call in the writer, as his aſſociate in the grand deſign of a republication of the ancient Engliſh hiſtorians, a deſign fruſtrated by his ſudden and unexpected death. In repeated

* In this work was firſt produced, among many curious topics, the teſtimony of Paul Merula for the diſtinction of the Belgæ from the Celts, &c. The author regrets that he had not before conſulted that learned writer, whoſe reſearches often corroborate thoſe of the diſſertation on the Goths. Paul Merula publiſhed his Coſmographia at Leyden, in 4to, in 1605: other editions are 1621 folio; and 1636, ſix vols. 12mo.

converſations he mentioned this production in terms of the higheſt approbation, and as, (to uſe his own words,) "the only book which had given him authentic ideas concerning the early hiſtory of Scotland." His epiſtolary praiſe may be in time produced, to ſilence petty malevolence: at preſent it may be more intereſting to the reader to commemorate his objections to the exiſtence of the Veſpaſiana, of Richard of Cirenceſter, as a province; though the Roman power may, as here ſtated, have extended for a ſhort time over that part of Scotland.

1. No province was named after an emperor, till Valentia received its denomination from Valens.

2. No reaſon exiſted for the appellation; the Flavian family being extinct.

3. The territory was too ſmall for a Roman province.

But brevity muſt forbid the conſideration of theſe objections here; and the remainder of this advertiſement muſt be dedicated to topics more eſſential to theſe volumes.

Since the publication of the diſſertation on the Scythians or Goths, the author has diſcovered that a language exiſts in Europe, which eſcaped his notice in that treatiſe. This ſpeech is, in Germany, denominated the LETTIC; and is uſed in Pruſſia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Courland, and Livonia. Further to the eaſt it extends not; the Eſtthonic being a dialect of the Finniſh. The name Lettic ſeems derived from Litwa, the Poliſh appellation of Lithuania. For ſpecimens, Chamberlayne's Oratio dominica, p. 83, 84, 85, may be conſulted. With the Finniſh it bears no reſemblance: and Friſch, in his Hiſtoria Linguæ Slavonicæ, Berol. 1730, 4to, ſays the Lettic dialects "plane differant a lingua Sclavonica." But the moſt complete intelligence on the ſubject is to be found in Hartknoch's learned diſſertations, at the end of his edition of Duſburg's Chronicon Pruſſiæ, Jenæ, 1679, 4to. It is there obſerved, p. 84, that Comenius, in his Ling. Meth. c. III. n. 18, had aſſerted that the Pruſſian language differs from all others in Europe; whereas Hartknoch evinces that it is a dialect of the Lettic, Lithuanic, Courlandic; and, p. 101, he only allows that the Pruſſian has admitted ſome Slavonic words. When the Gothic nations, on the South of the Baltic, preſſed down upon the Roman empire, the neareſt Slavonic tribes of Wends, &c. filled the vacant ſpace; and in their turn reſigned their former ſitu-

ations to this progeny uſing what is now called the Lettic ſpeech. A ſingular diſcovery unveiled the proper, and ancient, name of this language, at leaſt a denomination the moſt forcible and legitimate, as it belongs to a people eminently diſtinguiſhed in Roman hiſtory. Wolfgangus Lazius, Comm. Lib. xx, mentions that the remains of the Heruli, when driven from Italy after their capture of Rome, ſettled "in Megapolitano territorio," (Mecklenburg, Cluv. Geogr. p. 140,) and are called Veruli. He produces the lord's prayer in their tongue, reprinted by Hartknoch p. 36, and it is abſolute Lettic, or Lithuanic. In p. 28, and 36, Hartknoch ſuppoſes that the Galindæ and Sudini of Ptolemy were Heruli; and that the latter are the Hirri of Pliny*. Their invaſion of Italy, under Odoacer, in the year 475, is well known. Preceded by the Gothic and Slavonic tribes, part of the Heruli and Scirri, from the extremes of the Baltic, gradually deſcended upon Italy: and, in the barbaric cruſades of that period, the Pruſſian thunder lighted on the capitol of Rome.

The correſpondence of ancient and modern geography, on this ſubject, the identic poſition of the Hirri, Heruli, of antiquity with the modern ſeats of the Lettic language, lends additional evidence: and, upon the whole, it appears that the Lettic ſpeech is radically different from the Finniſh and the Slavonic; and may be moſt aptly ſtyled the HERULIC, as that of the Heruli, who of all its tribes appear with the greateſt luſtre in ancient hiſtory. Yet the manners of the Herulic tribes are allied with thoſe of the Sarmatic; and the ſpeech has faint ſhades of affinity; whence it may be inferred that the Heruli were originally a ſmall kindred nation, on the north of the Sarmatæ in their primæval Aſiatic ſeats; and accompanied, or perhaps preceded, the latter, in their entrance into Europe.

The reader will perceive that this improvement affects not any argument in the diſſertation: and, after the multifarious reading, and reconſideration, of ſeven years, the author has diſcovered nothing which can injure the radical objects of that treatiſe: but on the contrary ſome additional arguments in their favour, but which, not

* Pliny's deſcription of the north-eaſt of Europe is ſuperior to that of Tacitus, (ſee it at the end of the diſſertation:) the latter paſſes the Hirri; but names a more diſtant nation, the Fenni, becauſe wider ſpread, and thence more known.

being of eſſential importance, ſhall here be paſt in ſilence.

The invaluable Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulſter, the author has lately conſulted, in the excellent manuſcripts upon vellum, in the Bodleian library at Oxford. Thoſe of Tighernac, who wrote about 1088, are not arranged under ſeparate years, as thoſe of Ulſter; but are written in one continued text, ſo that the dates muſt be gathered from the more notorious events mentioned. The argument, Vol. II. P. 89, is therefore ſuperfluous, as Tighernac does not poſitively date the power of Fergus in the firſt year of Symmachus: but, in a detached ſentence ſays, "Feargus Mor Mac Earca cum gente Dalraida partem Britanniæ tenuit, et ibi mortuus." The MS. ſeems of the Fourteenth century; and marginal dates are ſometimes put, perhaps by Sir James Ware, to whom it belonged: BEFORE this event is affixt the date 500; and the next date is 507.

To the Annals of Ulſter, (apparently an autograph MS. begun in the thirteenth century, and continued by various hands to the end of the fifteenth,) the dates are not added by a modern hand, as expreſſed in this Enquiry; but the years are regularly marked, in ſeparate ſentences, by the original writers. That this precious monument, which forms almoſt a complete body of Iriſh hiſtory, is not publiſhed, is an eternal diſgrace to the literature of Ireland *.

Among the more important collations with the extracts here publiſhed, Vol. II. Appendix N°. 1. may be placed the following.

A. D. 628 Conid Ceir, Rex Dalriad, cecidit. Echdach Buideh Regis Pictorum filii Adhain, *prout* in libro Cuan inveni, vel ſcript. in libro Duib Dalyenar.

637 Obſeſſio Etin; (Not Edin.)

640 Obſeſſio Rithe; (Not Iæ.)

667 Scy, (not Sceth:) i. e. Skey.

700 Deſtructio Dun Onlaig ap. Sealvac.

732 dehonoravit Toraic, cum traxit Brudeum ex ea; et eadem vice inſulam Culren Rigi invaſit.

733 in aqua demerſus eſt.

735 *for* Creio *read* Creic . . . *for* Dongal et Ferach, *read* Dongal, Fadach . . . *for* Twini Ouirbre, *read* Cnuicc Coirpre Icalatros uc atq. lindu.

* To peruſe theſe MSS. with advantage, the Saxon, and Iriſh, alphabets, and contractions, muſt be ſtudied. See particularly Astle's Origin of Writing, plate XXII.

738 Atfoitle.

746 Mors Dunlaingi fil. Duncon, Regis Cenivil Arddgail.

749 *for* Cato hîc, *read* Catohic.

767 *no defect.*

799 genus Loighaire, et genus Arddgail.

838. Ad Mac Boayta, et alii innumerabiles ceciderunt; Lorcad Firnan, et Corcaide Ogentib. (*ſic.*)

853 heres Columcille.

864 The word, tranſlated archbiſhop, is in the original *princ.*; (a contraction of primus epiſcopus?)

917 Scotland is, in the original, Alban; Murmor is, Mormoer.

966 Duv Mac Mælcolain, Ri Alban.

1020 Finloec Mac Ruaidri, ri Alban, a ſuis occiſus. (Was this Finleg the father of Macbeth?)

1032. Mormær Mureve*.

This advertiſement muſt not be cloſed without an acknowledgment, that ſome repetitions in this work might have been ſpared; and that the attacks on the Celts, and Celtic writers, are too repeatedly urged. The former fault chiefly aroſe from the great obſcurity of the ſubject; and the difficulty of arranging a large maſs of materials, and of exploring many paths before untrodden, and without a guide. Some of the repetitions, as before mentioned, originated from a neceſſity of reſuming the ſame chain of argument, in order to illuſtrate a different topic. Nor need it be omitted that, in treating obſcure ſubjects, this is the ſafeſt error. The attacks on the Celts partly aroſe from the extravagant praiſes, beſtowed on them by ſome writers, who have at the ſame time exerted every art to calumniate our Gothic anceſtors; partly from diſguſt, on finding nothing but darkneſs and fantoms in the writings conveyed in the Celtic

* As ſome curious evidences of Scotiſh hiſtory are derived from Colgan's Acts of Iriſh Saints, it may not be improper to add that his Acta Sanctorum Hiberniæ, Lovanii, 1645, fol. form the third volume of his intended work; and bear in the title *de Sacris Hiberniæ Antiquitatibus* TERTIUS *(tomus)*. It goes to the end of March.

His Trias Thaumaturga, Lovanii 1647, fol. or lives of Patrick, Columba, Brigid, form the SECOND volume.

The firſt volume, which was to contain a general view of the eccleſiaſtic antiquities and hiſtory of Ireland, was never publiſhed. One cauſe of the extreme rarity of his book ſeems to ariſe from the falſe appearance of imperfection, whence the volumes are deſtroyed as uſeleſs.

languages;

languages; partly from a wiſh that their want of civilization might be branded with due diſgrace, not as a laſting reproach, but as a ſtimulus to future improvement, while many late authors, by applauding their ſavage life, and contempt of every civilized art, ſeemed to follow the dreams of Rouſſeau, which would reſtore mankind to a ſtate of nature, that is, to lawleſs rapine and ſlaughter.

The author regrets not that the Celtic prejudices were attacked, but that the attack was too often unneceſſarily repeated; and no argument, or fact, has hitherto ariſen, which in the leaſt affects the documents, and deductions, diſplayed in this Enquiry, or in the diſſertation annexed. All human works are ſubject to errors, and blemiſhes: and the candid reader will judge whether ſuch ſlips of frailty can eſſencially injure a production, confeſſed even by its opponents to be of great labour, and utility.

It only remains to point out the following errors, for the reader's correction.

Vol. I. p. lxii, l. 1, *for* Dr. James *read* Dr. John.

P. lxxiv, l. 20, *for* Dr. James, . . . Dr. John.

P. 99, note, *read*, Buchanan's firſt and ſecond books are enlarged with, &c.

P. 197. The tale of Odin and Pompey is not to be found in Snorro's hiſtory, but in the preface to the Edda, apparently not added by Snorro, but by ſome late fabuliſt.

P. 275, l. 16, *for* before, *read* after.

P. 360, l. 19, *for* 1291. *read* 1286.

P. 396, l. 18, *for* Cheſs, *read* Gaming.

P. 409, l 23, *for* condeſcended on, *read* pointed out: and ſo correct pref. p xi. xiv.

Vol. II. p. 6. l. 17, *for* Thirteenth, *read* Twelfth.

P. 194, l. 3, *for* many ſuch inſtances, *read* many inſtances of the power of prieſts and abbots.

P. 302. l. 3. Boyce had left Paris before this edition appeared; but it was probably ſent to him by his friend Badius the printer. The ſame error of *Ebrides* appears once in the edition of Venice 1491, 4to. The real name Ebudes, or Hebudes, may not implauſibly be derived from *Ey* an iſland, and *bud*, *buth*, a habitation: in contradiſtinction to the then deſert Orcades, an appellation ſpringing from *Ork*, a deſert. (Torf. Orc. p. 4.)

DISSERTATION, p. 7, l. 8 from bot. It rather appears that Dio, who wrote the Getic hiſtory, was Dio Chryſoſtom,

Chryſoſtom, A. D. 90, Fabr. Bibl. Gr. III. 319: but the matter is doubtful.

p. 12, l. 12. The paſſage is of Syncellus. Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius tranſlated the work of that writer into Latin, the ſole language of his productions. Anaſtaſius Sinaita, quoted Vol. I. p. 192 (from his Quæſtiones, n. 40,) wrote about A. D. 680; Fabr. Bib. Gr. IX. 313, 324. Anaſtaſius Bibliothecarius, who tranſlated Syncellus, flouriſhed A. D. 870; ib. 337.

P. 39. l 6 from bot. *for* latitude, *read* longitude.

P. 46, l. 2; p. 47, l. 8 from bot. correct from p. 207.

P. 51, l. 16, arrived at, *read* were driven to.

P. 54, l. 8, *for* Scytharum, *read* Scythicum.

P. 84, l. 4 fr. b. *for* Loire, *read* Garonne.

P. 93, l. 9, *erase the word* or a Sileſian.

P. 147, l. laſt, Livy only names the Scordiſci. But Pliny, III. 20, mentions the Tauriſci, as the ſame with the Norici who were Scythæ.

P. 169, l. 17—19, correct from this advertiſement.

P. 172, note, l. 4, *for* all, *read* the.

P. 180, l. 15. It is the Edda aſcribed to Snorro, not his hiſtory, which ought to have been referred to.

P. 187, l. 8 from bot. *for* 740, *read* 640.

Oct. 1794.

PREFACE.

THE hiſtory of Scotland begins to be ſufficiently clear at the commencement of the reign of Malcom III. or the year 1056. But the period preceding that date has been long loſt in fiction, for the ſame reaſon that an uncultivated field is over-grown with weeds: induſtry being as neceſſary in the literary as in the natural world.

Struck with the deplorable ſtate of the ancient hiſtory of his country, at a time ſo enlightened as the preſent, and when moſt other kingdoms have weighed their antiquities in the ſober ſcales of criticiſm, the author has devoted years of labour to this purſuit. Beſides the powerful motive of curioſity, that fountain of human knowlege, he

was influenced by the wiſh of being uſeful to his countrymen; among whom he was concerned to ſee the moſt ingenious writers daily ſtarting the moſt hypothetic conjectures concerning their early hiſtory. To examine the ſubject to the bottom were required conſiderable reading, previous experience in ſuch matters, much leiſure and love of the ſubject, and no great deſire of wealth or fame. As theſe are no longer objects of praiſe, the author may, without offending modeſty, lay claim to a portion of them.

The importance of the work was indeed ſuch as might have excited, and required, far ſuperior abilities. To fix the hiſtory of a country on the eternal baſis of truth, is certainly none of the meaneſt of human enterprizes: nor is it a ſmall object to attempt to remove from any nation that moſt diſgraceful of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of its own hiſtory. One of the greateſt of the ancients has warmly expreſſed himſelf on this ſubject; telling us that, "Not to know what has happened before one's birth, is to be always a child." And he obſerves elſewhere, with great juſtice, that "to him none ſeemed to have any claim to learning, who were ignorant concerning the affairs of their own country."

country *." And the early hiſtory of any country, the foundation upon which the reſt ſtands, ſhould above all be carefully examined, as the whole edifice depends upon it; for, as an eminent hiſtorian † remarks, "how is it poſſible that, while the beginnings are falſe, the reſt ſhould prove true?"

Such an examination requires great labour; but to him who undertakes it with due love of the ſubject, the labour is its own reward, *labor ipſe voluptas*. Not only ſo, but the labour renders the ſubject eaſy and familiar after a certain progreſs ‡; ſo that, from variety of information, the enquirer is enabled to explain it fully, and to place it in the cleareſt point of view. Yet this labour is very painful at firſt, however great the

* Neſcire quid antea quam natus ſis acciderit, id eſt ſemper eſſe puerum. *Cicero.* Mihi quidem nulli eruditi videntur quibus noſtra ignota ſunt. *Idem de Fin.* Add Caſſiodorus, *Var. Orat.* VII. "Perdius ac pernox, patrum memorias revolve: ſcrutare gentis tuæ cunabula: res geſtas et annalium monumenta obſerva. Turpe enim eſt in patria ſua peregrinum agere." This laſt ſentence is alſo from Cicero, who ſays, "peregrinari in patria turpe eſt."

† Polyb. lib. 3.

‡ ——— Cui LECTA POTENTER erit res,
Nec facundia deſeret unquam, nec lucidus ordo.
Hor.

love of the ſubject may be; and it is no wonder that, in the words of Thucydides*, "among moſt men, even the inveſtigation of truth is impatient of labour; ſo that they rather have recourſe to what is next at hand." But in ſubjects of this kind, the greateſt labour is abſolutely neceſſary; and a ſuperficial book may be ever regarded as a falſe one. A thouſand grains of gold muſt be collected, and formed into one ingot; a thouſand little facts muſt be conjoined; a thouſand falſehoods exploded. No theory can be admitted; nor is it even allowed to argue from one fact to another. The circumſtances are ſo minute, and various, that great literary experience is required to guard againſt miſtakes. *Il faut etre extremement au fait de ces matieres pour ne s'y point tromper*, ſays a learned writer on theſe ſubjects ‡, all whoſe care could not however ſave him from radical errors. Thoſe points which, in theory, have moſt veriſimilitude, will upon laborious examination of the facts, prove to be entirely falſe; and thoſe which ſeemed falſe in theory, will prove true in fact.

The Abbé Raynal obſerves that after the revival of letters we began with *Eruditi*,

* Lib. 1. ‡ Pelloutier, Hiſt. des Celtes, I. 30.

next we had Poets, then Orators, then Metaphyſicians, then Geometricians. If it were allowed, adds he, to hazard a prediction, I would announce that our minds will ſpeedily be turned to hiſtory; a vaſt career, and in which philoſophy has hardly yet ſet a foot. This prediction is daily fulfilling in all countries: and, beſide other happy effects, is attended by this, that it has contributed to revive a genuine and dignified erudition, very different from the trifling ſort at firſt in vogue. For it being impoſſible to throw philoſophy into the hiſtory of any country, without carefully exploring the facts of that hiſtory; and as impoſſible to know theſe facts without ſtudying them in original authors; a great degree of erudition has become neceſſary to this philoſophy: and erudition and philoſophy being thus conjoined, have increaſed the mental wealth of mankind to a great degree. The ſtudy of the Greek and Roman writers has become more manly and important; and that of the authors of the middle ages, at firſt too much neglected, gains ground every day. Even a degree of what was called pedantry, by the pretended *beaux eſprits*, has become admiſſible in treating ancient hiſtory; becauſe all ſee that it is better to ſhew too much learning upon ſuch ſub-

jects, than too little. Indeed tho pedantry be contemptible, becauſe uſeleſs, in natural and moral philoſophy, poetry, and other departments of genius, and ſcience; yet in hiſtory it is even laudable, if it be not digreſſive. For hiſtory reſting entirely on facts, and authorities, it muſt have many references and quotations; which, in any other ſcience, form the eſſence of pedantic erudition.

Theſe remarks are eſpecially inſerted for the uſe of my countrymen, who, as they can very ſeldom be accuſed of pedantry themſelves, are very apt to accuſe others of it. A book written in the manner of the Italian, French, German, and Scandinavian antiquaries, may perhaps ſtartle them, not leſs by the perpetual quotations and references, than by the apparent novelty, but real antiquity of the facts developed. They may perhaps ſay that the author has come after many men of learning in this tract; and yet modeſtly pretends to prove them all in the wrong, even in the moſt eſſential points of early Scotiſh hiſtory. This foreſeen criticiſm muſt be warded off (*non ut arguerem, ſed ne arguerer*) by a few remarks; which, as they are of ſome delicacy,

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are written with deference, and it is hoped will be received with candour by every Scotiſhman, who, with the author, deſires to be the FRIEND, and not the *flatterer*, of his country.

In all ages, ſince the invention of letters, two oppoſite literary paths have conducted to the temple of fame; the path of GENIUS, and that of ERUDITION. They refer to the two faculties of the mind, Imagination and Memory; as for Judgment, the third, it is a judge, and not an agent; and muſt direct the efforts of the two others. Theſe qualities in a leſſer degree, bear the names of *Ingenuity* and *Learning*. Every one, who has looked into literary hiſtory, muſt know that Erudition, or even Learning, is perhaps a ſurer path to fame, than Genius or Ingenuity; inaſmuch as innumerable ancient works of mere learning have reached our times *, whereas not one of mere genius has had that fortune. For Homer, Pindar, and the other famous poets, were all men as remarkable for learning as for genius; which qualities conjoined alone ſtamp perfection on a work. Homer's learning aroſe from tra-

* Gellius, Macrobius, Clemens Alex. Athenæus, Photius, Suidas, &c. &c. &c.

velling,

velling, and converſation; as Shakſpere's from books in his own language. Of all the ancient poets, that is of thoſe writers whoſe eſſential form is genius, it is impoſſible to point out one who was not profoundly learned; if we only except Anacreon, whoſe remains are ſo few, that we cannot judge of his learning from them. It is indeed as impoſſible to be a great writer without learning, as to be wealthy without property, or to unite any other contradiction in terms. Nay in modern times men of vaſt erudition, and men of vaſt genius, have generally been cotemporary in the ſame country; as Shakſpere and Saville, Milton and Selden, in England; Corneille and Salmaſius in France; Taſſo and Sigonius in Italy; Cervantes and Aldrete in Spain, &c.

Now by a misfortune, chiefly ariſing from the remote ſituation of the country, while Scotland has produced many ingenious writers, it is impoſſible to condeſcend upon one, who (not to mention ERUDITION), can even bear the appellation of *learned*, as ſtrictly underſtood in more favoured countries. To write elegant Latin, for which our Scotiſh authors of the two laſt centuries were famous, is a quality of ingenuity; and is ſo far from

from belonging to learning, that it is inimical to it; for the time, inſtead of being occupied in reading books, is employed in ſtudying a language, a matter radically different. This we may judge of from facts; for Poland, a country of ten times more population than Scotland, has not produced one learned writer, tho the Latin hiſtories of Dlugoſs, Cromer, and Kobierſicky, are thought to vye with Livy, and Grotius has preferred Caſimir to Horace.

This neglect of learning in Scotland, as it is the real and only cauſe of the ruin of our ancient hiſtory, deſerves eſpecially to be conſidered here; and every true patriot would wiſh, if poſſible to remove it. The writings of Voluſenus or Wilſon, Buchanan, and Barclay, are juſtly celebrated for elegance and ingenuity: but if we were to condeſcend on any learned books, written by Scotiſhmen, it is believed the only ones that could poſſibly be named, are Dempſter's notes on Roſinus, and his Etruria Regalis, and Blackwell's Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer *. Yet even theſe would

* The neglect of Greek learning is chiefly to be regreted in Scotland; and it is a pity that the plan of

would in Italy, France, or Germany, ſtand only among the books of common learning; and are ſo far from being works of erudition, that, compared to thoſe of eruditi of the firſt claſs, the Sigonii, Salmaſii, Voſſii, Grotii, Huetii, Scaligeri, they are but as drops of water to the ocean. Nor can one help expreſſing a wiſh that even that kind of erudition, which is now rather diſregarded, (tho the fame of thoſe eminent in it will laſt as long as books are redd), had been exerted in Scotland in its period, as well as in other countries: for the paſſage from erudition to ſcience is ſafe and eaſy; while he who begins with ſcience begins to build without materials.

Sir Iſaac Newton being aſked by what ſingular faculty he could make ſuch great diſcoveries, anſwered, with all the modeſty of genius, that he pretended to no faculties, but what were common; and that the only

of Eraſmus is not followed, and the Greek taught before the Latin in all countries. Five or ſix years for Latin, and one for Greek is the common plan in Scotiſh ſchools. The reverſe would be exactly right. There is an originality in the Greek writers which forms and nurtures genius; the Latin only foſter imitation. A divine, or a phyſician, ought to be grounded in Greek. A lawyer requires Latin, for there is not one Greek writer on law.

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ſource of his diſcoveries was PATIENT THINKING. This in fact will ever be the chief ſource of philoſophical diſcoveries; and the only ſource of literary diſcoveries is PATIENT READING. But the *fervidum ingenium Scotorum*, as one of our own writers calls it, is ſo remarkable that almoſt every battle we anciently fought againſt the Engliſh was loſt by impatience, from the battle of the Standard to the battle of Dunbar. This chief feature of the national character is obſervable even in trifles, for in England two peaſants will fight coolly, and then ſhake hands, while in Scotland ſuch combats are always committed in grievous paſſion. In literature and philoſophy the ſame impatience prevails; and the conſequence is that we have not only never produced any man of erudition, but we have alſo had no INVENTOR, no man who has opened up a new path in ſcience. We cannot boaſt like Denmark of a Tycho Brahe, nor like Sweden of a Linnæus, nor like Poland of a Copernicus*. By the ſame impatience of thought, and of labour, our writers of every claſs, tho often ingenious and elegant in a ſu-

* Napier has much merit, but cannot ſtand in the rank of great inventors. He is only an uſeful abbreviator of a particular branch of the mathematics.

preme

preme degree, have never yet attained the characters of great or ſublime. We have no Bacon, no Newton, no Shakſpere, no Milton.

Theſe remarks are given not to upbraid, but to admoniſh, and to ſerve. Remedies can never be found, till the diſeaſe be condeſcended on: and it is no ſmall part of the cure to know where the diſeaſe lyes. Far leſs are they obtruded from a dictatorial ſpirit; but they are humbly ſubmitted to our literati of Scotland, among whom there are at preſent many whoſe abilities would do honour to any country; and who more than compenſate for any defect of learning, by ſuperior good ſenſe, elegant perſpicuity, and induſtrious uſe of thoſe materials which are neceſſary for the ſubjects of which they treat. To ſuch the author conſiders himſelf as only a labourer, who is clearing away rubbiſh, and bringing materials; and who may adviſe ſo far as concerns his own province.

——— fungar vice cotis, acutum
Reddere quæ ferrum valet, exſors ipſa ſecandi.

On

On conſidering the cauſes of the neglect of learning in Scotland, they appear to be three. 1. Remote ſituation. 2. Want of wealth. 3. Want of public libraries. The diſtance of Scotland from Italy, France, and Germany, the moſt learned countries of Europe, is a great diſadvantage in point of literary intercourſe, and emulation. Denmark and Sweden, from their proximity to Germany, have produced many writers of far greater learning than Scotland has; a country pent up in a remote corner of an iſland, and to which few foreign books come, except the moſt light and ſuperficial, which float on the breath of popular fame. Want of wealth (the conſequence of want of induſtry) is a grand cauſe; but which will be remedied as induſtry increaſes. They who have no money to buy books, cannot have them; and it is obſervable that all the chief Eruditi, of every country and age, have been men of large property, and who could afford to purchaſe libraries. The only remedy for this is the inſtitution of public libraries, containing books of high character for learning and utility, tho never to be found in circulating libraries, where indeed they cannot be expected, as very few read them. The inſtitution of a public library,

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of the genuine kind, ſuch as are common in Italy, France, and Germany, as they were in ancient Greece and Rome, tho totally unknown in Britain, would do any patriot more honour, and would ſerve his country more, than the foundation of an univerſity. In few countries are youth more curious in literature, than in Scotland; but they want opportunities and choice. The ſtudy of Bibliography, now carried to a great height in moſt countries, may indeed be pointed out as neceſſary even to our beſt authors, who, for want of it, often quote the worſt writers upon ſubjects. When books are ſo numerous, the knowlege of the beſt in each claſs becomes neceſſary.

Such having been the ſtate of learning in Scotland, it is no wonder that in antiquities, a ſubject abſolutely dependant upon much reading, this defect ſhould become the moſt apparent. Ingenious conjecture, and elegant manner, can never have any effect in illuſtrating antiquities, the very province of patient induſtry. The more ingenious an author is in ſuch matters, he will only be the more in the wrong *. The exclama-

* "We no longer ſtudy;" ſays Rouſſeau, "we no "longer obſerve: we dream: and the dreams of ſome "bad nights are given us gravely for philoſophy."

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tion of Monteſquieu, in his letters, *Vous etes tous des charlatans, Meſſieurs les Antiquaires!* may be applied to thoſe of Scotland, with peculiar juſtice. The weakeſt writers in the country have generally aſſumed this province, which became them as well as if a mule ſhould pretend to carry the tower of an elephant: while the beſt ſeem to deſpiſe the name and province of an antiquary, forgetful of the examples of Cato, Varro, Cæſar *, in ancient times, and of Luther, Melanchthon, Spelman, Selden, Du Cange, Leibnitz, Muratori, and many others, confeſſedly men of great talents, in modern. Monteſquieu has examined the hiſtory of the two firſt races of France, preceding the tenth century, with an antiquarian care, which a Scotiſh writer of talents might think beneath him. *Homine imperito nihil eſt injuſtius:* this contempt, if real, is lamentable; as no ſcience can be ſtudied where it is deſpiſed. But, as Lord Bacon obſerves in his Eſſays, "Some, whatſoever is beyond their reach, will ſeem to deſpiſe, or make light of, as

* Cato's work on Roman origins is quoted by Dionyſius Hal. Varro is well known. Julius Cæſar wrote *De vocum Mutatione*, &c. Melanchthon and Luther's works on German antiquities may be found in the firſt volume of the Collection by Schardius, Baſil. 1574, fol.

impertinent, or curious; and ſo would have their ignorance ſeem judgment." The uncertainty of antiquities is common to all human ſciences; and ſtrikes thoſe the moſt who are the leaſt verſed in them, as objects at a diſtance become indiſtinct. Experience, and long examination of a ſubject, remove many uncertainties. But writers are apt to exhauſt all their faith upon the object of their particular ſtudy, or favour; to believe perhaps that they know all the motives of human action in modern times, while they will not believe the actions themſelves beyond a certain epoch. To him who looks with an equal eye upon ſcience, the knowlege of a few ancient events, duly authenticated by ancient evidence, becomes at leaſt as credible, as that of the numerous modern events, with all their motives, cauſes, and circumſtances, detailed by modern omniſcient hiſtorians, ſometimes not even verſed in the language of the country, whoſe hiſtory they relate. To him whoſe belief depends upon his reaſon, the truth of ancient and of modern hiſtory will appear much the ſame; or he may be inclined to think the death of ſuch an ancient king, in ſuch a year, as credible at leaſt as that ſuch a modern event happened, occaſioned by ſuch cauſes, and attended

attended by ſuch circumſtances, as a modern hiſtorian well knows, tho quite unknown to the actors themſelves.

The want of patience and induſtry in our Scotiſh antiquiſts, has only been equalled by their puerile prejudices, and contempt of truth. The author of this work thought it his duty to read them all repeatedly; an attention which, excepting one or two, they did not deſerve. Innes, in particular, is a valuable writer; but to moſt of the others may be applied the French proverb, *De fol juge brèf ſentence*; or the maxim of Rochefoucault, *Quand un opiniatre a commencé à conteſter quelque choſe, ſon eſprit ſe ferme a tout ce qui peut l'eclaircir. La conteſtation l'irrite, quelque juſte qu'elle ſoit; et il ſemble qu'il ait peur de trouver la verité.* Neglecting thoſe objects which do real credit to their country, they have loaded her with extraneous ornaments, till, like the Tarpeian virgin, ſhe dies under the falſe honours. Their inexperience in ſuch ſubjects has led them into trains of reaſoning never uſed in antiquarian matters; and they have what may be called *points of honour of Scotland*, quite unknown in more enlightened countries. Yet to theſe mock points of honour

they will ſacrifice the moſt evident truth, having, as lord Bacon phraſes, "an unconquerable appetite for falſehood and fable *." Some of them, as Maitland in particular, have even ſat down to the ſacred taſk of hiſtory, with all theſe prejudices around them; but in the words of D'Alembert, *Ils ecrivent l'Hiſtoire, comme la plupart des hommes la liſent, pour n'etre pas obligés de penſer; et ſe font ainſi auteurs à peu de frais.*

Quand nous fermons nos yeux a la clarté,
Pourquoi crier contre l'obſcurité?

Richardet.

Want of learning, which opens and enlarges the mind, is no doubt one great cauſe of theſe odd prejudices; for, as an able writer † obſerves, "The underſtanding is, among the illiterate, obſequious to paſ-

* Il ſuffit de faire un retour ſur ſon propre cœur, d'examiner avec quelle confiance on s' abandonne aux abſurdités, au milieu deſquelles on eſt né; combien il en coute à la raiſon pour deranger les habitudes qu'on a contractées. Quel doit donc être le ſort des nations entieres, qui ſont emportées rapidement par le prejugé general, qui les gouverne; et qui leur tient lieu de raiſon, de ſageſſe, et de reflection? *Mably de l'etude de l'Hiſt.* p. 141.

† Home Lord Kaims, Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, III. 218. 8vo. edit.

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ſion and prepoſſeſſion: and among them the imagination acts without controul, forming concluſions often no better than mere dreams." The reader will excuſe theſe quotations, as they not only expreſs the ſentiments in a manner not to be improved, but ſerve to protect an author in the invidious and painful office of finding faults.

Even in the ſtrongeſt and moſt improved minds, prejudice has too much ſway; for it is impoſſible to examine every thing. Hence it is not ſurprizing to find men of the greateſt talents infected with the contagion of national prejudices. Voltaire has juſtly obſerved on this ſubject, that, "Mankind are fonder of appearing to know, than of ſeeking after knowlege; and when error has gotten the maſtery of our minds, during our tender age, we are at no pains to ſhake off its yoke, but rather ſtrive to ſubject ourſelves more to it. Hence it comes that ſo many men of real diſcernment and genius are ſo frequently under the dominion of popular errors*." We need not therefore be ſurprized to ſee popular prejudices, even in the beſt Scotiſh writers; for, as has been

* Hiſt. Gen.

remarked, we are reformed from popery, but not from Hector Boethius *.

The effects of ignorant prejudices have been heightened to a ſurprizing degree, among our Scotiſh antiquiſts, by the ſpirit of controverſy, ſo inimical to truth. The Engliſh and Iriſh writers, who firſt began to detect the errors into which we had fallen, and to ſhew the fallibility of Hector Boethius, were regarded as enemies of the honour of Scotland; which, if we may credit our antiquiſts, ſtands upon falſehoods only. For theſe writers, inſtead of applauding the ſuperior learning of an Uſher and a Stillingfleet, provided a Sir George Mackenzie, king's advocate for Scotland, to anſwer them; and whoſe chief argument was, that it was high treaſon to doubt of the antiquity of the royal race of Scotland †! This convincing proof of our antiquities was applauded; and the author, inſtead of being ſent to bedlam, was regarded as a zealous friend of his country. This was the more remarkable, as Sir George pretended to be a Stoic philoſopher; but it is obſervable that,

* Dalrymple, Lord Hailes in his Annals of Scotland.

† Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal Line of Scotland.

from

from Sir George to Lord Kaims, no Scotiſh philoſopher has extended his philoſophy to Scotland; for which the reaſon may be found in the above obſervation of Voltaire. When ſuch were the beginnings of the diſpute with the Engliſh and Iriſh antiquaries, it is no wonder that the obſtinacy and abſurdity of our writers increaſed in the progreſs of the debate. They were ſo ignorant as not even to know that it is impoſſible to confute ancient authorities, upon no authorities at all; that, as no hiſtorian had ariſen in Scotland preceding Fordun, who is quite a modern, it was ridiculous to ſpeak of oppoſing our writers to the Engliſh and Iriſh; that all other countries allowed the authorities of neighbouring nations concerning their affairs; and that, if we gave way to conjecture and fooliſh ingenuity, there was an end of all hiſtory. At the ſame time, it is much to be regretted, that the detection of our own errors did not, as in Denmark and Sweden, ariſe among ourſelves; but this muſt be imputed to our want of men of learning. The Engliſh and Iriſh antiquaries were far from being free of prejudice and enmity on their part: and it is not ſurprizing that the truth became obnoxious to our warm writers. At length Innes, our own

countryman, taking the true ſide, we have been gradually finding that truth is more for the honour of Scotland than falſehood. But our antiquiſts, driven from their mock authorities, have been forced to another abſurdity; and to the genuine ancient authorities they oppoſe *opinions!* This phænomenon in literature is only owing to the little learning we had gradually becoming leſs; for, as Lord Kaims obſerves*, "There cannot be opinion and ſcience of the ſame thing at the ſame time." Opinion is the laſt refuge of ignorance and prejudice; and he who knows nothing of a ſubject can always give an opinion. The Spaniſh poet who was told of the certainty of the mathematics, anſwered, "It may be ſo, but in my opinion they are quite fallacious."

No axiom can be more certain than, that it is impoſſible for falſehood to honour a country, or to ſerve it. The author of nature, who has connected vital heat with the light of the ſun, has connected the utility and glory of ſociety with truth. A ſceptic may ſay that the truth is not to be known; and to him it ſhall only be anſwered, that hiſtory is a ſcience, and muſt, like other ſci-

* Sketches, III. 394.

ences,

ences, have rules peculiar to it: of which the moſt eſſential is, that, when conformable to ancient authorities, it is to be regarded as true; and, when not, as falſe. This is the grand, and only, diſtinction between hiſtory and romance. Falſehood is ſo far from honouring, or ſerving, any country, that it is diſgraceful, and prejudicial, in a ſupreme degree. In hiſtory it makes even the true parts ſuſpected; ſo that a ſubſtance is loſt by graſping at a ſhadow: and a train of writers ſupporting it in a nation will, in courſe of time, taint even the character of that nation, and all the individuals of it; an effect ſo ruinous, that he who writes on the hiſtory of his country, ought to conſult conſcience, as well as ſcience. If he indulges the *infanos oculos et gaudia vana*, at the expence of plain truth; inſtead of being the friend of his country, he is in effect the worſt enemy poſſible. Like a baſe flatterer his praiſe poiſons, his deceit ruins.

As prejudice is irrational, ſo the honours it invents are irrational. The honour of a nation depends on its arms and arts, on its induſtry, on the merit of its natives, and on the character it bears among its neighbours: which laſt can never be ſo effectually injured

as by falſe hiſtory. But the Scotiſh antiquiſts raſhly aſſume the moſt ludicrous topics, as foundations of national honour; forgetting Mr. Hume's remark that, "There is not a more effectual method of betraying a cauſe, than to lay the ſtreſs of the argument on a wrong place; and by diſputing an untenable poſt, inure the adverſaries to ſucceſs and victory." Thus we have ſeen the antiquity of our royal line, and the old league with France, maintained as the points of national honour. A Greek or Roman would hardly have boaſted how long they had ſubmitted to one line of kings; or have dreamed that their nation could poſſibly acquire any honour from another. It is likely that the poems of Oſſian, or an old ſhoe of St. Margaret, may form our next points of honour; and that it may be long before our antiquiſts diſcover, that our honour is very ſafe, if they would let it alone. A great nation never ſpeaks of its honour, becauſe it deſpiſes even the ſuſpicion of its needing a defence: but, as Algarotti remarks*, *Gli ſcioli, o vogliam dir coloro che ſono dotti per meta, veggono ancora le coſe per meta; e ne formano i più manchevoli e diſtorti giudizi.*

* Penſieri diverſi.

In

In hiſtory it is not allowable for any writer to be an advocate. He ought to be a judge. To gain a cauſe againſt truth, by dint of eloquence and art, is common; but in the court of hiſtory it is execrable. It is inconceivable that ſo many writers, on ſuch ſubjects, ſhould ſeem to think that their buſineſs is not to find the truth, but to defend one opinion againſt another. Hence we find artful elocution, where we ſhould have nothing but ſimple veracity.

The author, conſcious that he has no opinions to defend, but that he has embraced what, to his beſt judgment and examination, appeared to be the truth, on whatever ſide he found it, has employed no art to win the reader to his ſentiments. On the contrary, his manner is generally ſo dry, and ſometimes ſo ſevere, that if the reader finds no conviction in the authorities and arguments, he will never be ſubdued by the pomp of declamation, or allured by the arts of eloquence. If he be convinced, he is convinced by the force of truth only. In perhaps a dozen paſſages of this long work, the reader may, as is not unlikely, even recoil at the rigour, with which ſome former writers and opinions are treated. Of ſuch paſſages the author

author is as ſenſible as the reader: but as he knows and feels their juſtice, he has reviewed them often without either deletion or mitigation. As he always wiſhes to avoid giving offence, ſo he never fears to give it, when truth directs the weapon. Indignation belongs to virtue, and to ſcience alſo: and is to be exerted againſt falſehood and prejudice, as well as againſt vice. Before the reader can properly judge of theſe paſſages, he muſt read the authors againſt whom they are directed. If he finds them modeſt and veracious, let the blame fall on the unjuſt anger of the preſent writer: but if they be found to be dealers in direct falſehoods, and replete with impudent railing againſt the truth, let it be conſidered if ſuch have an excluſive privilege of being angry. The author has been forced, now and then, to meet them on their own ground; and deſerves pity, rather than blame, for that neceſſity: which has indeed diſguſted him ſo far, that he has reſolved to abandon the controverſial ſtyle for ever, and to content himſelf, in future, in exploring and vindicating the truth, without arraigning its enemies. But nothing has obſcured the ſubject of the preſent work more than the railing, pride, anger, and falſe aſſertions of ſome former writers on it. "Now in ſuch a caſe,

a caſe, even a wiſe and modeſt man may aſſume airs too; and repel inſolence with its own weapons. There is a time, as Solomon the wiſeſt of men teaches us, when 'a fool ſhould be anſwered according to his folly, leſt he be wiſe in his own conceit;' and leſt others too eaſily yield up their faith and reaſon to his imperious dictates*." The rule of Polybius is admirable; "They who in hiſtory relate falſehoods from ignorance, deſerve pardon and benevolent correction: but they who deſignedly commit falſehoods, are to be condemned without mercy.†"

This work is however far leſs employed in demoliſhing falſehood, than in eſtabliſhing truth. To prove the fallacy of the received hiſtory of Scotland, preceding the year 1056, would have been an eaſy taſk by itſelf; but to find the true hiſtory of that period was difficult. Indolence might eaſily have ſat down with the impreſſion, that, as the received hiſtory was falſe, it was impoſſible to find the true; and ſo Scotland might have paſſed without any hiſtory at all, pre-

* Watts's Improvement of the Mind.

† Lib. XII. A remark of Voltaire is alſo applicable: "Il y a des erreurs qu'il faut refuter ſerieuſment; des abſurdités dont il faut rire; et des fauſſetés qu'il faut repouſſer avec force."

ceding

ceding the year 1056; tho every other country can begin its hiſtory at the time it was converted to chriſtianity, and Scotland was in the fifth and ſixth centuries. Nothing indeed could be more abſurd, than to ſuppoſe that a country adjacent to England, and near Ireland, countries that produced many men of letters in the middle ages, ſhould have no hiſtory till the eleventh century; when even Iceland begins in the ninth. Nothing more abſurd than to ſuppoſe that a country, which has hiſtorical remains of the eleventh century itſelf, containing brief abſtracts of its hiſtory preceding that time, ſhould have no hiſtory but from the eleventh century. The Engliſh and Iriſh hiſtorians, and our own fragments publiſhed by Innes, indeed amply confute received notions; ſo that prejudice, as well as indolence, may conſpire in this diſgraceful abbreviation of our hiſtory. Our antiquiſts thus reſemble the oſtrich: they hide their heads, and think nobody ſees them. But the fact is, as the reader will find fully diſplayed in this work, that the indolence is contemptible, and the prejudice irrational: for it ſo happens that the real hiſtory of Scotland is far more honourable and intereſting, than the fabricated ſcheme now followed is; even

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ſuppoſing, for a moment, the latter to be true. Had the real hiſtory of the country been diſgraceful to the higheſt degree, ſtill it ought to have been given with the moſt ſcrupulous faith; as Rome does not conceal her deſcent from banditti. But when the real hiſtory is far more intereſting, as well as more honourable, than the falſe, we muſt from this inſtance alone conclude that prejudice perverts every power of judgment; or that the fact is that indolent ignorance prevents the exertion of judgment, by withholding the materials.

Deh che non può l'eredità comune,
L'ignoranza, nel petto de' mortali!

The reader may perhaps find ſome matters in this work, which may contradict his prejudices; but if he will ſuſpend his judgment till he has peruſed the whole, he will find that, by dint of mere induſtry, for every forged medal which is withdrawn from the cabinet of Scotiſh hiſtory, two real ones are put in. An hiſtorian ought to belong to no country; and in this work the author has laboured to forget that he is a Scotiſhman, tho a name he glories in; ſo that it is hoped no part of this work can fear the accuſation of prejudice, when examined by a native of any

country in Europe. But far leſs is he prejudiced againſt his country; and the freedom with which he treats the hiſtory of all ſurrounding kingdoms, may warrant him from any ſuch imputation. It was ſaid of Thucydides, that from his hiſtory it could not be known whether he belonged to Athens or Sparta; and it is hoped the national bias of this work is not very ſtrong. The vulgar paſſion for one's country is a mere modification of ſelf-love; but the real patriot wiſhes to promote the genuine well-fare of his country, not to feed his own little vanity; and that well-fare is beſt promoted by pointing out faults that they may be amended. To praiſe one's country is to praiſe one's ſelf; and Europe is now ſo civilized, that the voice of ſtrangers is the ſureſt eſtimate of a country's fame.

One grand cauſe of the neglect of Scotiſh hiſtory is the abſurd idea, which many among us have, of the nature of the original hiſtorians of other countries. The little chronicles, publiſhed by Innes, are as full as ſeveral other nations can boaſt of for their earlieſt hiſtory. Even Spain has only the chronicles of Iſidorus, and John of Biclair; which are ſhorter and not larger than ours.

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The original chronicles of Denmark are exactly of the ſame brief kind, as may be ſeen in the firſt volume of Langebek's Collection. But our writers ſeem ludicrouſly to expect that Scotland ſhould vye with Italy, France, Germany, or England, in early hiſtorians. Such ignorance is only excuſable in a people ſhut up in a corner of an iland; and incapable of comparing themſelves with others. Ignorance always begets pride: but Denmark might as well compare herſelf with Germany; or Swizzerland with Italy; as Scotland with England. In the grand commonwealth of Europe it is now perfectly underſtood that Scotland is the pooreſt ſtate, and England one of the richeſt. Denmark and Sweden have, each of them, double the wealth, power, and population, that Scotland has, or ever had. Even Norway is remarkable for her conqueſts, and colonies, celebrated all over Europe; while Scotland is only remarkable for defenſive war. But our writers abſurdly expect advantages, which nature has denied; as if flattery could make a mountainous country populous, and fertile; or turn a remote corner round to the centre of civilization! As they ſee no country but England, they facetiouſly ſuppoſe that, becauſe England has many ancient

writers, Scotland muſt alſo have had, tho now loſt. Hence the ſtory of chronicles deſtroyed by Edward I. tho it ought firſt to have been proved that ſuch chronicles ever exiſted *. Certain it is that, if they had, their memory could not have periſhed with them; but as not one can be condeſcended on, there is reaſon to infer that they did not exiſt. And in fact the pieces publiſhed by Innes, written in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, the Chronicle of Melroſe in the thirteenth, preſent a ſeries of original hiſtory, equal to any that could reaſonably be expected, for a country ſo remote, and ſo lately civilized. Our writers would do well to look into the original hiſtorians of other nations. They will find that Ireland has only Tighernach, who wrote in 1088: Denmark only ſuch brief chronicles as ours, prior to that miracle, Saxo Grammaticus, a claſſic writer in 1180: Sweden no native writer, till the fourteenth century, when a chronicle in rime, like our Winton's, was written: Norway the brief chro-

* This opinion however is as old as the fifteenth century. See Innes, p. 555. But it only aroſe from national enmity, and is confutable from the liſts of the writings which Edward ſeized being preſerved in the Tower, and publiſhed by Ayloffe, &c.

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nicle of Theodoric the monk, written about 1178. Bohemia has only Coſmas of Prague, 1126: Pruſſia, Helmoldus 1180: Poland, Kadlubko 1223: and the earlieſt hiſtorian of Ruſſia is Neſtor, 1115. Nay ſome more ſouthern countries have as few, and as late hiſtorians. The Low Countries, that garden of Europe, can boaſt of none till the 15th century. Spain has, after Iſidorus and John of Biclair, in the 7th century, only the chronicles of the four biſhops written in the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th centuries, and publiſhed by Sandoval at Pampelona, 1634, folio. Roderic of Toledo, the firſt Spaniſh general hiſtorian, wrote in 1243*. On a fair compariſon Scotland has at leaſt as many hiſtorical pieces extant, as fall to her ſhare: and if Edward I. adopted the new and wild ſcheme of deſtroying her chronicles, he muſt have done it to little purpoſe.

But a peculiar glory which diſtinguiſhes the hiſtory of Scotland, from that of other northern kingdoms, is that the earlieſt period of it ſtands on Greek and Roman authorities. Another advantage is that the

* Of the original hiſtorians of all nations, it muſt be confeſſed that Fordun is by far the moſt prolix, and the weakeſt in every view.

next period is confirmed by the teſtimonies of Engliſh and Iriſh writers. Among the later Adomnan has given us the life of St. Columba, the chief apoſtle of North Britain, written about the year 680; one of the moſt curious monuments of the literature of that age. It is certainly the moſt complete piece of ſuch biography that all Europe can boaſt of, not only at ſo early a period, but even thro the whole middle ages. The lives of ſaints, formerly only conſidered in a religious view, now begin to be regarded in an hiſtorical light, by moſt countries, whether papiſt or proteſtant. Du Cheſne, in his Collection of French Hiſtorians, gave extracts of the old lives of ſaints; an example followed in Bouquet's late celebrated work of the ſame kind. Langebek, in his Collection of Daniſh Hiſtorians, follows the ſame plan; and the life of St. Amſgar, 820, is to Scandinavia, what that of St. Columba is to Scotland. Our antiquiſts, with all the pride of ignorance, may perhaps affect to deſpiſe monuments which, hiſtorically conſidered, have received the ſanction of Monteſquieu and Gibbon. But the falſehood of the miracles no more affects the hiſtorical, and topographic parts, than the miracles of Livy and Tacitus diſcredit their hiſtory. Not to inſiſt

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on a matter now ſo well known to the learned, as the value of theſe old lives, in the hiſtory of the middle ages, it ſhall be further obſerved, that many of them are well written; and are curious monuments, not only of the literature, but of the manners of the times. Sulpitius Severus ſet the example of them in his life of St. Martin, written in the fifth century: and, for five or ſix centuries, his example was followed in all countries by the moſt able writers of each age. But after that period, inſtead of cotemporary writers of only one life, compilers began to appear, who altered the old writings to their fancy, and produced monſtrous romances; as the Golden Legend, written in the thirteenth century, and others of that ſtamp. Romances being then the faſhion, ſaints and knights-errant went hand in hand thro the regions of abſurdity. As literature revived, both fell together. But the genuine old lives of ſaints began to be recovered in a pious view; and Mombritius in 1480 ſet the firſt example of a legitimate collection of this kind followed by Lippomanus and by Surius about 1560; and in the next century by the famous Bollandiſts *, whoſe work from 1643

* So called becauſe Bollandus began this great collection, which was continued by Henſchenius, Papebroch, Sollerius, Cuper, Hilting, and many others.

to 1786 fills fifty folio volumes; and ſtill the ſaints of November and December are wanting, which will take ten volumes more.

In digeſting this work, the author has been careful to admit no authority, or argument, but ſuch as would be allowed valid, if applied to the hiſtory of any country whatever. Yet to ſome the novelty, which it contains, may appear ſuſpicious. To ſuch it can only be anſwered that, if the original authorities, and real hiſtory, of any country have been neglected for late fables, the truth which is very old, muſt appear very new, when revived. The truth is always old, tho the diſcovery may be new. Monteſquieu obſerves, when illuſtrating French antiquities, *Je ſais bien que je dis ici des choſes nouvelles: mais, ſi elles ſont vraies, elles ſont tres anciennes.* As Ireland's claim to the *Scotia* and *Scoti*, preceding the eleventh century, has been long allowed and eſtabliſhed among the literati of all countries; and Scotland muſt have had ſome name, and ſome inhabitants, before that period, it became neceſſary to diſcover what they were. Our writers ſeemed to ſhrink from the enquiry; none of them, in the words of Homer,

——— ΠΥΚΙΝΗΝ ηρτυνετο βουλην.

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The author has attempted to ſettle this affair; and to redeem the early hiſtory of his country from total annihilation. Regret at his own ignorance in the matter*, was indeed one great ſpur to the deſign. Truth may appear ſingular, to thoſe who are accuſtomed to falſehood. But, as a more contemptible character cannot exiſt, than his who would ſacrifice truth and ſcience to a ſilly love of ſingularity; ſo no man ought to fear the charge of ſingularity, when aſſerting the cauſe of truth. Mankind can never be ſerved with impunity; and the charge of ſingularity has at firſt lain againſt every man, who has advanced the progreſs of any

* His ignorance was ſuch that, in the Diſſertations prefixed to Select Scotiſh Ballads, written 1776, and firſt printed at London 1781, he rather aſſerts the authenticity of Oſſian. And in the Eſſay on the Origin of Scotiſh Poetry, prefixed to Ancient Scotiſh Poems from the Maitland MS. written 1784, publiſhed 1786, there are ſeveral opinions which a full and complete examination, of all the evidences of early Scotiſh Hiſtory, has forced him to condemn in the preſent work. But the reader, upon recourſe to theſe former productions, will acquit the author of prejudice; and ſee the truth, which is that he has conquered his own prejudice. He hopes he may ſay with Baldus, "Ignorantiæ inimicus alienæ, INIMICISSIMUS SUÆ, paratus corrigi a quocunque, et correctiones patiens libenti et humili animo, quia ignorare non eſt vitium, ſed natura."

ſcience. Torfæus was perſecuted by his contemporaries for reforming the fables of Saxo, who had taken kings of Jutland, Sweden, Ruſſia, for Daniſh ſovereigns. In the next generation prejudice, envy, and malice were chained to his tomb; and the voice of fame followed the light of truth.

Omnia ſubſident meliori pervia cauſæ.

Before this preface be cloſed the reader muſt be informed, that it is the author's intention, to give a regular hiſtory of Scotland from the earlieſt accounts till the reign of Mary, in two volumes, quarto, divided into forty books. But as he wiſhed to exert the utmoſt care in this work, he was induced to publiſh this Enquiry into the obſcure and controverted period of Scotiſh hiſtory, in the firſt place, that he might hear the opinion of the learned, and correct his miſtakes before they paſſed into a more ſolemn work. As the nature of hiſtory rejects controverſy, and implies a dignified narration of events, not as told in different ways, but as they really happened to the beſt of the hiſtorian's examination, it ſeemed alſo neceſſary, by a previous work, to remove all occaſion of controverſy from the hiſtory itſelf; as the reader by one reference to this work, may examine

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the whole reaſons for the hiſtorical narration at his leiſure, if he ſees fit. This propoſed hiſtory will be a work of years; and in the mean time the author will be happy to attend to any ſtrictures on the preſent work; and either to confirm his ſentiments, where he may ſtill think them juſt, or to retract them where erroneous. He knows he has ſtill much to learn; and is reſolved never to lock up the little caſket of his knowlege, but to keep it open for freſh acceſſions from all quarters.

The reader is intreated to pardon a verbal remark, before proceeding to the work. He will find in it the people called *Picti* by the Romans, always denominated *Piks*, and not *Picts* as uſual. Reaſons for this little change were, that the Latin term *Picti*, too nearly tranſlated *Picts*, has a double meaning, which has given riſe to a great error; to wit that the name of this people is not indigenal, but a mere Latin epithet, from their painting themſelves. Whereas it is merely an indigenal name, *Pihtar*, Latinized. The Saxon writers call them *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, *Pehtas*, *Peohtas*; the old Scotiſh, and the people of Scotland, to this day, *Pihts* or *Pehts*. The *ht* being harſh, the Romans gave for it *ct*,

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the Greeks more anciently *k* *; as the Norwegians term the country, whence they apparently paſſed to Scotland, *Pika*. And the Latin name has no more a Latin meaning, than *Galli* means cocks, or *Germani* brothers german. To mark the name as indigenal, and foreign to the Latin language, it was thought beſt to write it *Piks*; a change which it is hoped the reader will excuſe, if not approve. The name *Picts* is in fact quite a modern term, not much above a century old; and the fault lies with thoſe who introduced this new and improper way of ſpelling, and not with the author, who only ſoftens the term uſed even in the ſixteenth century, namely *Pihts*. In Icelandic, the old language of Scandinavia, whence this people came, the ſingular is *Piki*, a Pik, the plural *Pikir* Piks; as *Griki* is a Greek, *Grikir* Greeks.

The Diſſertation on the Origin and Progreſs of the Scythians or Goths, which was publiſhed near two years ago, was originally intended as part of this work, as the reader will find on looking into it. But as many readers may not perhaps chuſe to begin their

* See Diſſertation annexed; and Part III. ch. iii. &c. of this work.

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peruſal of this publication, from ſuch remote periods; tho it be impoſſible duly to underſtand the early population of Scotland, without knowing the ſtate of nations on the continent, at the time; that Diſſertation is annexed to the ſecond volume. It is left to the reader, either to begin with that Diſſertation, or to peruſe it after his curioſity may have been excited, by the references, which point out its connexion with our own hiſtory.

This preface ought to be cloſed with acknowlegements to many literati of different countries, to whom the author is obliged for articles of information. But the articles were ſometimes of neceſſity ſo minute, and the correſpondence ſo various, that to enumerate them all might appear oſtentation, and omiſſions ſeem ingratitude. General thanks muſt therefor ſuffice; except to one, whoſe politeneſs was altogether ſingular, and can never be too warmly acknowleged. M. VAN PRAET of the King's Library at Paris, with his own hand copied, and collated with Innes's Appendix, the parts of the remarkable manuſcript N° 4126, which relate to Scotland, and which the reader will find in the Appendix to this firſt volume. For this laborious taſk he would accept of no gratification, but only deſired that this work ſhould be given to that truly Royal Library.

INTRO-

INTRODUCTION.

Containing a ſuccinct view of what has been done in Scotiſh Antiquities.

TILL the beginning of this century the ſtudy of antiquities, far from making any progreſs in Scotland, was hardly known in that country. Italy, Spain, France, Germany, had produced eminent antiquaries in the ſixteenth century: and in the next, Hungary, Poland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, could boaſt of ſeveral. Remote ſituation, and the conſequent want of emulation; penury, and the conſequent want of books and learned leiſure; were cauſes that long checked the birth and growth of this,

as

as well as of the other ſciences, in Scotland. The ſtrange ſpirit of fanaticiſm, which in the ſeventeenth century pervaded the country, was another grand cauſe of the neglect of literature; for every ſtudy, not relating to religion, was regarded as ſuperfluous, if not profane: but this ſecondary cauſe alſo originated from penury, as they who are miſerable in this life naturally turn all their views to another; and it will be difficult to name a happy and flouriſhing country, in which fanaticiſm makes any progreſs. England was in the horrors of civil war, before fanaticiſm prevailed; and the moſt fanatic religion, the Mahometan, originated in the deſerts of Arabia. Spain, at preſent one of the pooreſt countries, is alſo one of the moſt fanatic. It ſeems certain that the chief fountain of the great deficiency in Scotiſh literature, during the laſt century, proceeded from the religious ferment, which pervaded all ranks, and induced a contempt and neglect of every art and ſcience.

Nevertheleſs two men aroſe who paid ſome attention to the antiquities of their country *. The firſt was Sir ROBERT GORDON

* In the ſixteenth century Major, Boyce, Leſly, and Buchanan, are well known; Lluyd, a Welchman, attacked

DON of Straloch, who, about the year 1650, wrote ſome ſcraps on our antiquities, preſerved in the noble *Atlas Scotiæ*, begun at the expence of Sir JOHN SCOTT of Scots Tarvet, Director of the Chancery, and publiſhed by Bleau at Amſterdam. There is alſo a curious letter on our hiſtorians, written by Sir R. Gordon to David Buchanan, 1649, often quoted by Nicolſon, in his Scotiſh Hiſtorical Library; and publiſhed by Hearne in the Prolegomena to Leland's Collectanea. From this letter it appears that Gordon had a due contempt for the fables of Boyce and Buchanan, then generally received among

tacked Boyce's fables, and Camden gave his ſhort deſcription of Scotland. But the hiſtory of the Abbots of Kinloſs by Ferrerius remains unpubliſhed.

In the next, or ſeventeenth century, ſeveral treatiſes on Scotiſh antiquities were written by Drummond, Crawford, David Buchanan, David Hume, Sir James Balfour, Sir Robert Sibbald, &c. and tho they all follow the fabulous ſcheme of our hiſtory, a publication of the beſt would be acceptable. Dempſter is the moſt noted writer of the early part of this century. His *Menologium Sanctorum Scotorum* was printed 1619, prohibited 1626, for its groſs falſehoods; publiſhed 1627, with a new title *Hiſtoria Eccleſiaſtica Scotorum*; and again under the name of *David Camerarius De ſtatu hominis, veteris ſimul et novæ eccleſiæ, et ſanctis regni Scotiæ.* Ogygia Vindicated, p. 68, 69.

his countrymen, a circumſtance which ſays much for his ſagacity and candour.

The next writer was Sir ROBERT SIBBALD, whoſe works appeared from 1680 till 1700; and who had the true ſpirit and induſtry of an antiquary, tho no great ſagacity nor abilities. Many of his works are in print, and are curious, and ſometimes valuable. The collections he formed in his library of various MSS. concerning Scotiſh antiquities, written by himſelf and others, were ſufficient to procure him the juſt fame of an antiquary. Theſe MSS. are now in the Advocate's library, Edinburgh; and a publication of the beſt of them would be very acceptable *.

During the ſame period the ancient hiſtory of Scotland (the chief object of an antiquary), which had hitherto been ſuffered to remain as Fordun, Boyce, and Buchanan, had thought proper to forge it, began for the firſt time to incur critical examination.

* A collection of the beſt MS treatiſes relating to Scotiſh Antiquities, and the rareſt of ſuch as are printed, would form a valuable publication. The collections of Grævius and Gronovius, relating to Greek and Roman antiquities, afford a model; but two or three volumes folio might contain all the Scotiſh.

Sir

Sir Robert Gordon had expreſt doubts and diſbelief; but unhappily did not publiſh a ſpecial work on the ſubject. Sibbald, in his hiſtory of Fife, alſo differed from received fables, in ſuppoſing the Piks not extirpated, but really the Lowlanders, and their language the Lowlandiſh. Yet it ſo happened that the Engliſh writers, who had juſt begun to reject the fables of Geofrey of Monmouth, now had occaſion to criticiſe the Scotiſh fables. Uſher indeed, in his Antiquities of the Britiſh churches, publiſhed in 1639, had led the way; but the civil commotions that followed, prevented any attention being paid to ſuch ſubjects. Now that quiet prevailed, the revival of his arguments by Biſhops Lloyd and Stillingfleet; and the publication of O'Flaherty's Ogygia in 1685; raiſed a ſtrange flame among the Scotiſh writers. National enmity, and prejudice, made truths very unacceptable, which if they had originated among themſelves, would at leaſt have been more gracious; tho the firſt reception of truth, when oppoſed to ancient prejudices, in all ages and countries, has never been favourable. Sir George Mackenzie, king's Advocate for Scotland, in an odd fit of ſcribling chivalry, thought it a duty of his office to defend the

enchanted caſtle of old fable; and with the aſſiſtance of Sir Robert Sibbald, and Sir James Dalrymple, publiſhed his Defence of the Antiquity of the Royal line of Scotland, in two parts, 1685, 1686; afterward tranſlated into Latin, and publiſhed together in Holland. This book, founded on a crazy idea that the honour of Scotland depended on the antiquity of its royal line, may be regarded as an omen in what manner Scotiſh antiquities were to be treated, in contradiſtinction to thoſe of other countries. Inſtead of ſolid facts, founded on ancient authorities, which conſtitute the ſole difference between hiſtory and romance, it contains arguments of abſurd ingenuity, ſupported by the moſt trifling and puerile reading, with here and there a cunning quibble. Sir George ſeems incapable of that common degree of candour, which ſuppoſes it poſſible that the truth may be on the other ſide; and he argues as an advocate for a cauſe, not as a philoſopher who wiſhes only to find out where the truth lyes. *Fas eſt et ab hoſte doceri*, was a maxim unknown to this writer: and the brevity of his trifling tracts might have ſtared him in the face, with the old adage, *Qui pauca conſiderat, de facili pronunciat.*

However

However a ferment of doubt was now thrown into the ancient hiſtory of Scotland, which was in time to make it run off clearer and clearer, while the dregs of fable ſunk to the bottom. And the eighteenth century, as glorious for Scotiſh literature, as the preceding had been adverſe, was to throw all poſſible light on our ancient hiſtory. Here then a more regular and ample account ſhall begin.

1702,

Nicolson's Scotiſh Hiſtorical Library appeared; and was a moſt uſeful work to ſhew us what had been done for our hiſtory, and to encourage us to new efforts *. The reſt of this Introduction may be regarded as a Supplement to that work, which tho publiſhed twice ſince in folio and quarto, with his Engliſh and Iriſh Libraries, has no additions.

1705,

Sir James Dalrymple's Collections concerning Scotiſh Hiſtory preceding the year

* This work is not however without groſs miſtakes, ſuch as his confounding St. Columba with St. Columban; his putting David Hume's Hiſtory of Scotland, Edin. 1617, London, 1657, as a different work from his Hiſtory of the Houſe of Douglas and Angus, while it is the ſame work with a fooliſh title, &c.

1153, appeared. A modeſt, uſeful, induſtrious, writer; tho a poor antiquary. His plan is rather confuſed, and his manner indiſtinct. In his violent preſbyterianiſm he wiſhes to prove that no biſhops appeared in Scotland, till the eleventh century, and that the Culdees were Preſbyterians. Mr. Gibbon obſerves that the ancient Chriſtians were as little Proteſtants as they were Papiſts; and it may be here remarked that the Culdees were as little Preſbyterians, as they were Hierarchiſts. They elected biſhops among themſelves; but a biſhop of the Culdees was neither a Preſbyter, nor a biſhop in the modern ſenſe. It is one great taſk of an antiquary to ſeparate ideas from words.

In the ſame year was publiſhed ANDERSON's Eſſay on the independency of Scotland, a laudable work for the time.

In the ſame year appeared at Paris, KENNEDY's Chronological, Genealogical, and Hiſtorical Diſſertation on the Royal Family of the Stuarts. This little work, by an Iriſh writer, contains all that part of the fabulous hiſtory of Ireland, which relates to the anceſtors of Fergus I. and is a good abridgment. But the author's idea, that the

the Scotiſh Royal Line ſprung from the Iriſh, is confuted in this Enquiry.

1708,

Dr. MACKENZIE's Lives of the Scotiſh writers, vol. I. was publiſhed, and was propoſed to be completed in another volume. But the author's avarice led him to ſwell his work to two volumes more; and a fourth was ſtill wanting to complete it. The firſt volume, which goes down to the year 1500, is by far the beſt; but has numerous *Scoti* of Ireland, who wrote many centuries before Scotland could boaſt of any writer, having not one native author till the thirteenth century, as Denmark has none till the twelfth, nor Sweden till the fourteenth. The whole work is remarkably dull, erroneous, and ill-written, but has ſome good materials. In the preface to vol. I. the idea was ſtarted, that the Scots had proceeded to Ireland from North Britain, inſtead of the contrary, as all our former writers bore.

1711,

ABERCROMBIE's Martial Atchievements of the Scotiſh Nation were printed, in two

volumes *folio*. A new edition was lately given in octavo. This work is full of groſs fables, and bitter railing againſt the Iriſh writers. In the ſecond volume, the uſe of Rymer's Fœdera enabled the author to illuſtrate ſome points in our genuine hiſtory.

1712,

Was publiſhed A Genealogical Account of the Name of Stuart, &c. "being the long-expected work of that great antiquary David Symſon, M. A. Hiſtoriographer Royal for Scotland." 8vo.

Parturiunt montes, et naſcitur ridiculus mus.

If this *Great* antiquary had gone to Germany, he would have been ſent to ſchool: if even to Iceland, Torfæus would have ſwallowed him at one mouthful, without ſalt.

After this great effort there ſeems to have been a pauſe.

1723,

HAY's Vindication of Elizabeth More (and of the Scotiſh royal line) appeared. This work contains ſeveral curious ancient charters.

In

In the ſame year was printed at Glaſgow, in 4to. BUCHANAN's Brief Enquiry into the Genealogy, and preſent ſtate, of Ancient Scotiſh ſurnames.

1726,

CRAWFORD's Lives of the Officers of State in Scotland, was publiſhed in folio. A work of labour and merit.

1727,

GORDON's Itinerarium Septentrionale, or Journey thro the north of England, and thro Scotland, appeared. A very laudable work, had not the author added his dreams concerning Scotiſh origins; of which he knew juſt as much as he did concerning ſchool-divinity.

In the ſame year SCOTT's Hiſtory of Scotland was publiſhed in folio. A weak work of no name.

1729,

INNES's invaluable Eſſay on the Ancient Inhabitants of Scotland, &c. appeared, in two volumes 4to and 8vo. This work forms a grand epoch in our antiquities; and was the firſt that led the way to rational criticiſm on them. It is not however with-

out faults; of which a radical one is the imagination that the Piks were of one race with the Welch, and uſed the Welch language; in which the author was miſled by Camden, and by Lloyd. Another groſs fault is his waſting 150 pages upon the controverſy concerning Mary, Buchanan's principles, &c. from p. 255 of vol. I. to the end. This was foreign to his work, and diſtracting to the reader by loading difficult ſubjects with another extraneous difficult one. It was alſo written "in a very great hurry to keep pace with the preſs," as he tells us, preface p. xxxiv. and ſmells of that hurry. It is really ſurprizing that ſo judicious and cool a writer could have been ſo abſurd, as to load his work with ſuch ſtuff. His manner of diviſion into books, chapters, and articles, ſections, and diſſertations, is alſo obſcure and indiſtinct.

His greateſt merit lies in publiſhing the old Chronicles, and other remains of our hiſtory. But he is not very accurate, as the reader will find in the collation of his edition with the originals, at the end of this volume. However his induſtry, coolneſs, judgment, and general accuracy, recommend him as the beſt antiquary that Scotland

land has yet produced. He was indeed educated in the French ſchool, being a prieſt of the Scotiſh college at Paris.

From p. 725, 728, 760, it appears that he intended a ſecond part, concerning the Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory of Scotland. Tho it may eaſily be ſeen to what ſide he would incline, yet there is great room to regret that he did not publiſh this ſecond part: and that in the firſt, tho he gives a chronology of the Pikiſh kings to the year 843, yet he goes no lower than Fergus I. 503. The main part of his work is occupied in ſhewing that the Old Scots did not come to Britain, till the third century, and had no kings till Fergus, A. D. 1503. His long account of the Scotiſh Hiſtorians is exact, curious, and intereſting *.

* A ſilly pamphlet in anſwer to Innes was publiſhed at Edin. 1733, 4to, pp. 32: and one Tait wrote another in 12mo. Edin. 1741, pp. 20. The laſt led the way to Goodal's dream that Strabo's *Ierne* was Scotland. Such trifling publications it is not the author's purpoſe to detail. "Perſequi quidem quod quiſque unquam, vel contemtiſſimorum hominum, dixerit, aut nimiæ miſeriæ, aut inanis jactantiæ eſt: et detinet atque obruit ingenia, melius aliis vacatura." *Quintilian.*

1738.

MALCOM, a clergyman, publiſhed his Diſſertations on the Celtic language, 8vo. the firſt work which had appeared in Scotland upon that ſubject; which afterward ſleeped, till Oſſian had the happy effect to awaken public curioſity.

1739.

ANDERSON's magnificent work the *Diplomata et Numiſmata Scotiæ* appeared; a publication never to be tranſcended in elegance, and ſcarcely in exactneſs. The learned and modeſt RUDDIMAN prefixed an able introduction. This work does more real honour to Scotland, than the dreams of an hundred antiquiſts. Unhappily the plates cannot be found for a new edition propoſed.

1747.

RUDDIMAN's anſwer to Logan on the conſtitution of Scotland was publiſhed, with a frontiſpiece by Strange, being his firſt engraving, as is ſaid. Ruddiman was a warm friend of royalty, and of the houſe of Stuart, ſo much ſo that he firmly believed, and often repeated in converſation, that every one of that line, who was to aſcend the throne, was born with a red lion impreſſed

on his right arm*. This work is of courſe warm; but his antagoniſt palpably ſo weak and illiterate, that half the force Ruddiman exerts might have cruſhed him. This writer, accuſtomed to accuracy, approves of Innes's work, and frequently repeats his diſbelief of our old fables.

1750,

DUFF's ſilly Hiſtory of Scotland appeared in folio.

1755,

KEITH's Catalogue of Scotiſh Biſhops was publiſhed in 4to. A laudable work, had not the author been too violent. As prejudices reſt on fables, it is no wonder that he is angry with Ireland, and will have all *Scoti* to be of North Britain. He ſhould have known better; but prejudice, joined with a plentiful lack of learning, is invincible.

1757,

MAITLAND's Hiſtory of Scotland was printed at London, in two folio volumes. Another violent writer, who diſplays the groſſeſt prejudices in favour of many of the ancient Scotiſh fables, and againſt the pro-

* This was told to the author by the late ingenious Dr. Stuart, a relation of Ruddiman's, and who had often heard R. inſiſting on this.

greſs of hiſtorical truth in his native country. He is a bitter enemy of Innes, of Ireland, of the Piks, and of himſelf. He however abandons the kings prior to Fergus, whoſe reign he dates 403, by a blunder of a century. But who ſhall blame him; for what did he know of the matter? His remarks on Roman antiquities in Scotland, which he inſpected himſelf, are curious; but the reſt of his work confuſed, illiterate, inaccurate, and deficient in common information.

The ſecond volume, extending from James II. of Scotland to modern times, was written by Dr. Granger, the author of the Sugar-cane, a poem; and though diffuſe, and feeble, is far ſuperior in merit to the firſt.

1759,

Goodal publiſhed his edition of Fordun, in two volumes folio. A laudable work; but his Introduction is another violent piece, fraught with furious railing, contemptible ſcurrility, low prejudice, ſmall reading, and groſs error. He talks like a maſter, where he is not even a ſcholar; and dreams he knows every thing, where he knows nothing. The contraſt between Ruddiman's merit and modeſty, and Goodal's ignorance and impudence, is very ſtriking.

1762,

1762,

Mr. JAMES MACPHERSON, in the prefaces to his Oſſian, began to reveal ſundry novelties concerning Scotiſh hiſtory. He however applauds Innes, and conſents that Fergus, ſon of Erc, was the firſt king, as the ancient fables were inimical to king Fingal. The praiſe of great genius, and of giving riſe to the ſtudy of the Celtic tongues, both in Scotland and Ireland, might have ſcreened him from cenſure, had not his "Introduction," after-mentioned, been as much fraught with falſehood and fable, as his Erſe poems.

1766,

Mr. O'CONOR's Diſſertations on the Hiſtory of Ireland were publiſhed at Dublin: at the end is "a Diſſertation on the firſt migration and final ſettlement of the Scots in North Britain, with occaſional obſervations on the poems of Fingal and Temora."

1767,

Guthrie's Hiſtory of Scotland appeared, the beſt of the modern, in ten volumes 8vo. But it is a mere money-jobb, haſty, and inaccurate.

1768,

attend obſcure and miſty notions of a ſubject.

1772,

Mr. James Macpherſon condeſcended to honour the public with his Introduction to the Hiſtory of Great Britain and Ireland. Compared with which work Dr. Macpherſon's is modeſt and laudable. The empty vanity, ſhallow reading, vague aſſertion, and etymological nonſenſe of this production, are truly riſible.

None but itſelf can be its parallel.

It's author not knowing the difference between ſcience and opinion, hiſtory and romance, has ventured on quite a new path, and ſpeaks of *confuting* antient authorities! He boaſts of ſkill in the Celtic, yet quotes not one MS. and ſeems reſolved to ſet every law of common ſcience, and common underſtanding, at defiance. For fact we have frothy declamation: for learning impudence, that ſure and eternal attendant of ignorance.

Theſe two writers, had their ſkill anſwered their wiſh, would have founded quite a new ſchool in our hiſtory. As they

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are the very firſt authors whom the Highlands of Scotland have ever produced*, the novelty and oddity of their prejudices is not to be wondered at. Their contempt for the Lowlanders †, and reverence for ſavage manners and cuſtoms, is ſtriking. The Lowlanders, really themſelves the ancient Caledonians, and amounting to more than a million of people, while the Highlanders, an Iriſh colony, exceed not 400,000, were to loſe their hiſtory and fame, to gratify the prejudices of theſe two writers; raſh enough to be the bitter enemies of the Iriſh the anceſtors of the Highlanders, and of the Low-

* Except the ſenachies, of whom Martin (Deſcription of the Weſtern Iſles, p. 116.) ſpeaks in the following terms: "I muſt not omit to relate their way of ſtudy, which is very ſingular. They ſhut their doors and windows for a day's time; and ly on their backs, with a ſtone upon their belly, and plaids about their heads: and, their eyes being covered, they pump their brains for rhetorical encomium, or panegyric." Martin ſurely had the ſecond-ſight; and the prophecy relates to the Macpherſons. The ſtone muſt be ignorance; the plaid, prejudice.

† In "a collection of Gaelic proverbs," Edin. 1785, 12mo. we find the following, p. 67, 'An t-ubh is an t-eune do na Ghael, agu san cac is am mum do na Ghall." 'The egg and bird to the Highlander, and the dung to the Lowlander.'

landers their friends. But the ignorance of the Lowlanders themſelves, concerning their hiſtory, left room for this attack, as the ſick lion could not defend himſelf from the kick of an aſs. Had we ever produced a Sigonius, a Du Cange, a Muratori, or even a Torfæus, theſe puerile writers would have trembled as ſchool-boys before their maſter. Science would have laughed at the phantoms of opinion.

Were any writer to ariſe in the Highlands, who would not pretend to confute ancient authorities upon no authority at all, but his own dreams; who would allow the Iriſh extract of the Highlanders, and peruſe Iriſh MSS. in order to throw light on their hiſtory and antiquities by faithful tranſlations; who would ſtudy Scandinavian antiquities, as the Norwegians were lords of the Highlands and iles from the ninth century, and remain ſtill in their progeny; he would deſerve great praiſe. After the favourable reception of Oſſian, it would be riſible to accuſe the Lowlanders of prejudice on their part. But to extinguiſh all hiſtory and mention of the Lowlanders, was puſhing the jeſt too far; eſpecially as not one name of a Highlander is to be found in the whole hiſtory

tory of Scotland after the year 1056*. The Highlanders were not indeed even ſubject to the Scotiſh crown, from the ninth to the ſixteenth century, but to the Norwegian lords: ſo that their modeſty, in taking all our hiſtory to themſelves, exceeds all parallel.

1773.

Mr. WHITAKER's Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons, in anſwer to Mr. Macpherſon, came to light. As Mr. M. dealed only in *aſſertion*, the only anſwer required was *denial*. But as Mr. W. pretended to be Welch, and Mr. M. to be a real Highlander, the match was fair.

Et vitula tu dignus, et hic.

1775.

O'Flaherty's Ogygia Vindicated againſt Sir George Mackenzie, was firſt publiſhed from the MS. by Mr. O'Conor.

* That is in ſolemn narration; for, in minuter annals and memoirs, they are mentioned as concerned in theſts and riots. During the laſt and preſent century, they have been dreaded by the Lowlanders, as all civilized nations fear ſavages. But barbarous cuſtoms, and uncouth ferocity, are very different from courage; a party of ſavages might pierce thro any civilized kingdom, and conquer till their opponents were accuſtomed to their ſingular mode of fighting. The Macaſſars, and Wild Americans, afford many proofs of this.

1776.

Sir DAVID DALRYMPLE, Lord Hailes, publiſhed the firſt volume of his Annals of Scotland; and the ſecond followed in 1779. They comprize the period from 1056 to 1371; and are written with an accuracy and information hitherto unknown in our hiſtory. This excellent writer had before given ſundry ſmaller works, illuſtrating our hiſtory and antiquities, all of which are highly eſteemed for the candour, love of truth, exactneſs and induſtry, which pervade them. It is much to be regretted that he did not continue his Annals, and it is impoſſible to gueſs at the reaſon of the interruption, except that ſome malignant ſtar ſeems to influence Scotiſh hiſtory and antiquities. But three centuries of our hiſtory, illuſtrated by Sir David Dalrymple, form a great and pleaſing acquiſition.

1780.

SMITH's Gaelic Antiquities appeared; a laudable work, as collecting Highland manners and cuſtoms: but the author often takes common Norwegian matters for Druidic, as he calls them. It remains

mains to be proved that there ever was a Druid in the Highlands; and we muſt not abuſe the privilege which antiquaries have of dreaming. But this author is far more moderate, and honeſt, than the Macphersons.

1786.

Johnſton's *Antiquitates Celto-Scandicæ*, &c. were printed at Copenhagen, in two volumes, 4to. containing extracts from the Icelandic writers concerning Britain and Ireland. An acceptable work; but which is defective in illuſtration, and in accuracy.

List of the Chief Books, and Editions, used.

*** Thoſe in Italic letter are indiſpenſably neceſſary to the library of a Scotiſh antiquary.

A.

ADami Bremenſis Hiſt. Eccl. apud Lindenbrog. Script. Germ. Sept. Francof. 1630, fol.
Adams' Index Villaris. Lond. 1680, fol.
Adelung Gloſſarium Manuale, ex Ducangio et Carpentario. Halæ, 1772, 6 vols. 8vo.
Adomnani Vita Columbæ, apud Caniſium in Lect. Ant. Meſſingamum, Bollandum, Surium, &c. &c. &c.
Æthici Coſmographia cum Mela Gronovii. Lug. Bat. 1696, 8vo.
Aimoini Hiſt. Paris, 1603, fol. et apud Bouquet Hiſtoriens de France.
Ammianus Marcellinus Boxhornii, Lug. Bat. 1632, 12mo: Gronovii, ib. 1693, fol.
Anaſtaſii Bibliothecarii Hiſt. Eccl. Paris, 1642, fol.
Andreæ Lexicon Iſlandicum. Hauniæ, 1683, 4to.
Archæologia. London, 1770, ſeqq.
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CORRECTIONS.

VOL. I.

Page 6, *line* 28, *for* 100, *read* 200.
28, — 35, — ſole, —— the ſole.
29, 24, *add* Bodobrica in the Imperial Itinerary, and Notitia Imp. a city of Belgic Gaul.
30, 15, For the Brigantes, and Brigiani, of the Alps, &c. ſee Buchanan, lib. II.
73, 20, *an error:* it is not certain that the Saxons (or Angles, ſo called by the Celtic writers) never held theſe parts. See vol. I. p. 329.
77, 21, *for* 726, *read* 756.
117, 31, *for* coin of ſmall braſs, *read* medallion of braſs.
173, 19, *the omiſſion of two ſentences in printing deſtroys the connexion; inſert after* 'Diſſertation annexed.' So much for the Cimbri and Teutones, who might be ſuppoſed to have poſſeſſed the ſouth of Scandinavia, whence the Piks proceeded to North Britain. But Scandinavia was really peopled from the ſouth-eaſt by the Peukini; and it is ſuſpected that their name may yet be traced, as mentioned in the Diſſertation annexed. The labial, &c.
180, *note, for* plabam, *read* plebem.
184, *line* 22. Tacitus adds, *Eorum ſacra deprehendas ſuperſtitionum perſuaſione. Sermo haud multum diverſus.* He is ſpeaking of the Belgic Gauls, and the Belgæ in Britain; among the former he lived; and the later were the only Britons he could know from proximity.
190, *l. laſt, for* two, *read* four.
210, *l.* 12, *for* Criſpinus, *read* Bolanus.
232, *l.* 15, *for* 400, *read* 300.
235, *l.* 37, Innes ſhould have put 1301, when the diſpute with Edward I. commenced: ſo *p.* 236, *l.* 25 *p.* 237, *l.* 20, 22; and *p.* 246, *l.* 29, *read* 1301, (*for* 1291.)
261, *l.* 25, *for* regnum, *read* regum.
268, *l.* 4, *for* 530, *read* 506.
299, *l.* 22, concerning Kenelath ſee Appendix, p. 491.
300, *l.* 18, the, *read* and the.
318, *l.* 5, Adomnan mentions *Egea* or Egg, and ſeveral other of the Hebudes.

P. 348,

P. 348, *l.* 25, *insert*, except those on the north and west, abovementioned.

411, *note*, held all .... part he visited.

426. Since this was printed, the edition 1533 is come to hand. It gives Δελαανγοσιος only ξ; and Ιτυος, ξ: γο; and all the other Greek editions are erroneous. For Ουιτρουιδον it reads Ουιτρουιδεουμ; for Τουαι, Τουαιστς. To Lindum it gives only κ, or 20 deg.

429, *Geographi Gr. Min. tom. III. Variæ lectiones Anon. Ravennatis, ex Codice Vaticano, cum ed.* 1688, *Paris.* 306, *l.* 3, Clindum——4. Alithacenon——5. Locatreve, Cambroianna—6. Lucotion—8. Colovion—9. Maromago, Duabsiffis——10. Triminitium——11. Cocenneda, *mox* Oleaclavis—12. *Pro* Eiudensca *potest etiam legi* Evidensca——13. In ipsa Britannia recto tramite una alterius connexæ ubi et ipsa Britannia plus angustissima.

307, *l.* 1, Medionemeton——4. Lano——5. Cerma, Veromo; *sed potest etiam legi* Veronio—6. Ravatonium—7. Pinnatis, Tueffis, Lodone—10. Levioxava—309. Iterum ipso—310. Elaviana—Linonsa.

448, *l. pen. for* statum, *read* statim.

457, *l.* 32, *for* ultinum, *read* ultimum.

499, *l.* 19, *for* tempore, *read* tempora.

VOL. II.

P. 10, *l.* 3, *for* Spain, *read* Ireland.

36, *l. pen. for* woud, *read* would.

44, *l.* 9, *for* the late, *read* late.

79, *l.* 6, Since seeing the specimens of the genuine traditional poems ascribed to Ossian, in the Memoirs of the Irish Royal Society, the author is induced to think that most of these pieces are really composed by Irish bards.

97, *and* 99, the running title should be *Extent of Dalriada.*

123, *l.* 15, *read*, United series till 883.

156, *l.* 1, *for* are, *read* or.

178, *l.* 7, 8, 9, *an error:* Kenneth's laws are mentioned in the Chronicle of Melrose. See App. to this vol. No. III.

179, *l.* 3, *for* III. *read* II.

180, *l.* 2, *for* son, *read* son-in-law.

—— *l.* 13, The *Chronicon Elegiacum* calls Grig son of Donal I. which is far more probable.

186, *l.* 7, 8, *an error.* That Malcom I. was slain by the people of Moray is asserted by the *Reg. St. And.* and the *Chron. Eleg.* but the *Chronicon Pictorum*, which, from superior antiquity, deserves

deſerves more credit, ſays he was ſlain by the people of Mearns in Fodreſach, or Claideom. Perhaps the great cairn at Fettercairn may be the tomb of Malcom I. (for while the Norwegians had the Hebudes, it ſeems impoſſible that our kings could be buried at Icolmkill); or at leaſt a monument on the occaſion.

192, *n.* 1, Perhaps theſe kings were uſurpers: and Finlegh may well be ſuppoſed the father of Macbeth.——*For* furly, *read* ſurely.

203, *l.* 1, *for* 6 June, *read* 13 Nov.

2, ALL except the *Chron. Eleg.*

220, *l.* 4, *for* William of Malmſbury, *read* Fordun, who gives a circumſtantial detail, ſays, &c.——It might have been remarked that the old Engliſh writers miſtake *Scotia*, or Ireland, for Scotland. Coins of the Engliſh monarchs Ethelred 866, Edred 948, Edgar 959, Canute 1017, occur ſtruck in Ireland. It is obſervable that the three laſt are thoſe who pretend to the homage of *Scotland*, that is Ireland, ſo called by the Saxon writers till 1020.

247, *l.* 19, It is to be regretted that the new church founded by Kenneth III. (*Chron. Pict.*) ſhould be unknown.

296, *note.* The paſſage of Aimoinus relates to the ſubjection of the *Scoti* or Iriſh to the Norwegians. That of Rob. de Monte produced by Torfæus, p. 30, is interpolated; the words *ante annos CDLX.* occurring in no edition; and being abſolute nonſenſe, for in 707 there was no king of Norway. But Adam of Bremen wrote in 1075, and is a clear witneſs, in many paſſages, that the Orkneys then belonged to Norway.

DIREC-

DIRECTIONS *for the* BOOK-BINDER.

VOL. I.

Place the Map intituled BRITANNIÆ PARS BOREALIS *PTOLEMÆI*, vol. I. page 35.

Map CALEDONIA, &c. A. D. 426, vol. I. p. 321.

Map CALEDONIA, &c. A. D. 500–800, vol. I. p. 336.

Tables I. and II. of Pikish kings, at the end.

VOL. II.

Map SCOTIA vel HIBERNIA, vol. II. p. 1.

Map PIKIA, &c. ab A. 800 ad 1100, vol. II. p. 147.

Genealogy of kings, vol. II. p. 350.

DISSERTATION ON THE SCYTHIANS after vol. II.

Map STATE OF NATIONS, to front the Dissertation.

In a few weeks will be delivered to the Subscribers,

VITÆ ANTIQUÆ SANCTORUM, qui habitaverunt in ea parte Britanniæ nunc vocata SCOTIA, vel in ejus insulis: quasdam edidit ex MSS. quasdam collegit Johannes Pinkerton; qui et variantes lectiones, et notas pauculas, adjecit.

1. Vita Niniani ab Ailredo.
2. Columbæ, a Cuminio.
3. ——— ab Adomnano.
4. Kentegerni, a Jocelino.
5. Margaretæ Reginæ, a Turgoto.
6. ——— ex Surio.
7. Magni Orcadum Comitis.
8. Davidis Regis, ab Ailredo.

PART

PART I.

The earlieſt Celtic Inhabitants of Scotland.

AN

ENQUIRY

INTO

SCOTISH HISTORY

Preceding the year 1056.

PART I.

The earliest Celtic inhabitants of Scotland.

CHAPTER I.

The Greek and Roman geography of Scotland.

WHEN the first dawn of Grecian science rises upon the west of Europe, in the time of Herodotus, we find that this writer calls the ilands of Britain and Ireland CASSITERIDES, a name implying the *iles of tin*[a]. For the Phœnicians traded hither for that metal, from their settlements in Africa and Spain; and from hence alone the ancient world was supplied with it, whence Aristotle[b] calls it in general *Celtic tin*, as the west of Gaul and of Britain was still possessed

[a] Herodot. III. 115. κασσιτερον is derived from κασσα, *meretrix*, being chiefly used at first as mock silver, for ornaments to such.

[b] De mir. ausc. si Aristotelis sit.

by the Celts, the ancient inhabitants of Europe. This name Caſſiterides was afterward improperly given to the iles of Scilly, which were far too minute to attract Grecian notice; and it is agreed by the learned[c] that it was originally, and properly, given to Britain and Ireland.

Herodotus, who wrote about 450 years before Chriſt, only hints a very faint knowlege of the Caſſiterides: and as the Phœnicians, according to Strabo's[d] report, carefully concealed their acquaintance with the weſt of Europe, leſt other nations ſhould interfere in their trade, this knowlege was not encreaſed for a long time. For Polybius, a well informed writer, who lived about 170 years before Chriſt, tells us[e] that, in his time, all that part of Europe north of an oblique line, to be drawn from the Tanais to the head of the Rhone, or extremity of *Gallia Bracata*, afterward *Narbonenſis*, was quite unknown. That is, all Ruſſia, Poland, Germany, three quarters of Gaul, Britain, Ireland, and Scandinavia. This ignorance remained till Cæſar entered on his province of Gaul, 57 years before Chriſt.

My reſearches being confined to Scotland, no notice ſhall be taken of the deſcriptions of the ſouth of Britain by Cæſar, who attacked it 53 years before our æra. With regard to the north, he only obſerves[f], after mentioning that Britain is triangular, the ſouth ſide lying toward Gaul, the weſt toward Spain, and Hibernia or Ireland, that the north ſide, as he calls it, fronts the ocean with it's angle bent toward Germany. He deſcribes the length of this ſide, or of Britain, as about 800 miles, being about 100 more than the truth. His geography of Britain is ſo perverted, that he miſtakes the eaſt for the north; but the ancients had ſo few

[c] See Huet, Commerce des Anciens.
[d] Lib. III. [e] Polyb. lib. III.
[f] De Bello Gall. lib. V.

means

means of cultivating geography, that it is matter of wonder, that they made ſo few errors, not that they made ſo many. Cæſar's idea of Britain was this: a triangular ile, whoſe ſhorteſt ſide oppoſite to Gaul, or fronting ſouth-eaſt, as he thought, was 500 miles long; the next fronting weſt to Ireland and to Spain, as then imagined, had 700 miles; the third fronting north-eaſt, it's ſouthmoſt part oppoſite Germany, the reſt viewing only the vaſt ocean, had 800 miles. To acquire accurate ideas of ancient knowlege, we muſt lay aſide our own, and think, for the moment, as the ancients did; for if we allow nothing for their ignorance, but refer their ideas to our ſtandard, confuſion will ariſe inſtead of accuracy.

Diodorus Siculus lived in the time of Julius, and is ſaid to have died very old, toward the middle of the reign of Auguſtus. He has a ſhort deſcription of Britain; and certainly profited by the diſcoveries of Julius. He tells us[s] Britain is triangular, like Sicily, terminating in three promontories, 1. Κανтιον, *Cantium*, or Kent. 2. Βελεριον, *Belerium*, The Land's End in Cornwall,

> Or whether thou, to our moiſt vows denied,
> Sleep'ſt by the fable of *Bellerus* old;
> Where the great viſion of the guarded mount
> Looks tow'rd Namancos, and Bayona's hold.
> *Milton's Lycidas.*

3. Ορκας, *Orcas*, or Dunnet Head in Caithneſs ſhire, the moſt northern point of Britain, fronting the Orcades, or Orkney iles. This is the very firſt mention of any place in Scotland by any writer. Gaul being ſubjected to the Roman empire, by Julius Cæſar, all provincial benefits were ſpeedily extended to it. Many Romans ſettled there; and no doubt ſome applied themſelves to merchandize. Hence diſcoveries were often made with reſpect to neighbouring countries. Diodorus

[s] Lib. V.

heard theſe diſcoveries; and thus mentions the moſt northern point of Britain by name, tho unknown to Julius.

Far other was the caſe with Strabo, who lived under Tiberius about 20 years after Chriſt, but ſeems never to have been beyond Cappadocia, his native country. Tho a ſenſible and valuable writer, he ſhews ſuch groſs ignorance of countries juſt around him, as to take the Caſpian ſea for a vaſt gulf of the great Northern Ocean, tho it be a lake near 1000 miles from it; and he brands Herodotus as a fabuliſt, who however knew the Caſpian was a great lake, and is in geography more veracious than Strabo himſelf, tho he wrote 500 years before. This ſays very little for Strabo's information on a country ſo near him; and with regard to Britain and Ireland, as vaſtly more diſtant from him, no wonder that it is erroneous. In his deſcription of Britain, to be found in his Fourth Book, he joins with former writers in conſidering it as triangular; but ſays each ſide has about 4300 ſtadia in length, that is, allowing eight ſtadia to a mile, 537½ miles. In book II. p. 128, he ſays, the length of that ſide of Britain which faces Gaul, is 5000 ſtadia, or 625 miles. In book II. p. 72, he ſays Ireland is 5000 ſtadia from France, that is, 625 miles, while in fact that diſtance does not exceed 100! Book I. p. 63. he ſays, from Marſeilles to the middle of Britain are 5000 ſtadia, or 625 miles; while France is about 500 miles broad, and the middle of Britain would, according to Cæſar's computation, who puts it 800 miles long, take 400 miles more. In another paſſage of book I. he infers the diſtance from Marſeilles to Ireland to be 12,200 ſtadia, or 1525 miles! Caſaubon has well remarked, that Strabo's geography of Britain and Ireland is inaccurate, inconſiſtent, and ſelf-contradictory. In ſhort, we can only ſay, that he knew nothing either of Britain or Ireland; and that, conſidering his diſtance, it is no wonder he did

did not. But his grand and prodigious error, and in which as he followed no writer, ſo he is followed by none, is his placing Hibernia, or Ireland, *north* of Albion, or Britain[h]. Strabo, if we may judge from his behaviour to Herodotus, ſeems to have been very fond of his own ideas, and to have looked upon all information as fabulous, that claſhed with his preconceptions. If he heard of Cæſar's account, who rightly put Ireland on the weſt of Britain, he has only looked on it as akin to that of Herodotus, who regarded the Caſpian as a lake. Yet both Cæſar and Herodotus were right; and Strabo egregiouſly wrong: a leſſon of modeſty to thoſe who prefer what they call philoſophy to information. For his inconſiſtent meaſurements, blame is no doubt due to tranſcribers; for numbers are in all MSS. moſt apt to be blundered. But his own errors in placing Ireland north of Britain, and extending the ſouth of Britain from the Pyrenees to

[h] Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun, cap. 2. has availed himſelf of this miſtake of Strabo, to ſupport his ſtrange dream, that the Hibernia of Strabo was Scotland, and that Ireland was unknown to the ancients till the time of Veſpaſian! Such utter blindneſs can ſelf-love throw over the mind! Ireland, a great and fertile iſland, was known to the ancients as early as Britain, and gave riſe to the plural Caſſiterides of Herodotus, 'Britiſh ilands' of Polybius. As lying on the weſt of Britain, it ſeems to have been known to the Phœnicians, even before Britain. Scotland, the moſt remote corner of Britain, muſt have been laſt known, as common ſenſe argues. But it is riſible to ſee Ireland totally vaniſh in the weak prejudice of this bigot. He, who could take the Mona of Cæſar for Emona, an ile of an acre of ground in the frith of Forth, cannot deſerve confutation. All foreign writers put Strabo's idea, of Ireland being on the north of Britain, as a mere miſtake, as well as his extending the weſtern point of Britain ſo as to front the Pyrenees. Such miſtakes appear in the beſt ancient writers, but are to be corrected by better information. Mr. Goodal betrays his ſilly intention at the beginning of this very chapter, by telling that, as ſome will have Ireland to be the moſt ancient Scotia, ſo he will ſhew that Scotland was the moſt ancient Hibernia! A pretty revenge!

the Rhine, with others equally groſs, only ſtrike us with the imperfection of ancient geography, and of Strabo's information on ſome matters in particular. But if we reflect ourſelves, that ſimilar errors with regard to America, and other diſtant countries, may be found in geographers of the laſt century, we muſt alſo reflect that the weſt of Europe was an America to the Greeks; and be content to correct their miſtakes, by the ſolid information of Tacitus, and other Romans, whoſe knowlege was immediate and authentic. The grand cauſe of Strabo's error, with regard to Ireland, ſeems to have been, that it was the furtheſt land diſcovered to the northward, and he of courſe thought it the furtheſt north from Aſia and Greece. Strabo ſays nothing of the north of Britain, and ſeems not to have ſeen Diodorus, for he only names Κατιτιον, as one of the three terminating promontories; but the names of the other two, Belerion, and Orcas, he does not mention.

Claudius, who began to reign 41 years after our æra, is rightly marked by Tacitus[i] as the firſt emperor who began the real conqueſt of Britain, then more and more known; for Mela, who wrote, as his work expreſſes[k], at the commencement of this conqueſt, mentions the Orcades, or Orkneys, and ſays they amount to thirty in number: a calculation pretty accurate, for they are twenty ſix. Mela's mention of the Orkneys ſeems to have given riſe to a fable, retailed by Eutropius and Beda, and other writers of the declining ages, that Claudius conquered the Orkneys. Veſpaſian was the general employed by Claudius in Britain, and was here, as Tacitus phraſes it, 'ſhewn to the fates.'

Under Nero, Suetonius Paullinus continued the conqueſt of Britain; and Tacitus, in the life of Agricola, has given us an idea of his progreſs. Pliny, the natural hiſtorian, wrote under Veſpaſian, or

[i] Agricola. [k] III. 6.

about 70 years after Chriſt; but even now nothing concerning North Britain can be found[l].

Yet was it in the reign of Veſpaſian that full ſplendor was to be diffuſed over Scotland, from the arms of Agricola, ſo nobly celebrated by Tacitus. Agricola ſeems to have taken the command in Britain in the conſulſhip of Ceionius Commodus, and Cornelius Priſcus, 78 years after Chriſt, being the laſt year of the reign of Veſpaſian, and to have left it in the fourth year of Domitian, or the 84th year of our æra[m]. The Brigantes, or people of Yorkſhire, &c. had been ſubdued by Cerealis[n], and all South Britain was ſubject to Rome; ſo that the conqueſt of Agricola began at the Tweed; and to him we owe all we know concerning the ſtate of Scotland, when firſt explored by the Romans. The Engliſh have Cæſar for the father of their hiſtory: the Scotiſh have Tacitus.

Tacitus wrote his life of Agricola in the year of Chriſt 97, as Brotier ſhews, being the year of Rome 849, and firſt of Trajan. He tells us, that Fabius Ruſticus compared the ſhape of Britain to a bipennis, or polax, that is, it's triangular head: but that the extent of Caledonia, or Scotland, running far on, gives it rather the ſhape of a *cuneus*, or wedge: an obſervation juſt to this day. He then mentions that the Roman fleets had ſailed around it, and had diſcovered the Orkneys, and ſeen Thule[o]. Tacitus, however, adds little to the geography

[l] Pliny IV. 16. ſays that Pytheas and Iſidorus put the circumference of Albion at about 3800 miles: that Agrippa marked it's length at 800, breadth 300, and Ireland as of the ſame breadth, but 200 miles leſs in length. Pliny mentions Orcades, Acmodæ (perhaps Shetland iles) Hæbudes, Mona, Monapia, Ricnea.

[m] Horſley's Brit. Rom.

[n] Pliny IV. 16. mentions the Silva Caledonia, as the boundary of the Roman knowlege of Britain.

[o] The veracity of Pytheas has found able ſupports in D'Anville, Geſner, Murray, (Mem. des Inſcr. Acta Goetting. &c.). D'Anville

geography of Scotland, ſave the weight of his great name; for he only mentions *Taus*, or the Tay; *Glota*, or Clyde; *Bodotria*, or Forth; the *Mons Grampius*, or Grampian hills; and the *Horeſti*, thought to be the people of Fifeſhire.

About forty years after Tacitus wrote, Ptolemy gave his geography; which many concur to regard as the moſt inaccurate work of antiquity, and which others, with more reaſon, think a wonderful production for the time. Indeed to expect accuracy in ancient geography will appear ridiculous to any one, who reflects in the leaſt on the deficiency of ancient ſcience. We allow for errors in ancient natural hiſtory, &c. why not equal allowance in geography? How could the ancients take longitudes, or latitudes, with any exactneſs? Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is, above all, ſingularly defective, for he makes the whole country bend due *eaſt*, from the Νοτιωτων ακρον, or Mull of Galloway, to the Ορκας ακρον, or Promontory Orcas of Caithneſs. So that all Scotland, inſtead of running due north, runs due eaſt: nor can this ariſe from any corruption of his text, but was infallibly his opinion, from the longitudes and latitudes he lays down at full length, for a hundred places. The whole of Ptolemy's work that regards Scotland may be found in the Appendix: and particular illuſtrations of it, in two chapters, Parts II. and III. of this treatiſe.

The other geographical notices concerning Scotland, to be found in Greek or Roman writers, are too minute to deſerve enumeration, and will be found, as they riſe to hiſtorical view, in the courſe of this work. The *Notitia Imperii*, written about 406, in the reigns of Arcadius, and Hono-

D'Anville will have the real ancient Thule to be Shetland; but, I confeſs, I cannot conceive, that from the northern extremity of Britain, to Shetland, ſhould be a navigation of *ſix* days. Iceland ſeems to anſwer the deſcription better.

rius,

rius, was found in Britain, as Alciatus tells in his preface; and has a liſt of the ſtations along the Wall of Antoninus, between Clyde and Forth, as afterward ſhall be ſhewn, not that of Hadrian between Solway and Tine, as imagined by antiquaries. The *Itinerarium Antonini* has alſo one or two names of Roman ſtations in Scotland; and is a work of nearly the ſame period with the Notitia. The vulgar title is utterly abſurd, as Voſſius ſhews, for it can belong to no Antoninus, as it mentions *Conſtantinopolis*, *Maximianopolis*, and *Conſtantina*, ſo muſt be poſterior to Conſtantine I. It ſeems to be the work of Julius Honorius, mentioned by Caſſiodorus, and others; but ſee the remarks of Gronovius, in his edition of Mela, *Lug. Bat.* 1696, 8*vo.* Some MSS. bear *Incipit Chronica Julii Cæſaris*, a title as juſt as that of *Itinerarium Antonini*: but *Itinerarium Imperiale* would be the beſt title. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* has nothing concerning Britain, except a ſmall fragment of the ſouth of England. The *Geographus Anonymus Ravennas* enumerates a few names of places in Scotland: he wrote in the ſeventh, or eighth, century; and that paſſage, tho of no value, is given in the Appendix.

Such are all the ancient monuments, which illuſtrate the Roman geography of Scotland. But a modern one, of a moſt ſingular kind, alſo deſerves mention, namely, the work of *Ricardus Corinenſis*, or Richard of Cirenceſter, a writer of the Fourteenth century. Mr. Bertram, an Engliſhman reſiding in Denmark, found this work there, about thirty years ago, in a MS. which, from a ſpecimen ſent, Mr. Caſley, a good judge, pronounced 400 years old; and it was publiſhed at Copenhagen in 1758. The author had it ſeems travelled to Italy[p]; and had there peruſed Cæſar, Strabo, Ptolemy, Tacitus, and other authentic writers.

[p] Stukeley's Account of Richard of Cirenceſter, 1757, 4to.

He alſo builds on certain papers of a Roman *Dux* [q]; by which, if i miſtake not, we muſt underſtand a *Dux Britanniarum*, or Governor of Britain, not a general. Tho this work be almoſt miraculous for the age, yet it's authenticity has not been queſtioned, and appears unqueſtionable. Nevertheleſs, as being ſo late a work, it muſt be uſed with much caution.

[q] lib. I. c. 7. p. 35. ex fragmentis quibuſdam à Duce quodam Romano conſignatis, et poſteritati relictis, ſequens collectum eſt itinerarium.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

The earlieſt Celtic inhabitants of Scotland.

THE Greek and Roman writers muſt now be left for a while, that a point may be inveſtigated, on which they afford no light. But let not the reader imagine that he is to be led into the regions of ſyſtematic conjecture, or etymological madneſs. A rigid enquiry after truth is the ſole aim of this performance. Truth has bounds. Error has none. The cultivated land of ſcience is not extenſive: but around it ly the ſandy hills and deſerts of falſehood, ready to be raiſed in whirlwinds by every blaſt of prejudice or folly, and to ſwallow up parts at once, which it requires infinite labour to clear.

It is well known that the Celts were the ancient inhabitants of Europe. They were reduced to a third part of Gaul, and to the weſtern part of Britain and Ireland, before the time of Cæſar. But, before they were expelled by the Scythians of Aſia, they appear to have held moſt of Europe. Pliny mentions a *Promontorium Celticæ*, which, by the ſituation he gives, and the names around, muſt have been near Moſcow in Ruſſia. The Cimmerii, who were driven from the Euxine, by the Scythians, were, as the ancients inform, the ſame with the Cimbri; and the Cimbri were Celts, as fully ſhewn in the annexed Diſſertation. The Celts being expelled by the Scythians, and reduced to the weſtern extremities of Europe, about 500 years before Chriſt, little knowlege of them can be derived from the Grecian earlieſt writers,

writers, who only mention them as a people living far to the weſt. But they have left, in the names of rivers and hills, ſure marks of their language and reſidence [a].

When a man is writing upon a point of antiquity, without direct authorities, he ſhould ſay very little, and very much to the purpoſe. That the reader may therefore ſee at once, that there is a firm foundation for inferring a Celtic race of men to have been the earlieſt inhabitants we can trace of Scotland, in particular, he muſt attend to a fact, which is equipollent to the beſt authorities. This fact is that the names of rivers, and mountains, all over Scotland, even to the furtheſt weſtern iſles, are very often, in that dialect of the Celtic, called the Welch, or Cumraig [b].

To give this fact full weight, it muſt be remarked that the Piks, whom Beda [c] mentions as the firſt inhabitants of North Britain, and whom Agricola found there, were, as Beda ſays, a people of Scythia, a name Jornandes and others give to Scandinavia; and according to Tacitus [d] were Germans. That is, by both accounts they were Scythians or Goths [e], ſo that the Celtic names could not be their's. Next it muſt be remarked that the Dalriads, or preſent highlanders, a paltry Iriſh colony, never extended beyond Argyle till a late period [f]. Nor could the names be their's, ſince the Welch differs widely from the Iriſh; and the more old they are, the difference is the greater, ſo that Beda marks them as two different tongues, as much as the Engliſh and Latin [g]. Theſe names

[a] See theſe points fully illuſtrated, and the authorities, in the Diſſertation at the end of this work.

[b] See the different deſcriptions of Scotland; and thoſe of the Hebrides, by Martin, Dr. Macpherſon, Macauley, &c.

[c] Lib. I. c. 1.

[d] Agricola. The origin of the Piks is fully illuſtrated, Part III.

[e] See Diſſertation annexed. [f] As ſhewn, Part IV.

[g] Beda, lib. I. c. 1. quinque gentium linguæ . . . Anglorum, videlicet, Britonum, Scotterum, Pictorum, et Latinorum.

there-

therefore neither belong to the Piks, nor Dalriads. Of courſe they belong to inhabitants preceding both.

As the Iriſh call their tongue Gaelic, or Gauliſh; ſo the Welſh call theirs Cumraig. As the Iriſh call themſelves Gael or Gauls, ſo the Welſh call themſelves Cumri. Now it appears that the Celts (a grand generic name, as the Sarmatians, Goths, Mongols, &c.) conſiſted originally of two vaſt diviſions, namely the Gael or Gauls, who were the ancient inhabitants of all Gaul; and the Cumri, or Cimbri, or Cimmerii, who held all Germany [h]. As to the etymology of Celt, Gael, Cumri, they ſhall be left to thoſe *qui omnia ſciunt et plus*, who know every thing and more.

As the ſouth part of Britain was firſt peopled from Gaul, by Gael, who were afterward expelled by Cumri, from Germany [i]; ſo there is reaſon to infer that the north part of Britain was firſt peopled by Cumri, from preſent Jutland. For the paſſage from the Cimbric Cherſoneſe to North Britain, thro open ſea, was far more eaſy than from the ſouth of Britain to the north, thro vaſt foreſts. Sea, far from hindering, promotes even ſavage colonization; and late navigators have found ilands in the Pacific Ocean, 500 or 600 miles from each other, all peopled by one race of men. Where men and ſea are found, canoes are always found, even in the earlieſt ſtate of ſociety: and the ſavage Fins, and Greenlanders, perform far longer navigations, than from Jutland to Scotland. The length of Britain is ſo great, from ſouth to north, that to populate the later from the former, muſt have been a work of many ages; whereas the paſſage from Germany was open and eaſy. The Piks, as fully ſhewn afterward, came

[h] Diſſertation. [i] Part II. c. 1.

from

from Norway to Scotland; and analogy may infer that the firſt Celtic inhabitants of the later country proceeded from the north of Germany. The Cimbri, or Cumri, poſſeſſed the coaſt of Germany, oppoſite to North Britain, or the Cimbric Cherſoneſe, even down to a late period. As it is improbable that the north of Britain remained without Celtic inhabitants, while all the oppoſite country of Germany was held by them, it is reaſonable to infer, that the Cimbri were the firſt inhabitants. But when we find Cimbric names of mountains, and rivers, remaining in the moſt remote parts of Scotland, the inference acquires as much certainty as the caſe will permit. Theſe Cimbri, the firſt inhabitants of Scotland that can be traced, were of one great ſtock with the Cumri, or Welch; but the Welch are not their deſcendents, but remains of the Cimbri of South Britain, who paſſed from the oppoſite coaſt of Germany, and drove the Gael or Gauls, the firſt inhabitants, into Ireland, as ſhall preſently be evinced.

The Cimbri held Scotland till the Piks came and expelled them; an event which, as ſhall afterward be ſhewn, happened about 200 years before Chriſt. Theſe Cimbri were driven by the Piks, down below Loch Fyn, and the Tay, and after beyond the friths of Forth and Clyde, where a part remained till a late period [k], and they are doubtleſs the pregenitors of ſome of the inhabitants of Clydſdale, and Galloway.

But the greateſt part appears to have paſt into Ireland, from the oppoſite ſhores; and, if the *Tuath de Danan* of Iriſh fables had any exiſtence, it is likely they were Cumri from North Britain. For by the Iriſh accounts [l] the Tuath de Danan came from North Britain; and from Ptolemy it appears, that a tribe of the Cumri, in Airſhire, Renfrew, &c. was called *Damnii*; as was alſo a

[k] Part II. [l] O'Flaherty, O'Conor, &c.

tribe

tribe on the oppoſite coaſt of Ireland, according to Richard. But Ptolemy calls the Iriſh tribe, *Darini*; and the Tuath de Danan may be a fairy people. However this be, there is reaſon to think that a great part of the Cumri paſſed from North Britain into Ireland.

The Celtic nations had been driven to the weſt of Gaul, Britain, and Ireland, by the Scythians, or Goths, at leaſt 300 years before Chriſt, as ſhewn in the Diſſertation annexed: and their remains were ſo intermingled with their conquerors, that their language and manners were half Gothic, even before the Chriſtian æra, and have been always getting more and more ſo. Hence no account of real Celtic manners, or language, can be recovered. But from every argument of ancient authority, and of their manners recorded by ſucceſſive authors of the middle ages, and exiſting even to this day, the ancient Celts muſt have been mere ſavages. Aſia was the parent of arms, arts, and cultivation; and when the Scythians poured into Europe from the ſhores of the Euxine, the Celts were to them, as the ſavages of America to the European ſettlers. The Fins and Celts were the ſole indigenes of Europe; and the manners of the Laplanders can alone afford any analogy whereby to judge of thoſe of the real Celts. This century has been overwhelmed with nonſenſe concerning Druidiſm, and Druidic monuments, as being univerſal among the Celts. Druidiſm, as we know from Cæſar[m], was a late invention in the ſouth of Britain: and it was totally aboliſhed by Tiberius[n]. It was palpably Phœnician[o], and was taught by the Phœnicians to the inhabitants of Cornwall, where they traded for tin: nor is there a ſingle authority, in all antiquity, for its ever extending, during the century or ſo that it exiſted,

[m] Lib. VI. [n] Plin. Hiſt. Nat. xxx. 1.
[o] Diſſertation annexed, p. 68.

beyond the iland Mona, or Angleſey, and the Garonne, or ſouthern bound of Celtica, in Gaul. They therefore who ſpeak of Druidiſm in Germany, Caledonia, or Ireland, are mere viſionaries. Tacitus knew of no Druids, either in Germany, or Caledonia [p]; and there is not a ſhadow of authority for Druids in Ireland. Druidic monuments form another idle dream of antiquiſts; but the Celts had no monuments, any more than the Fins, or ſavage Africans, or Americans; and thoſe monuments are really Gothic, and are common in Scandinavia and Iceland, where no Celts, or Druids were known. Thoſe ignorantly called Druidic Temples, are Gothic Courts of Juſtice, uſed for that purpoſe in Scandinavia and Iceland, down to a late period [r].

[p] Germania et Agricola. Cæſar VI. ſays expreſsly, the Germans had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. Tacitus, in Agricola, ſays the Caledonians were Germans.

[r] See Wormius, Bartholin, and other Northern Antiquaries.

PART II.

The Southern Britons, between the rivers Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

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The Southern Britons, between the rivers Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

CHAPTER I.

Origins of the Southern Britons.

THE Southern part of Britain, now called England, was no doubt originally peopled from Gaul, at a time when the Celts, or primitive poſſeſſors of Gaul, held all that country, even up to the Rhine. Theſe *Gael*, or firſt inhabitants of Britain, were driven into Ireland by another Celtic colony of the Cimbri, or *Cumri*, from Germany, remains of which exiſt in the preſent Cumri, or Welſh. The laſt, in their turn, were confined to the weſt and north parts of preſent England by the *Belgæ*, a third colony, who arrived from Belgic Gaul, and who, as deſcended of the Germans,

did not ſpeak the Celtic, but the Gothic tongue. When Cæſar landed here, he tells us, he found Britain inhabited by two races of men, the *Belgæ* in the countries on the ſouth-eaſt; and thoſe he calls *Indigenes*, in the inner parts. The laſt were palpably the Welch, after called *Britones*, as the moſt antient inhabitants: for all memory of the Gael, or real Indigenes, was unknown to the Roman and Saxon writers.

The bright page of Cæſar affords ſufficient notice of the Second and Third of theſe Colonies; but a reader of accuracy will aſk what fact or authority is there for the Firſt. Such a reader it is my ſole ambition to pleaſe; and i ſhall therefore give him the facts which have convinced me, tho little credulous in points of this nature. Every reader will allow that the Roman, and much more the Saxon writers were too late, and too unacquainted with the Cumraig language and traditions to attain knowlege of an event which muſt have happened near a thouſand years before the time of Cæſar. This event muſt therefore be ſought among the Cimbri themſelves, who expelled theſe Gael; and it was ſo vaſt, and muſt have left ſuch traces behind, that we may ſafely truſt them with it. Now Lloyd, a man perfectly verſed in the Welch language and antiquities, is our chief guide to this fact. For in his Archæologia *, he tells us much of the *Guydhelians*, as he calls them, being but a Welch pronunciation of *Gael*, or *Gadhel*, the Gauls; and ſays they inhabited all England and Wales before the Welch came into the iland and expelled them: and he adds, that theſe Guydhelians, or real Aborigines, doubtleſs came from Gaul to this iland. This fact Mr. Lloyd ſeems to put beyond a doubt, by remarking that in Wales itſelf many names of rivers and mountains are Gaelic, not Cumraig; and muſt have been impoſed by more ancient in-

* Preface.

habi-

habitants than the Cumri or Welſh. Mr. Macpherſon [b] alſo has well remarked the three colonies above ſtated, of Gael, Cimbri, and Belgæ, tho he miſtakes the Belgæ for Celts.

The Roman writers derived almoſt their whole ideas of Britain from the Belgæ, who poſſeſſed the ſouth parts. As it was natural to think that Britain had firſt been peopled from Gaul, and the Belgæ knew of no colony preceding the Cimbri, whom they found in poſſeſſion, it is no wonder that theſe Cimbri paſſed with the Romans, who paid as little attention to the two races inhabiting Britain, as we do to two Indian nations, for the real Indigenes, or firſt Gaulic colony. Cæſar and Tacitus may be regarded as the only ancient writers who could poſſibly illuſtrate this queſtion: the former being in Britain himſelf; the later, if he did not attend Agricola, lived long in Belgic Gaul as Procurator, and had great opportunities of intelligence. Yet has Britain been moſt unfortunate in Roman accounts, for Cæſar left the iland before much diſcovery; and Tacitus is ſo brief and abſtract, that he of all writers affords leaſt materials for ſuch enquiry. He is the eagle of hiſtory; and keeps ſuch a ſublime tract, that particulars often eſcape his notice.

Yet let us conſider a moment the accounts of Cæſar and Tacitus. The former begins his deſcription thus: "The inner part of Britain is poſſeſſed by thoſe who are reported to have been produced in the iland itſelf; the maritime part by thoſe who have paſſed from Belgic Gaul, for the ſake of war and prey [c]." The reſt of his deſcription,

[b] Introduction to the Hiſtory of Britain and Ireland.

[c] Britanniæ pars interior ab iis incolitur, quos natos in inſula ipſa memoria proditum dicunt: maritima pars ab iis qui prædæ ac belli inferendi cauſa, ex Belgio tranſierunt, &c, lib. V. Britain was unmoleſted by the Romans after this till the time of Claudius, or for near a century, during which the Belgæ were always gaining ground. Cæſar, as Tacitus obſerves, only ſaw Britain; and it is doubtful, if Tacitus ſaw it: yet they are the only writers in the leaſt capable of giving us authentic information.

and actions in Britain, refer ſolely to the Belgæ. Of the Cimbri he knew nothing but, as above expreſſed, that there were reputed Indigenes in the inner part of the iland. He ſays nothing of Druids in his Britiſh tranſactions, nor of any thing that can apply to a Celtic people. Yet, in the next book, deſcribing the manners of the Gauls, and after thoſe of the Germans, he ſays, that *in omni Gallia*, 'in all Gaul,' there were two races of men, the people who were held as mere ſlaves, and another claſs comprizing the Equites, or Knights, and Druids: and that the Druidic diſcipline was thought to have been invented in Britain, and brought from thence to Gaul; and that thoſe, who wiſhed to ſtudy it much, went to Britain for that purpoſe. Now in the very beginning of his work, he tells us *Gallia omnis*, 'all Gaul', was divided into three parts, one inhabited by the Belgæ, one by the Aquitani, one by the Celtæ, *qui ipſorum lingua Celtæ noſtra Galli appellantur*, alſo then called Gauls in ſpecial by the Romans, as being the Original people of Gaul. *Hi omnes lingua, inſtitutis, legibus, inter ſe differunt*: 'all theſe differ in ſpeech, cuſtoms, and laws.' Yet in deſcribing the cuſtoms of Gaul, he puts all as the ſame. Has he not herein palpably contradicted himſelf? Or is the fact this, that his *omnis Gallia* of the Sixth book is quite different from his *omnis Gallia* of the firſt; the former applying ſolely to the Celtæ, who were peculiarly called Galli, in his time, as Cæſar ſays? He tells us, lib. ii. c. 4. *Belgas eſſe ortos a Germanis*, 'that the Belgæ ſprung from the Germans,' or, in other words, they were Germans. The *omnis Gallia* of the Sixth book, is Gallia proper, Celtic Gaul, where alone Druids could exiſt; for he mentions, in deſcribing the Germans in the next page, that they had no Druids, *neque Druides habent*. The Belgæ had of courſe no Druids, neither in Gaul, nor Britain. The Celts, or Galli proper, had; and it was from the Celts of the weſt of Britain, that this diſcipline, according

according to Cæſar, came. Cæſar uſes *Gallus*, *Gallica*, quite laxly, and indiſcriminately, as we uſe *Indian*. In mentioning the people of Kent, he ſays, *neque multum a Gallica differunt conſuetudine*, 'in cuſtoms they differ little from the Gallic:' yet they were Belgæ, and of courſe he means the cuſtoms of Belgic Gaul. The word *Gallus* applies among the Romans to Belgium, Aquitania, Celtica, Gallia Braccata, Ciſalpine Gaul, all together, or either of them: the word *Britannus* applies with the ancients to Cimbri, Belgæ, Caledones or Piks. It is from circumſtances we muſt determine diſtinctly what diſtance, that renders all objects indiſtinct, made indiſcriminate to them. We in Europe ſpeak of Indians in the Eaſt, and in America: thoſe who reſide in Eaſt India, or in America, ſpeak of many diſtinct nations in theſe countries, totally different in origin, ſpeech, and manners. Great confuſion has ariſen from not attending to this. For inſtance, we know that thoſe Gauls, who took Rome, ravaged Greece, and ſettled in Aſia, under the title of Galatæ, were of Ciſalpine Gaul: and that the inhabitants of Ciſalpine Gaul, and of Gallia Braccata, and of Belgium, the only Gauls who figure in hiſtory, were all Germans, and not one Celt among them. Yet are they called Celts; tho the Senones, who took Rome, were the very Semnones of the ſouth of Germany; tho the Celts wore no braccæ, or breeches, the grand badge of Germans; tho we know from Cæſar, and Strabo[d], that the Belgæ were Germans: tho, in ſhort, the Celtæ were confined to the moſt remote part of Gaul, and could not defend themſelves againſt the Germans, and Iberi, far leſs make any conqueſts abroad.

[d] Strabo ſhews the Belgic manners to have been quite German; and ſays riſibly, that the Germans were ſo called by the Romans, as being *Germani*, or brothers German of the Belgic Gauls. Lib. IV.

Tacitus

Tacitus next merits conſideration. He deſcribes Britain in his Agricola; and, like Cæſar, confounds all the Gauls, ſo that we do not know whether he means Belgæ, or Celtæ. He mentions three races of men in Britain, the Germans in Caledonia; the Silures, who were Celts, of Wales and Cornwall[e]; the Galli oppoſite to Gaul. It is remarkable that he alſo mentions no Druids in Britain, ſave in the Fourteenth book of his Annals, when deſcribing the attack of Suetonius Paullinus upon Mona, or Angleſey. *Proximi Gallis et ſimiles ſunt*, 'the Britons next Gaul, reſemble the Gauls,' is all we can get from Tacitus, to our preſent purpoſe. In his Germania he uſes *Gallica lingua*, palpably for the Gaelic, or Celtic; and he finds the Eſtii, a people of preſent Pruſſia, to have a ſpeech reſembling the *Britiſh*. They were in all appearance remains of the old Cimbri, and ſpoke the Cumraig; for, had he meant the Belgic Britiſh, it was actual German, ſo could not be diſtinguiſhed in Germany. This is the only faint hint we have, that Tacitus knew there was a peculiar Britiſh tongue, neither ſpoken in Germany nor Gaul; and which was palpably that of Cæſar's Indigenes, the Cimbri. Tacitus ſeems to have known nothing of Britain ſave the coaſts. Had Suetonius Paullinus written his own campaigns, and been a man of obſervation like Cæſar, we ſhould have known the reſt upon Roman authority, as well as we know the ſouth inhabited by the Belgæ, from Cæſar, and the north inhabited by their German Brethren, from Tacitus.

[e] Tacitus, miſled by the old opinion of Cæſar, and others, that Spain lay on the *weſt* of Britain and Ireland, hints an idea that the Silures came from Spain, but inſtantly retracts it, and infers them of Celtic Gaul, tho indeed Cumraig Celts. The *torti, crines et colorati vultus*, 'curled hair, and brown faces,' which alſo led him to think the Silures Spaniards, belong to the Celts of Wales, Ireland, Scotland, at this day; who have black curled hair, and brown faces; thoſe few among them who have fair faces, and red, or light hair, the grand features of the Goths, are of Gothic extract.

Of

Of the middle, Cæſar ſeems to have known more than Tacitus. Indeed, the Romans deſpiſed Britain, and afford us poor materials concerning it. Strabo, lib. II. p. 115. echoes their contempt, ſaying, that it is an ile of no uſe, and its people not to be feared. No wonder then that their accounts are quite brief, and inaccurate. All it's people were alike ſavages to them: their various tongues and manners they did not care to know.

To this is owing a great deficience in the accounts of Roman Britain, namely, that we cannot fix the bounds between the Belgæ and the Cimbri, the Gothic part of the inhabitants and the Celtic. Mr. Whitaker, who miſtakes the Belgæ alſo for Celts, attempts to mark their territories[f], but with his uſual fancy, and ingenious aberration from good ſenſe. He conſtantly refers to his authorities; but, upon conſulting them, the reader will find that an overheated imagination *bends its eye on vacancy*, and ſees every thing where cool judgment ſees nothing. From Cæſar and Tacitus no poſitive help can be derived on this ſubject. The whole ſouth of England was poſſeſſed by the Belgæ, ſave Devonſhire and Cornwall, in which, and the ſouth half of Wales, dwelled the SILURES, a numerous people in two nations, the *Dumnonii* ſouthmoſt, and the *Demetæ* in ſouth Wales[g]. That the Dumnonii were Silures, appears clear from this, that Tacitus ſays the Silures live oppoſite to Spain, and the Dumnonii were in fact the only people oppoſite to Spain. The chief of the Scilly iles is alſo called Silura by Solinus, and the preſent name ſeems to ſpring from it. Beſide, the Silures are mentioned as a vaſt people, like the Belgæ and Cimbri,

[f] Hiſtory of Mancheſter, and Genuine Hiſtory of the Britons.

[g] In Richard's book, always to be cautiouſly uſed, we find Cimbri among the Silures; but from his own words, *utrumne vero modernum Walliæ nomen dederint*, &c. it is clear that he has confounded a Generic name with that of a tribe, owing probably to the confuſed manner of old maps.

and muſt of courſe have had various tribes; for, if only one tribe in South Wales, as ſuppoſed, Tacitus would not have mentioned them as a diſtinct race, for they would have been too minute for notice.

Toward the north, if i miſtake not, the Belgæ extended to the Humber, as to the Severn on the weſt. Mr. Whitaker oppoſes this, and almoſt confines them to the ſouth of the Thames; becauſe, ſays he, Cæſar places them in the maritime parts. Strange that Mr. W. forgot that England has maritime parts on the eaſt, as well as on the ſouth; and that the eaſt parts were more oppoſite to the Belgic coaſt of the continent, than the ſouth! As all allow the country ſouth of the Thames, and weſt to the mouth of the Severn and Devonſhire, to have been in the hands of the Belgæ, i ſhall not examine Mr. Whitaker's revelations as to their progreſs in this quarter, ſave in one point as a ſpecimen. Cæſar ſays that the Belgic tribes in Britain retained generally the names of their original tribes in Gaul. Mr. W. who forgot that Cæſar ſpeaks of Belgic, or German, Gaul, dreams that this refers to Celtic Gaul; and is ſo abſurd as to call the *Bebroces* and *Atrebates* aboriginal Britons or Gael, becauſe their names are found in Gaul! True; but it is in Belgic Gaul; where, if you look into any map prefixed to a ſchool Cæſar, you will find them. The *Morini* are alſo in Belgic Gaul. The *Segontiaci*, of Hampſhire, ſeem the *Sueconi* of Belgic Gaul, bordering on the Atrebates there as here: ſee Cluverius. The *Hedui*, on the mouth of the Severn, alone remain diſputed. Mr. W. will have them aboriginal Gael, becauſe there were Aedui in Celtic Gaul. Richard of Cirenceſter, as publiſhed by Bertram, is *ſole* authority for theſe Hedui, and little to be truſted; yet, if i miſtake not, Mr. Bertram has redd *Hedui* for *Heſſii*. The Hedui were quite to the ſouth of Gaul, and ſurrounded on all hands with hundreds of warlike nations, whence it is improbable, if not impoſſible, that they

they could come to Britain. The Eſſui (ſee Cæſar, lib. V. and the geographers) were in Belgic Gaul, between the Atrebates and Morini, exactly as theſe Hedui here. We may therefore moſt ſafely read Heſſui.

Let us now proceed to the north of the Thames. The *Trinobantes* of Eſſex, Mr. Whitaker, and all, grant to be Belgæ. The diſputed nations therefore are only the *Caſſii*, *Boduni*, *Cenomanni*, *Iceni*, and *Coritani*, being all between the Thames and Humber. The *Caſſii* were ſurely part of the *Vello Caſſi* of Belgic Gaul, who were the Caſſi, with an epithet. Beſides, the very name of Londinium, or London, the capital of the Caſſii and of the iſland, ſhews that they were a Gothic people: *Lunden* being the capital of Anglen in Denmark, whence the Engliſh came: and another Lunden in Schonen is eſteemed the moſt ancient city in the northern kingdoms. The name is thought to be from the Gothic *Lund*, a wood: *Lund-dun*, a fort, or town in a wood. The *Chaſſi* were alſo a German people, as Cluverius ſhews. To the *Boduni* I can find no ſimilar name in Gaul, ſave that of Boduognatus, general of the Nervii, a Belgic tribe. The *Budini*, a Scythian people, in Herodotus, reſemble it: as does *Boda*, in Blanckenburg of Germany, *Bodumna* a peninſula of Jutland, *Bodon* in Mæſia; all Gothic names but little to the purpoſe; tho it muſt be added, that no ſimilar names occur in Celtic Gaul. The *Cenomanni*, however, occur in Celtic Gaul; but *manni* is a termination quite unknown to any other Celtic nation. At the ſame time, tho they were in Celtic Gaul, they may have been a Belgic tribe, who, upon ſome pique, went over to the enemy, and had lands aſſigned to them, as uſual among barbarous nations. The Belgæ had many ſettlements in Celtic Gaul, as the Veneti, for inſtance, even in its extremity, who were Belgæ, as Strabo informs, lib. IV. Names in *manni* are all Gothic, as Alamanni, Marcomanni, &c. The

Iceni

Iceni ſeem to have been Belgæ, from about the *Icius portus*; and who, migrating wholly into Britain, left no trace behind but that name. It was after called alſo *Bononæ*; and it is remarkable, that *Benonæ* was a town of the Iceni. The *Coritani* ſeem alſo to have been Belgæ. Their city is by Richard called *Ratis-Corion*, a Gothic name, as appears from Ratiſbon, Ratzeburg, Ratiſboda, &c. &c. in Germany,

Nay the *Brigantes*, on the north of the Humber, may well be ſuſpected a German nation. *Brigantium* in Spain, with a town of the ſame name on the *Lacus Brigantinus* in Vindelicia, were Gothic, not Celtic; as is the common German term, *brig*, or *berg*, 'a town.' Strabo and Stephanus Byzantinus tell, that *briga* or *bria* ſignified a town in the Thracic, Getic, or Gothic language. (See Part IV. ch. 1.)

No ancient authority can be brought againſt the above theory. Cæſar and Tacitus rather confirm it. Cæſar mentions that many nations beyond the Thames joined with Caſſivellaunus, leader of the ſouthern tribes, to oppoſe him. The Cimbri would rather have wiſhed the deſtruction of the Belgæ, their worſt enemies, who had ſeized their poſſeſſions. I muſt not leave the Belgæ without hinting, that, as Pliny places a people called Britanni[h] in Belgic Gaul, it is highly probable theſe

[h] Harduin ſays, that all MSS. bear *Britami*. Their ſituation was about Abbeville in Picardy; and Sanſon has written a book upon them, followed by Carte. Both theſe writers riſibly uſe a paſſage, which Strabo gives as a ſpecimen of ancient *ignorance*, as a piece of ancient *information*, namely, that Britain was thought a city of Gaul! See Strabo IV. Mr. Whitaker as oddly confounds theſe with the people of Bretagne, who are as diſtant as the weſt is from the eaſt. The paſſage of Sulpicius Severus is interpolated, as noted in the edition of Vorſtius and Le Clerc. Sidonius Apollinaris, about 480, is the firſt real authority for Britons in Bretagne, *ſuper Ligerim*; and there is a curious epiſtle of his to Riothamus, their king.

Britanni

Britanni were of the firſt Belgæ who paſſed into this iland, and gave a general name to the whole, tho they themſelves afterward ſplit into different nations. The firſt name of Britain, was Albion, as it long continued to be called. The name Britain muſt to all appearance be ſought for in the Belgic, the Gothic, tongue.

Upon the whole, the Cumri were apparently confined to the weſt of Britain, and that part between the Walls. The ſouth and eaſt were held by Belgæ, and perhaps other Germans, long before Cæſar's time. Nay, even in the parts ſtill inhabited by Celts, the Germans had, no doubt, many ſettlements; as the European ſettlers in America have not only large tracts wholly peopled by themſelves, but alſo towns and forts among the ſavages. Thus in Gaul the Veneti, in the weſtern extremity of Celtica, were Belgæ, as Strabo informs: and in the extreme weſt of Britain, ſtood Menapia, a town of the very ſame name with one among the Scythians, or Goths, beyond the Caſpian, as we learn from Ptolemy. The conqueſt of Europe by the Goths, on the fall of the Roman empire, was the ſecond, not the firſt, as ſhewn in the annexed Diſſertation. At leaſt three centuries before Chriſt, the Scythians, or Goths, had ſubdued, and peopled, Europe, even to it's furtheſt extremities, as there fully diſplayed. In Britain, the Cumraig, or Welch, was called *lingua Britannica*, as in Gaul, the Celtic was called *Gallica*, not as being the univerſal tongue, but as the old and peculiar ſpeech of the earlier inhabitants. By *American languages* we imply not Spaniſh or Engliſh, but thoſe of the ancient natives.

When the Piks and Iriſh broke in upon the North, the Cimbri, who held theſe parts, were the moſt expoſed. The Belgæ had alſo been ſo loſt in the luxuries of Rome, that they ſeem to have totally abandoned their character of the braveſt of the Gauls,

Gauls, and could not exiſt without Roman protection, being by long habit quite diſuſed to arms. The Jutes, Saxons, Angli, were really the Gothic brethren of the Belgæ, but finding them ſo defenceleſs, uſurped the power. Admitting the Belgæ only to the offices of *coloni* and *villani*, their natural enmity to the Cumri, or Celts, induced them to give them no quarter, till driven to the barren rocks of the weſt; after an extermination of near a third, and expulſion to France, and Ireland, of near another. But the Belgæ ſeem to have amounted to at leaſt three millions; whereas the conquerors never appear to have exceeded 100,000. Hence the Belgic tongue muſt in time have prevailed, as the *Lingua Romana Ruſtica* in France, Italy, and Spain: and the old language of England is not Anglo-Saxon, but Anglo-Belgic. The numerous coloni, and ſlaves of the Saxons, even down to the Norman invaſion[1], ſurpriſe our writers, who know the Welch were expelled, but forget that ſuch a people as the Belgæ exiſted. No traces of Welch names, &c. being found among the Saxons, theſe numerous Coloni muſt all have been Belgæ, who by intermarriages, &c. gradually changed their fortunes; ſo that, before the Norman times, the Saxons and Belgæ had nearly coaleſced into one people: tho even then Doomſday book ſhews, that the Coloni and Villani poſſeſſed the far greater part of the lands in England. Moſt of the Romans in Britain were ſtationed at the walls; and they had alſo different colonial towns: but, as we know from Gildas, Beda, &c. that they utterly abandoned the iland long before the Saxons came, it is no wonder that no traces of Romans ſhould occur in the Saxon Laws, tho ſo frequent in the other Gothic Codes. The Roman language ſeems to have been very

[1] See Domeſday book; Wilkins's Leges Saxonicæ: Brady, Carte, and Hume, their abridger; Stuart on the Engliſh Conſtitution, &c &c.

little

little uſed by either Belgians, or Welch. The Old Saxon, and the Welch, have not many Latin words. Tacitus, *in Agricola*, tells us indeed, that the *filii principum* of Britain uſed the Latin: and it ſeems to have been ever confined to the upper ranks; for all Roman Britain did not produce one Latin author, tho Spain and Gaul did many; as Mela, Lucan, Seneca, Martial, Sidonius, Auſonius, and others.

CHAPTER II.

The Tribes between the Tweed and Forth, Solway and Clyde.

THE tribes poſſeſſing that part of Scotland, which lyes ſouth of the Clyde and Forth, were Four in number, namely, the *Selgovæ*, *Novantæ*, *Damnii*, and *Otadeni*. So they ſtood in Ptolemy's time, who wrote about 150 years after our æra.

That theſe tribes were all Cimbric, or Welch, is clear from Gildas, Beda, and others; and from the remains of them in the kingdom of Strat-Clyde. The *Britons* of Gildas and Beda, as all know, are the Welch, the people whom Cæſar thought born in the iland, as the Romans and Saxons knew nothing of the real aborigines, the Gael, who had all been driven to Ireland by the Welch long before the arrival of the former. Now Gildas and Beda mark the Forth and Clyde, as the old boundaries between the Caledonians or Piks, and the Britons. They are indeed miſtaken if they meaned that theſe rivers were the boundaries, when Agricola diſcovered Caledonia to the Romans. For at that time, and till the province of Veſpaſiana was abandoned by the Romans, the river Tay, on the eaſt; the many lakes Tay, Erne, Veol, Ketterin, Lomond, in the middle; and Loch Fyn, an arm of the ſea, on the weſt; formed the boundary between the Caledonians or Piks, and Cumraig Britons. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola waſted the country up to Tay, three years before he marched againſt the Caledonians; and after his victory over

Galgacus

Galgacus returned to the country of the Horesti, in Fifeshire, who are not mentioned as Caledonians. Ptolemy also mentions the Lelamonius Sinus, or Loch Fyn, as the southern boundary of the Caledonians. But more of this presently, in speaking of the Damnii. After the province Vespasiana was abandoned, in the second century, the Caledonians or Piks, seized all the country down to the wall of Antoninus, or Clyde and Forth; whence Gildas and Beda regard these rivers as the boundary.

Ptolemy's geography of Scotland is peculiarly embarrassed; and, by his bending that country to the east, his whole longitudes and latitudes become false of course. Richard of Cirencester preserves the real position of the country; but what dependence, in such matters, can be had upon a writer of the Fourteenth century? He differs from Ptolemy in many essential points, concerning England and Ireland, as well as Scotland: and, wherever he does so, must by every rule of historic authority be presumed in the wrong, for to set his authority against that of Ptolemy would be the height of absurdity. All we can do therefore is, to adjust Ptolemy's account as well as possible.

Richard places a fifth tribe, the *Gadeni*, on the south of the Forth; whereas Ptolemy puts them on the north of Clyde, in present Dunbartonshire. It is sufficient to say, that Ptolemy must be right, and Richard must be wrong; for the later compared with the former is no authority at all. Ptolemy's text expressly bears, that the Gadeni lay to the north of the Damnii, Γαδηνοι δε αρκτικωτεροι; whereas Richard places them on the south-east of the Damnii. Ptolemy supposes the north, to be the east of Scotland; and, of course, his *north* is the west, not the east, as Richard infers. By Ptolemy's longitudes and latitudes, and the maps drawn in consequence of his description, the Gadeni are on the east, that is, the north in reality, of the

Κλωτα εισχυσις, or Firth of Clyde. Richard makes Curia the town of the Gadeni, whereas Ptolemy gives it to the Otadeni; and i ſuſpect Richard has been miſled by a haſty peruſal of Ptolemy's text, which runs in this order,

> 'The Gadeni are more northward: the Otadeni more ſouth; among whom are theſe towns,
> Curia,
> Bremenium.'

All interpreters agree that theſe two towns belong to the Otadeni; and not one of them, Curia to the Gadeni, and the other Bremenium, to the Otadeni, as Richard underſtands. From both Ptolemy and Richard, it is clear, that Curia lay far ſouth of Forth; and could never belong to the Gadeni, whom Ptolemy places north of Clyde. The poſition of all the other tribes laid down by Ptolemy agrees with Richard, if you only turn up Ptolemy's map, ſo as to make his eaſt the north. One cauſe of Richard's error was his taking Curia for a town of the Gadeni, as juſt mentioned. Another is, that he puts the Attacotti too far ſouth-eaſt, in place of Ptolemy's Gadeni, while the Attacotti were not in Caledonia till 258, as after ſhewn, when they came from Ireland; and are unknown in Roman hiſtory till the fourth century. Hence Richard, having no room for the Gadeni in their real ſtation, was forced to imagine another place for them. Whereas, if we ſuppoſe Richard right in placing the Gadeni ſouth of Forth, a blank will be left in Ptolemy between Clota and Lelamonius, while all the reſt of his Caledonia is duly filled. No one the leaſt verſant in ſuch matters, can for a moment put Richard's authority againſt Ptolemy's; but, when ſo many other arguments favour Ptolemy, it would be abſurd even to doubt: and we may regard it as fixt, that the Gadeni were on the north of the Clyde.

Let us therefore conſider the Four Tribes, ſouth of Forth and Clyde. To begin on the weſt ſide, and from the ſouth, firſt were the ΣΕΛΓΟΥΑΙ, *Selgovæ*, in Dunfries-ſhire, part of Kircudbright, &c. In their territories, Ptolemy mentions theſe towns Καρβαντοριγον, *Carbantorigum*; Ουξελον, *Uxellum*; Κορδα, *Corda*; and Τριμοντιον, *Trimontium*. The firſt is thought Kircudbright, the ſecond Caſtle Over; the third was the moſt northern town of the Selgovæ, but cannot be fixt; the fourth, it is thought, lay near Eildon Hills, which have three remarkable ſummits, and where there are ruins of a Roman ſtation. Among the Selgovæ were alſo the Ιτουνα εισχυσις, *Ituna æſtuarium*, or Solway Firth; and the rivers Νουιος and Δηουα, *Novius* and *Deva*, or Nith and Dee.

Next on the weſt were the NOΥΑΝΤΑΙ, *Novantæ*, in Wigton-ſhire, and the ſouth of Airſhire; who had two towns Λευκοπιβια, *Leucopibia*, and Ρετιγονιον, *Retigonium*. The former certainly Whithern, as Richard rightly ſays, Candida Caſa. The ſecond apparently Stranrawer. The Novantæ alſo had on the ſouth the Ιηνα εισχυσις, *Iena æſtuarium*, now Wigton bay; and Αυρανουαννος ποταμος, *Abravannus fluvius*, or more properly *Sinus*, as Richard, now Glenluce bay. On the weſt the Νουαντων Χερσονησος, *Novantum Cherſoneſus*, now the Rinns of Galloway; the Ρεριγονιος Κολπος, *Rerigonius Sinus*, now Loch Ryan. As the town Retigonium ſtood on this bay, and gave it name, either the bay or town is erroneouſly called; and Richard terms the town Rerigonium, rightly as would ſeem. The Novantæ had alſo the Ουιδογαρα Κολπος, *Vidogara Sinus*, believed to be Air Bay.

The ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ, *Damnii*, were next on the north of the two former. This nation was by far the moſt important of the four; and poſſeſſed the north of preſent Airſhire, Renfrew, Lanark, Linlithgow, and Stirling, ſhires. They were the frontier na-

tion of Cumraig Britons; and on the north of them were the Caledonians or Piks. The wall of Antoninus, as is clear from Ptolemy and Richard, ran thro the territories of the Damnii: and the later ſays, that the Damnii in conſequence loſt all their territory on the north of that wall, which was ſeized by the Caledonians. The Damnii, by Ptolemy's account, had no leſs than ſix towns; Κολανια, *Colania*; Ουανδουαρα, *Vanduara*; Κορια, *Coria*; Αλαυνα, *Alauna*; Λινδον, *Lindum*; Ουικτορια, *Victoria*. Richard gives the three laſt towns to the Horeſti; but adds, that before the wall of Antonine was built, the Horeſti were eſteemed part of the Damnii. In fact the Horeſti of Tacitus are unknown to Ptolemy, who marks their towns as of the Damnii; and it is apparent, that the Caledonians were not poſſeſſed of Fifeſhire, or the land of the Horeſti, till after the province of Veſpaſiana was abandoned. Tacitus mentions, that Agricola waſted the country up to Tay, three years before he went againſt the Caledonians; and that after conquering Galgacus, and his Caledonians, he went back to the lands of the Horeſti, and it appears that the Horeſti were not Caledonians. By Ptolemy's deſcription, the Caledonians began on the ſouth, at the Sinus Lelamonius, or Loch Fyn. Of the above towns Colania is thought Lanerk; Vanduara, Paiſley; Coria, Borthwick Caſtle; Alauna, Kier near Stirling; Lindum, Ardoch; Victoria, Perth, or, according to others, Dalgin Roſs. The Κλωτα εισχυσις, *Clota æſtuarium*, or firth of Clyde, was in the territory of the Damnii.

The ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ, *Otadeni*, were in the Lothians, Berwickſhire, Peebles, and Northumberland. They had two towns, Κουρια, *Curia*; and Βρεμενιον, *Bremenium*; both, as appears from Ptolemy and Richard, ſouth of Tweed, the former ſomewhere in Roxburghſhire; the later is thought Rocheſter in Northumberland. It is ſurprizing that there were no towns

towns in the Lothians and Berwickshire, now the most fertile parts of Scotland. Among the Otadeni were the Βοδρια εισχυσις *Boderia æstuarium*, or firth of Forth, and river Αλαυνος, *Alaunus*, or Alne in Northumberland.

Of these tribes it is most likely that those on the south and east, the Selgovæ and Otadeni, were a continuation of those Cimbric nations which held all the north of present England. Those on the west, or the Damnii and Novantæ, we may well suppose, were a part of the old Cimbric inhabitants of the whole of Scotland; and who came into these parts, after their expulsion by the Piks, about 200 years before Christ, either finding the country vacant, or possessed by Gael, whom they expelled, or being allowed these provinces by their brethren in the south. The Damnii were perhaps the Tuath de Dannan, of the Irish Annals, who passed from Scotland into Ireland. The Novantæ seem merely a part of the Damnii, as the Trinobantes were of the Belgæ, and the Dumnonii of the Silures. The name Novantæ, if we for once believe the Celtic etymologists, means New-comers, or Strangers; and we may reasonably suppose it given to those Cumri of North Britain who first came down upon their brethren, the old possessors, and of course went furthest to the south.

Richard places a tribe called *Damnii Albani*, a people, he says, little known, and surrounded with lakes and mountains, in that part of Scotland, which lyes between Loch Tay, and Loch Lomond; in which indeed there are vast mountains, and about seven considerable lakes, Dochart, Erne, Veol, Lubnich, Ketterin, Archy, Venachar. It deserves great attention, that these Damnii Albani, and their neighbours, the *Attacotti*, are the only nations to be found in old Scotland which occur in Richard, and not in Ptolemy. This leads us to conclude with certainty, that neither of these nations

were in Scotland, in Ptolemy's time. The Attacotti, as ſhall be after ſhewn, were the Dalreudini, or firſt Iriſh ſettlers, mentioned by Beda, who were really the firſt Iriſh Scots, who ever ſettled there, and who were thence called by the Britons Atta-Cotti, or Hither-Scots, to diſtinguiſh them from the Scots of Ireland. The firſt ſettlement of the Attacotti, or Dalreudini in Scotland, happened about the year 258; and, as the Damnii Albani, and they, are the only nations in all Scotland mentioned by Richard, but unknown to Ptolemy, it is moſt reaſonable to infer, that theſe Damnii Albani were a part of the Tuath de Dannan, which returned from Ireland, with the Attacotti, and were called Albani, or Mountaineers, to diſtinguiſh them from the other Damnii. At the ſame time, if any one chuſes rather to believe that theſe Damnii had, in their country ſo inacceſſible, becauſe of mountains and lakes, as Richard ſays, defended themſelves againſt the Piks, to a late period, there is little objection, ſave that this idea is not ſo probable as the former.

The Selgovæ ſeem to have acknowleged the ſuperiority of the Brigantes, for in Annandale was found a ſtatue inſcribed to the Goddeſs Brigantia, as an inſcription to her was found near Cheſter, another in Yorkſhire; but war, or other accidents, may have tranſported theſe articles from one country to another. Tacitus informs us, *in Agricola*, that the Brigantes were the moſt numerous nation in Britain. That is, the Brigantes proper, with the many Celtic tribes ſubject to them. The Romans were alſo chiefly ſtationed in their country, along the wall of Hadrian. No wonder, then, that they were more known to the Romans than any people in Britain. Tacitus informs us, that it was in the time of Veſpaſian, that Petilius Cerialis ſubdued moſt of the Brigantes. Seneca in flattery aſcribes the conqueſt of the Brigantes to Claudius,

tho

tho the lieutenants of that prince only attacked the Brigantes, but did not ſubdue them.

Ille Britannos,	Scuta Brigantes	Nova Romanæ
Ultra vagi	Dare Romuleis	Jura ſecuris
Littora ponti,	Colla catenis	11. Tremere Oceanum.
4. Et cæruleos	8. Juſſit; et ipſum	

The Scuta Brigantes has puzzled the critics; and ſome abſurdly propoſe to read *Scoto*[a]. Juvenal, Sat. XIV. v. 197. mentions the *caſtella Brigantum*. Theſe four tribes in the South of Scotland, the Selgovæ, Novantæ, Damnii, and Otadeni, ſeem all to have yielded to the Romans ſoon after Cerialis conquered the Brigantes; or, at any rate, in the firſt or ſecond year of Agricola's command, for we find no mention of any battle fought with either of them, and Agricola began his northern progreſs in the third year of his command, by piercing to the Tay; as in the fourth he fortified the ſpace between Clyde and Forth, and placed forces in that part of Scotland which is oppoſite to Ireland. If i miſtake not, Tacitus has abridged the fame of Cerealis, thinking thereby to enhance that of Agricola, for he ſeems to have completely ſubdued the Brigantes.

After the wall of Hadrian was built, about 121, and that of Antoninus, about 140, the new name of MÆATÆ begins to ariſe for the nations between theſe walls. Etymology, when applied to names, which may have that origin among ten thouſand which is leaſt ſuſpected by us, becomes ſheer frenzy: that given of Mæatæ is plauſible, as all theſe Celtic dreamers take care to make their etymologies, knowing that, the more fooliſh a pur-

[a] The paſſage ſtrikes at firſt as meaning 'with blue ſhields.' By poetic licence the ſingular may be uſed for the plural, and if ſo it ſhould be *cæruleo ſcuto*. But by the ſame licence the paſſage may remain: Virgil has *cætera Graius* for *quod ad cætera*; ſo *cæruleos ſcuta*, *cæruleos quod ad ſcuta*: ſo *alia id genus*, and other phraſes. It is a common Helleniſm; Συρος τ' ουνομα, και την πατριδα, where κατα is underſtood. See Grammarians.

ſuit,

ſuit is, it has the more need of a cloke of ſeeming decency to cover it. They ſay that in the Celtic this word means Midlanders, a name which might naturally ſpring from the ſituation of the people between the walls, and between Roman Britain on one ſide, and Caledonia on the other.

Ptolemy in 150 knew nothing of this new name: and Pauſanias, who wrote about the ſame time, ſeems, in total ignorance of Britain, to call the Mæatæ Brigantes. In the beginning of the reign of Marcus Antoninus, or about the year 164, there were commotions in Britain, which Calphurnius Agricola was ſent to quell; as we learn from Capitolinus, in his Life of Marcus. It ſeems probable, that Calphurnius had no ſucceſs: and that it was at this time that Veſpaſiana was left, if not the other province, north of Hadrian's wall. For no inſcriptions but of the reign of Pius have been found at his wall; and ſoon after this, we find the tribes between the walls had thrown off the Roman yoke, and bore the independent name of Mæatæ. Dio, in narrating the reign of Commodus, ſhews that, about the year 183, both the Caledonians and Mæatæ had broken in upon the empire; and, after harraſſing the provinces, killed a Roman general who oppoſed them. And that, tho repulſed by the general Marcellus, they continued in arms, till Severus the emperor came himſelf in 207 againſt them.

In relating the expedition of Severus, Dio mentions the Mæatæ: and deſcribes them and the Caledonians as the only nations in Britain not ſubject to Rome. The former acted under the protection of the later. Severus over-ran both the Mæatæ and Caledonians, tho with the almoſt incredible loſs of 50,000 men[b]: a loſs which no Roman

[b] Dio lib. 76. but Dio is a falſe and ignorant author.

army

army ever ſuſtained in any other expedition. Yet was he hardly returned to York, when the Caledonians firſt, as Dio ſays, and then the Mæatæ, were again in arms. Invincible nations, will ſome ſay, and worthy to contend with Rome! But a more ſober reader will rather wiſh that, for the laſting advantage of Scotland, every part of it had received, along with the yoke, the cultivation of Rome.

Severus dying at York in 211, his ſon Caracalla made a diſgraceful peace with the Caledonians and Mæatæ. "From that time forward," ſays Innes, "it appears the Caledonians poſſeſſed themſelves of a part of the lands of the Mæatæ, or, rather united to the Mæatæ, ſhared in their poſſeſſions, to the ſouth of the firths, till Theodoſius reduced that country into a province about 370." I wiſh this accurate writer had mentioned his authority for this idea; for my part, i know of none: but this muſt be examined when we come to ſpeak of the extent of the Pikiſh dominions.

Certain it is, that we find no mention of the Mæatæ after this peace of Caracalla; hardly any thing being to be found concerning Britain, till 360, when we find the Piks acting in conjunction with the Scots or Iriſh. About the year 290, Caraüſius, and after him Conſtantius Chlorus, are ſaid to have carried on war in the north of Britain. For the former we have no better authority than Nennius: but the later might be ſhewn from the Panegyrics. The Britons ſubdued by Conſtantius were in all appearance the Mæatæ; and being neareſt the Roman provinces, they muſt have borne the whole brunt of war; and appear, by this conflict, and irregular incurſions of the Romans into their country, to have been extremely diminiſhed, and confined to the north parts along the friths. The Piks upon this had recourſe

to

to the alliance of the Old Scots of Ireland; and the Mæatæ ſeem to have had no further concern in their expeditions, than by allowing them to paſs their grounds into the Roman territory. About 370, Theodoſius erecting the country of the Mæatæ into the province of Valentia, the remains of theſe people ſoon became as peaceable as the ſouthern Britons.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER III.

The Walls.

INNES, in his laudable Critical Eſſay on the Ancient Inhabitants of North Britain, has given an accurate account of the Roman Walls in Britain; and i ſhall in this liſt do little more than follow him. Theſe walls were in two diſtant places; namely, between the Clyde and Forth, and between the Solway and Tine. The laſt properly belongs to England; but, as there is a neceſſary connection between them, both ſhall be conſidered together in chronological order.

1. Agricola, as Tacitus informs in his life, raiſed a line of forts between the firths of Clyde and of Forth, *Glotta* and *Bodotria*. So that *ſummotis velut in aliam inſulam hoſtibus*, 'the enemies being removed as into another iſland[a],' the whole of Britain ſouth of theſe firths ſhould be regarded as a quiet province. This was in the year 81.

2. That frontier was quickly loſt, and Hadrian thought proper, in the year 121, to build a wall between Solway and Tine, thus retiring eighty miles. That Hadrian's wall ſtood here is clear from Spartian, who ſays it was eighty miles long, whereas the ſpace between Clyde and Forth exceeds not thirty. Nor has the ſituation of this

[a] We are not hereby to underſtand that this line of forts formed the frontier between the Southern Britons and Caledonians; for the later held only down to Tay and Loch Fyn, as above ſhewn. If Richard may be truſted, Agricola built Victoria on the Tay: and the ſpace between the line of Forts and the Caledonians was ſurely, at any rate, an advanced frontier, guarded by ſtations of light troops, as was afterward the caſe when the wall of Antoninus was built.

wall

wall been queſtioned; as inſcriptions put it beyond a doubt.

3. ANTONINUS PIUS recovered the firſt barrier by the great ſucceſs of Lollius Urbicus his general; and a wall was built on the line of Agricola's forts, between the Clyde and Forth. This wall of Antoninus, built about the year 140, was ſoon abandoned, for, as Horſley obſerves, not an inſcription has ever been found near it but what refers to Antoninus Pius and his reign.

4. In 210 Severus again withdrew the boundary, and built a new wall between Solway and Tine. For that this was the place of his wall appears from the hiſtorians, as Innes ſhews. Buchanan, and others, are therefore miſtaken in placing it between Clyde and Forth.

5. In 367, the emperor Valentinian I. ſent over Theodoſius his general (father of Theodoſius I.) to Britain, againſt the Piks and Scots; who not only repelled them, but ſeized on the lands between the walls, and erected them into a province by the name of Valentia. He ſtrongly fortified it's northern border, between Clyde and Forth; and, as Richard ſays, built Theodoſia, or Dunbarton, as a ſtrong hold and frontier town. Hence this was conſidered by Beda, and others, as the grand limit between the Britons and Piks.

6. Stilicho, as Claudian informs, added fortifications to this barrier, about 398.

7. The Romans having abandoned Britain about the year 409, the Britons, about 421, requeſted their aſſiſtance againſt the Piks and Scots. They arrived, and repelled the enemy; and cauſed the Britons to build a turf wall on the march, between Clyde and Forth, as the former had been thrown down. Beda, *lib.* I. *c.* 12. gives a diſtinct account of this wall, which reached from Alcluyd, or Dunbarton, to a place about two miles weſt of Abercorn, called, as Beda ſays, Peanvahel in the Pikiſh tongue, Penelton in Saxon. Nennius ſay

ſays, it was called Pengaaul (in Britiſh), Cenail in Scotiſh, or Iriſh, Penelton in Engliſh: this place where the wall ends, is now, as Gordon ſays, called Cair-in, and is juſt two miles weſt of Abercorn. But Gordon confounds the wall of Antoninus with this wall.

8. The laſt, and moſt important, wall ever built in Britain, according to Beda's account, was that raiſed by the Romans, who again under the command of GALLIO came to aſſiſt the Britons againſt their old enemies, the Piks and Scots, about the year 426. This was of ſolid ſtone, and built between the Solway and Tine, as Beda ſays; who adds that it ran hard by Haguſtaldum, or Hexham, in Northumberland. Gildas[b] ſays of this wall, that it paſſed *a mari uſque ad mare, inter urbes quæ ibidem forte ob metum hoſtium collocatæ fuerunt*, 'from ſea to ſea among the towns which had been erected there, for fear of the enemy.' Theſe towns were the Roman ſtations on the ſouthern wall.

Thus, of theſe walls, FIVE were on the Northern frontier, or between the Clyde and Forth in Scotland; and THREE were in England, between Solway and Tine.

Theſe Three Southern Walls were raiſed by Hadrian, Severus, and Gallio: the firſt as would ſeem of turf; for Capitolinus, mentioning the wall

[b] Cap. 14. murum (non ut alterum) SUMPTU PUBLICO PRIVATOQUE, adjunctis ſecum miſerabilibus indigenis, ſolito ſtructuræ more, tramite a mari, &c. This paſſage, like all the dark Celtic work of Gildas, is confuſed and obſcure: *non ut alterum* refers to the turf wall, cap. 12. *ſolito*, I ſuſpect, ſhould be *ſolido*. Beda uſes the words of Gildas, *a mari ad mare recto tramite inter urbes*, &c. and adds FIRMO DE LAPIDE. Gildas deſcribing the turf wall, 421, c. 12. ſays, it was erected *trans inſulam*; and Keith, in the preface to his Scotiſh Biſhops, fooliſhly infers thence, that Caledonia was conſidered as another iland; forgetting that *trans* implies *across*, as well as *beyond*. Our antiquiſts ought to be adviſed, not to apply claſſic interpretation to writers not claſſic; but to ſtudy the *media et infima Latinitas*.

of

of Pius, ſays, *alio muro ceſpititio*, 'another turf wall,' which implies the former, or that of Hadrian, to have been alſo of turf. Theſe turf walls had foundations, and towers of ſtone; and large ditches. The wall of Severus, was thought to be of ſtone, as Aurelius Victor puts it as a greater work than all his conqueſts; which would have been ridiculous, if he only repaired the turf wall of Hadrian. If ſo, Gallio ſeems only to have repaired the wall of Severus. But of this after.

The Five Northern Walls begin with Agricola's line of forts, then the turf wall of Antoninus; next that of Theodoſius, which ſeems but a reparation; the additional forts of Stilicho; and the turf wall of the Britons. There never was a ſtone wall here; and that aſcribed to Severus ſeems the only ſtone wall erected.

The wall of Severus is a ſingular monument; for, tho he had penetrated to the very extremity of Caledonia, yet he was contented to reſign a large tract of country; while there ſeems no reaſon againſt his building the wall at the Northern frontier. The glory of building a long wall certainly was not equal to the ſhame of reſigning a territory; ſo that vanity could not be his inducement. Yet his hiſtorians ſay he acquired territory. A palpable contradiction! If any writer were to deny that Severus built any wall, it would be difficult to anſwer him; for certain it is, that both Herodian and Dio, who wrote ſo near his time, are utterly ſilent about this glory of his reign. Spartian, a weak writer in the time of Diocletian, near a century after Severus, is the firſt who mentions it; and what the ſtate of hiſtoric knowlege then was may be judged from the beginning of the life of Probus, by Vopiſcus, in the ſame Collection [c]. Vopiſcus is the beſt of theſe authors, and lived under Diocletian; and he ſays that, for want of writers,

[c] Hiſt. Auguſtæ Scriptores.

the

the actions and memory of Probus had almoſt periſhed! That is in a ſpace of *twelve* or *fourteen* years!

Yet it muſt be conſidered, that the tract between the walls might be regarded itſelf as a real advanced frontier, to be inhabited by his ſubjects, at their riſk, but upon no account to be entered by the enemy. Theſe Roman Walls ſeem by no means to have been the direct and abſolute frontiers, but only protections for the agricultors, and peaceful ſubjects. Beyond them were apparently exploratory camps, and ſtations; and large bodies of men, who lived by hunting and fiſhing, and had no property to raiſe their fears. If we truſt Richard, there was a whole province, Veſpaſiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus. Horſley obſerves, from inſcriptions, &c. that the Romans, even in the time of Severus, poſſeſſed grounds north of his wall. According to all appearance therefore, tho Severus might build this wall, yet he regarded that of Antoninus as the actual direct frontier. He might build his wall, to protect the cultivated lands; leaving his ſoldiers, and ſome roving Britons, to guard themſelves, without the wall, or within it, at pleaſure. Caracalla was forced after his father's death, in 211, to make a diſgraceful peace with the Caledonians; and to give up part of what his father had gained[c].

The Northern frontier was never held for any time. The forts of Agricola were abandoned in a ſhort ſpace. Hadrian, in 121, built the South wall. Antoninus, after the Piks had been driven back,

[c] Mr. Gordon, in his Itinerarium Septentrionale, takes the Catrail, running from Melroſe, ſouthweſt, for the boundary fixt by Caracalla; but it is neceſſary to inform the reader, that Gordon unhappily took a way for a wall. See Remarks on the Catrail, in the *Reliquiæ Galianæ*. General Roy, who has examined the Roman antiquities in Scotland with great care, found no wall where Gordon marks; but a military road. See his Deſcription of Roman Antiquities in Scotland, with fine drawings, MS. in the Royal Library, 2 vols. folio.

built the North wall, about 140, which ſeems to have remained the barrier only for about the remaining ſpace of his reign, or 21 years, for no later inſcriptions have been found. In 211 Caracalla withdrew the frontier. In 367 it was firſt placed for any time at the Northern wall, and continued till 426, when it was again drawn South.

Theodoſius, in 367, may be regarded as the chief acquirer of the territory between the walls; and he erected it into a province, which was held till the Romans finally abandoned Britain. After the Chriſtian religion was embraced by Conſtantine, few or no Roman inſcriptions are to be found, as may be ſeen in Gruter. It is therefore no wonder that no inſcriptions of, or after, the time of Theodoſius ſhould be found in the north frontier; nor of, or after, that of Gallio in the ſouth.

Mr. Whitaker has ſhewn that the Roman walls were by no means the poſitive boundaries of the Roman domain, in Britain. But his arguments are a little confuſed, for no one ever doubted, that Valentia was held by the Romans till their final departure. The point was to ſhew, that the Romans had ſtations and ſettlements beyond what was regarded as the barrier; as beyond the wall of Antoninus, during the reign of Antoninus, and beyond that of Hadrian in his reign. Horſley has ſhewn in particular, that Netherby, to the north of Hadrian's wall, was a Roman ſtation, in the reign of that emperor. If we believe Richard, the Province Veſpaſiana exiſted beyond the wall of Antoninus: but few Roman inſcriptions have been found to the north of this wall. Arthur's Oven, a Roman work, ſtood to the north of it. But this muſt be examined when we come to ſpeak of the province Veſpaſiana. We know not what force was ſtationed at the wall of Antoninus in his time. Nay, what is moſt puzzling, tho we might believe, that, after Theodoſius founded the province

province of Valentia, and he and Stilicho fortified it's northern frontier, the chief Roman force ſhould have been maintained at this frontier; yet from the Notitia and Itineraries, if we truſt modern interpretation, it appears that the whole Roman troops were ſtill ſtationed at the wall of Severus. The reaſons of antiquaries are often fantaſtic; and it may be ſtrongly ſuſpected that the ſtations mentioned in the Notitia, as *per lineam valli*, were along the Northern frontier, and the coaſt oppoſite to Ireland. Certain it is, that the *Vallum* of Richard and the Itinerary, aſcribed to an Antoninus, but written in the fourth or fifth century, is the Northern frontier; not the Southern, which was called *Murus*, as *Ad Murum*, or Newcaſtle, &c. and it is moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that, in the Notitia, *Vallum* has the ſame acceptation.

If the reader will carefully examine thoſe who have placed theſe ſtations at the wall of Severus, he will find that they have not even a ſhadow of foundation. Horſley and Warburton[d] have ſaid all that can be ſtated on this ſubject; and they ſeem to have taken the matter for granted. The ſole *coincidences* (for they cannot be called arguments) which they produce, are, that by beginning the ſtations in the Notitia at the eaſt end of the Wall, they find inſcriptions by two troops, the *Cohors Prima Tungrorum*, and the *Prima Ælia Dacorum*, at places which, by their account, anſwer to *Borcovicum* and *Amboglanna*, where theſe troops are placed in the Notitia. But unhappily this argument will weigh nothing, when we reflect that theſe very inſcriptions are dedicative of altars to Jupiter, and other gods; and by the form of the letters, and other marks, ſeem as early as Hadrian's reign. At any rate, they muſt have preceded the

[d] Mr. Warburton (not the biſhop) in his Vallum Romanum or Picts Wall, London, 1753. 4to. The title is improper, for the Wall of Antoninus was ſpecially called *Vallum*; that of Severus, as imagined, or Picts Wall, was termed *Murus*.

Notitia by more than a century; for after Conſtantine I. the whole armies of Rome were Chriſtian, as appears from the *labarum* on medals, and many other tokens; and no altars to heathen gods could be erected. So that theſe coincidences are matters of chance, not of argument; tho indeed it be much to be ſuſpected that the inſcriptions led to the idea of fixing the troops at the ſtations. And it muſt be added, that an inſcription by one of theſe troops was found at the other end of the wall; for which Horſley accounts, by ſaying it was firſt ſtationed there, and after moved. Inſcriptions, by no leſs than three of the cohorts mentioned in the Notitia, have unluckily been alſo found along the wall of Scotland; namely the *Prima Batavorum*, the *Prima Hiſpanorum*, and the *Prima Tilngrorum*.

Arguments there alſo are for the ſtations in the Notitia not being at the Southern Frontier, For 1. Not one name of a ſtation in the Notitia in the leaſt coincides with the modern ones in Northumland. 2. Not one inſcription can be found which mentions the name of a ſingle ſtation. 3. *Luguvallium*, the greateſt ſtation on the Southern Frontier, is not to be found in the Notitia; and Horſley, &c. are obliged to ſuppoſe it alone deſerted! 4. *Pons Ælii* never was a name for Newcaſtle, which in all the Itineraries is called *Ad Murum*. Theſe arguments are ſufficient to ſhew that there is no foundation for placing theſe ſtations at the Southern frontier; and the two laſt ſeem to evince that they could not be there.

Other arguments might alſo be brought for theſe Stations of the Notitia being along the Northern Frontier; for the Province of Valentia was founded in 367; and it appears from Beda and others, that it was kept till the Romans left Britain about 409, and ſome years after: it is reaſonable to infer, that the fortified frontier, or *Vallum*, when the Notitia was compiled, was to the north

north of this province. It is not to be ſuppoſed that a ſingle trace, or inſcription of theſe troops, can be found, for hardly an inſcription appears after Conſtantine I. thro the whole Roman empire. Beſide, they only continued forty years; whereas, had they remained at the ſouthern frontier for three centuries, as ſuppoſed, it might be expected that the name of ſome one ſtation, in the Notitia, might have found it's way into an inſcription, or the Itineraries; but this is not the caſe. On the whole, the point with regard to theſe ſtations of the Notitia ſtands thus: 1. Antiquaries have taken it into their heads, that they were at the Southern Wall; but this is no argument. 2. As they manage the matter, two inſcriptions have been found, which coincide as above ſtated; but they are obliged to paſs one which is fully againſt them: and three inſcriptions of the ſame troops have been found in Scotland, which more than balance the others. 3. There are poſitive and direct arguments, that the *Vallum* of the Notitia is not the Southern barrier, for No *Luguvallium*, tho the moſt noted ſtation on that barrier, is mentioned in the Notitia, and No *Ad Murum*, or Newcaſtle. And there is no argument whatever againſt it's being the Northern: for Theodoſia, or Dunbarton, is beyond the end of the wall which is at Dunglas: and the ſtations, if in Scotland, muſt have run ſouth of the two firths of Clyde and Forth.

It is a pity this point is rather uncertain, for if the ſtations were really on the Northern barrier, as ſeems moſt reaſonable to ſuppoſe, antiquaries have hitherto been much miſtaken. And if they were on the Southern, it would be a moſt curious fact; as it would ſhew that the Romans did not fortify the extremity of their real poſſeſſions, but had actually a military province beyond the wall at all times; as Veſpa-

ſiana, beyond the wall of Antoninus; and Valentia, beyond that of Hadrian.

Upon the moſt mature examination i am fully convinced, that Severus built no wall in Britain, nor raiſed any rampart. Dio and Herodian, who lived near his time, both writing under Alexander Severus, about twelve years after the death of Severus, tho they narrate his life and ſmalleſt actions at great length, are quite ſilent as to this. Spartian, who wrote in a moſt ignorant age, about a hundred years after, is the firſt who mentions it; and he is followed by Aurelius Victor, and others. All hiſtorians agree that Severus gained territory, ſo that he could not withdraw the frontier. Tho the wall be of ſolid ſtone, and a ſurprizing monument of Roman power, yet is there not the ſmalleſt inſcription to be found in honour of Severus; while, in the Northern turf wall, the inſcriptions in honour of Antoninus Pius are numerous. Only one inſcription mentioning Severus has been found in Northumberland, or, as is believed, in Britain; and it is N° 109 in Horſley, which was diſcovered at Hexham, conſiderably ſouth of the wall: and it only refers to building ſome fort or temple. The inſcriptions in the wall, and it's ruins, refer almoſt wholly to the Centuries, and Cohorts, who built it; and they are ſhort as CENT. V. or the like, and rudely engraved. For theſe reaſons i lend full aſſent to Beda, that this ſtone wall was built by Gallio; tho that venerable writer be miſtaken, in ſaying that Severus had formerly raiſed a turf rampart here, following in this the errors of Spartian and Victor. As to the Welch name of *Gual Sever*, which, it is ſaid, they give to the wall in the north of England, it is alſo given to that between the firths of Scotland; and vulgar appellations are ſo vague and fooliſh, that no man of ſound ſenſe can reſt even a ſtraw upon them. I am convinced therefore that there are but two lines of fortification here; namely, that

that of Hadrian, of turf and ſtone, with double ditches before it; and that of Gallio, of ſolid free-ſtone, near eight feet thick, raiſed by the joint-contributions of the Britons, who ſacrificed to their fears every conſideration of expence. They ſoon found that no walls can defend cowardice; and ought to have remembered the Spartan apophthegm of Ageſilaus, who, being aſked where were the walls of Sparta, pointed to his ſoldiers, and ſaid *There.*

The Northern barrier more peculiarly concerns my preſent labour. If the reader wiſhes to ſee plans and deſcriptions at large, he is referred to Gordon's Itinerarium Septentrionale, or Horſley's Britannia Romana. It ſhall only be here remarked, that it is of turf, upon a ſtone foundation; and is about Four Yards thick. It can be traced from Dunglas, near Dunbarton, to Cairiden, two miles eaſt of Kinneil. The inſcriptions found near it are far ſuperior in elegance to thoſe found in the Southern frontier. Horſley alſo obſerves, that they much excell the later in two other reſpects; becauſe they mention the emperor by whoſe order the wall was built; and the quantity done at each part, by each legion, or vexillation. The Legions employed were the XXth *Valens Victrix*, the IId *Auguſta*, and the VIth *Victrix*. Three legions, if complete with the auxiliaries of each, &c. would amount to Thirty-ſix Thouſand men. The inſcriptions found along the wall of Antoninus were numerous in Horſley's time, or fifty years ago: ſince the canal was dug, they are much encreaſed. The inſcriptions found in Northumberland equal in number thoſe of Cumberland, and all the reſt of England, put together. Thoſe found along the wall of Antoninus will now equal thoſe found in Northumberland, or half of thoſe found in all England. Had Severus, whoſe medals are ſo fine and various, and to whom, as now diſcovered, the pillar

called Pompey's, at Alexandria, was erected by one city, had he built this wall, every part of it would have been filled with his glory; whereas, not one hint can be found from inſcriptions that this vaſt work is his. Reaſon, as well as the authority of Beda, will therefore vindicate our aſcribing this prodigious monument to Gallio, and the fears of the Britons: for fear is, of all paſſions, the moſt extravagant, and will throw even gold and diamonds into the ſea.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER IV.

The Province of Valentia.

THE hiſtory of a frontier is ever confuſed. The perpetual changes it undergoes, like the waves of a troubled ocean, prevent any diſtinct reflection of the ſun of truth. A ſilent deſert, or a ſcene of blood; or now poſſeſſed by one nation, now by another; it is impoſſible to derive order from confuſion, or knowlege where materials muſt be wanting.

The ſouthern part of Scotland, from the rivers Clyde and Forth, to thoſe of Solway and Tyne, thus including alſo a part of Northumberland, may be regarded, during the Roman times, as merely a large frontier. About the year 78, the nations who held it, namely the Selgovæ, Novantes, Damnii, and Otadeni, had either been vanquiſhed by Cerealis, or had voluntarily ſubmitted to Agricola. A great part of the Damnii, and Brigantes, now went into Ireland, as Richard ſays; and as the names given by Ptolemy and him prove.

Britain, being effectually ſubdued by Agricola, ſeems to have remained quiet till the reign of Hadrian, or about forty years. In the beginning of Hadrian's reign, as his biographer[a] ſays, the Britons could not be kept under the Roman power: and Richard tells us that both the provinces Veſpaſiana and Mæata were then broken. In 121, he built the ſouthern wall, ſeeming

[a] Spartian. apud. Hiſt. Aug. Script.

ſilently to relinquiſh both theſe provinces. But nineteen years after Antoninus Pius recovered Mæata; and built his wall on the northern frontier.

About the year 164 Calphurnius Agricola was ſent into Britain, by Marcus Antoninus, to quell ſome commotions [b], apparently in the north; but his ſucceſs is doubtful, for no inſcriptions but of Pius occur in the Northern Wall; ſo that it would ſeem that all between the walls was now loſt. In the time of Commodus, about 183, the Mæatæ were again in arms; and continued not only in freedom, but to inſult the ſouthern frontier, till Severus arrived in 207. In 211 Caracalla ſeems to have left the Mæatæ in full poſſeſſion of this province; for it is clear from inſcriptions, that the Roman forces continued at the ſouthern barrier.

About 290 Conſtantius ſeems to have reduced the Mæatæ; and their numbers appear to have been much diminiſhed, for, when we again find Britiſh affairs mentioned, their name never occurs. We have indeed no mention of the Mæatæ after 211; but this is owing to the ſilence of Roman writers concerning Britain, from 211 to 360, ſave a few hints of the Panegyrics.

In 360, we learn from Ammianus [c], that the Scots and Piks were waſting the parts of Britain next to the frontier. And in 364 he ſays the Piks, Saxons, Scots, and Attacots, moleſted the Britons with conſtant incurſions: and in 367 that the Piks, divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones, and alſo the Attacots, waſted the Britiſh provinces. When Theodoſius, the general, arrived, about the later year, he found the

[b] Imminebat etiam Britannicum bellum; et Catti in Germaniam ac Rhetiam irruperant. Et adverſus Britannos quidem Calphurnius Agricola miſſus eſt; contra Cattos Aufidius Victorinus. Capitolinus in Marco, ib.

[c] Lib. XXVI. XXVII. XXVIII.

Piks

Piks and Attacots advanced even to London and Kent. Driving them back, he purſued them to the firths; and, recovering all the land between the walls, he made it a province, under the new name of VALENTIA, from Valens the emperor.

This province remained in poſſeſſion of the Romans forty-two years, till 409, when they left Britain. Upon this the Piks and Scots ruſhed in, and again ravaged all till 421, when the Romans aſſiſted the Britons to repell them; and the Britons again built or repaired the wall between Clyde and Forth, as Beda ſhews. But this barrier had no avail: and, about five years after, the Romans under Gallio came, for the laſt time, to aſſiſt the Britons, and built the grand wall between Solway and Tine. The Piks and Scots then ſeized on all Valentia up to the new wall, as Beda[d] ſhews; but having met with ſome defeats from the Britons, the Scots went home to Ireland, while the Piks continued quiet in their new poſſeſſions.

[d] Revertuntur ergo impudentes graſſatores Hiberni domum, poſt non multum tempus reverſuri. Picti in extrema parte inſulæ tunc primum, et deinceps, quieverunt; prædas tamen nonnunquam exinde, et contritiones, de Britonum gente agere non ceſſarunt. I. 14.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER V.

The kingdom of Strat-Clyde.

WE are now arrived at the moſt obſcure and difficult part of the whole Scotiſh hiſtory: and as i have in conſequence given it the greateſt labour and attention, ſo i muſt deſire the reader to watch my ſteps with a ſevere eye; and judge for himſelf, on the materials which ſhall here be furniſhed with the utmoſt impartiality, and which, it is preſumed, are all that can be found upon this ſubject.

As i ſhall in this chapter, for the firſt time, quote the ancient Lives of Saints, i muſt requeſt the reader to obſerve that this evidence is univerſally admitted by the learned of all countries and religions, as irrefragable with regard to hiſtoric and geographic facts. And rightly; for there could be no poſſible temptation to fiction in theſe articles: but, on the contrary, every inducement to preſerve theſe grand features exactly, in order to colour their ridiculous tales. A Life of a Saint may be regarded as a religious novel; in which, tho the miracles be fiction, the geography and hiſtory are always real. In the grand Collection of the French Hiſtorians, executed with a care and magnificence worthy of a great nation, extracts from the ancient Lives of Saints are inſerted under each century, or diviſion, as equal vouchers with the ancient hiſtorians: and in that of the Daniſh hiſtorians, tho executed by proteſtants, in a proteſtant country, the ſame plan is followed. Monteſquieu and Gibbon[a] have not diſdained to found upon the Lives of Saints. But having ſaid ſo much on

[a] Eſprit des Loix XXX. 11. &c.

Mr. Gibbon, Vol. VI. p. 95, 8vo ed. ſays, 'The ancient legendaries deſerve ſome regard, as they are obliged to connect their fables with the real hiſtory of their own times.' He then quotes lives of Saints, from the *Hiſtoriens de France*.

this

this ſubject in the preface, let us return to our preſent point, after premiſing that the reader muſt not confound the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, the object of this chapter, with that of Cumbria, the object of the next: for, tho this has almoſt univerſally been done hitherto, it is an error as ſhall preſently be ſhewn. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde included only Dunbarton, Renfrew, and the upper part of Lanerk-ſhire. That of Cumbria comprized Cumberland and Weſtmoreland in England. A ſpace of only ſixty miles lay between them; and it is no wonder that this proximity has occaſioned their being confounded, as the materials concerning them are ſo barren.

In this chapter i ſhall firſt produce all the authorities which can be found concerning the kingdom of Strat-Clyde; and then offer a few remarks. To proceed according to the chronological order of the writers quoted:

1. Adomnan, elected Abbot of Hyona in 679, wrote the life of St. Columba, the converter of the northern Piks, in three books. In book I. of the MS. in the royal library, written in the 13th century, the fourteenth chapter runs thus:

'*A prophecy of the holy man, concerning king Roderc, the Son of Totail, who reigned at Petra Cloithe*[b],' (the rock of Clyde.)

'The ſame [Roderc] being a friend of the 'Saint [Columba] ſent, at another time, a ſecret 'meſſage to him by Lugbeus Mocumin, wiſhing 'to know if he ſhould be ſlain by his enemies, or 'not. Lugbeus, being aſked by the Saint con-'cerning the ſame king, his kingdom and people, 'anſwered as in pity, Why do you aſk me about 'this wretch, who can by no means know what 'hour he ſhall be ſlain by his enemies? The ſaint 'upon this ſaid, He ſhall never be delivered into

[b] De Rege RODERco, filio Totail, qui Petra Cloithe regnavit beati viri prophecia.

Alio IDEM in tempore, &c. *MS.* in Bibl. Reg. 8 D. IX.

'the

'the hands of his enemies, but ſhall die in his 'houſe upon his own pillow. Which prophecy 'of the ſaint concerning the king was fulfilled. 'For, according to his word, he died an eaſy death 'in his own houſe.'

It muſt be obſerved upon this quotation, that the titles of all the chapters of this work are infallibly put by Adomnan himſelf; for, without them, the chapters would often be unintelligible, as the above, among many, may ſhew; for Roderc is never mentioned before or after, and the beginning of the chapter refers to its title: as do many others in the work. Adomnan is indeed ſo exact, that, at the end of this performance, we find a ſolemn injunction[c] not to alter a ſingle word in tranſcribing. Yet has this work been altered in ſome parts; a few chapters being omitted in the MS. from which Caniſius printed it, which are to be found here; and a few are omitted here, which may be found in Caniſius. The work, when complete, contained all to be found, either in Caniſius, or in this MS. as is evident from the ſtyle, and connexion; and a genuine edition ſhould be of equal extent, but ought chiefly to follow this MS. which is moſt ancient and correct.

2. Beda, who wrote in 731, mentions Alcluith, or Petra Cluith, as remaining, in his time, in the hands of the Britons[d]. He ſays it ſtood upon a

[c] Admonitio Adomnani ad Scriptores. Obſecro eos quicunque voluerunt hos deſcribere libellos, imo potius adjuro per Chriſtum judicem ſæculorum, ut, poſtea diligenter deſcripſerint, conferant, et emendant, cum omni diligentia, ad exemplar unde extraxerunt; et hanc quoque adjurationem hoc in loco ſubſcribant. Uſher obſerves, that in this he imitates Irenæus, and Euſebius in his Chronicle. *Uſſer Vet. Epiſt. Hib. Sylloge*, Dublin, 1632, 4to. *p.* 130.

[d] Civitas Britonum munitiſſima uſque hodie quæ vocatur Alcluith. I. 1. Alcluith, quod lingua eorum ſignificat Petram Cluith; eſt enim juxta fluvium nominis illius. I. 12. *et vide* IV. 26.

river

river of the ſame name, the Cluith, or Clyde; and his deſcription is well known to refer to Dunbarton.

3. The life of Gildas, publiſhed by Mabillon, from a MS. in the library of Fleury Abbey, mentions that Gildas was born at Arclyd (read Alclyd) or Dunbritton; and that his father Caunus, or, as others call him, Navus, was king of that country, and was ſucceeded by his ſon Hoel [e].

4. Aſſer, who wrote his life of Alfred, about the year 900, narrates, that in 875, Healftene, with one half of the Daniſh army, marched into Northumberland, and wintered near the river Tine. That he ſubdued all Northumberland, and waſted the lands of the Piks, and *Stratdutenſes*. Read, as all other authors write, *Stratclutenſes*, or thoſe of Strat-Clyde; the *c* and *l* having coaleſced into a *d*.

5. The Saxon Chronicle, which was written by different hands, from the Eleventh century, down to the Twelfth, throws ſeveral minute lights on the preſent ſubject. Under the year 875, it mentions that Healfden, or Haldan, the Daniſh general, waſted the country between the Piks and *Stræcled-Walli*, or Strat-Clyde Welch. And under 924, it mentions that the king of Scotland reverenced Edward of England as his father; as did alſo the king of the *Stræcled-Welch*.

6. In the twelfth century, a whole blaze of evidence opens upon this ſubject, as hiſtorians and other writers became then much more common in Britain. Florence of Worceſter, who wrote about 1101, mentions the Strat-clyde Welch, in 875, as Aſſer does. He alſo ſays, that in 901, Edward of England was acknowleged lord by the kings of the Scots, Cumbri, Strat-clyde Welch, and thoſe of the Weſtern Britons, or Welch. Florence alſo mentions them, under 921,

[e] Vide Uſſerii Antiq. Eccl. Brit.

on

on the ſame ſcore, as do moſt hiſtorians, who relate the reign of Edward the Elder, which laſted from 901 to 925.

7. Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164, mentions the Strat-clyde Welch, under 875, as Aſſer; and under 921, he ſays that the king of Scots, with all his people, and Regnal, king of the Danes, with the Engliſh and Danes, living in Northumberland, and alſo the king of the Strat-clyde Welch, elected Edward king of England for their father and lord, and made a firm alliance with him.

8. On the ſhelf of eccleſiaſtic ambition, we may place the Solemn Deed, intituled *Inquiſitio facta per David Principem Cumbriæ de poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiæ Glaſguenſis*, publiſhed by Sir James Dalrymple[f]. It was written about 1113, when David was prince of Cumberland, &c. in the reign of his brother Alexander I. About that time a part of Cumberland was added to the ſee of Glaſgow, as we learn from the Anglia Sacra, p. 699. The zeal of David, afterward king of Scotland, for the church is well known; and to gratify it ſeems to have been his greateſt pride. His zeal had here the ſame effect with that of our Scotiſh antiquiſts, who, not having ſenſe enough to know that it is much more honourable to encreaſe, than retain, wiſh to perſuade us, that the kingdom of Scotland was always as large as now, on the ſouth of the Forth and Clyde; ſo, in this charter, becauſe lands are added to the ſee of Glaſgow, theſe new acquiſitions are moſt falſely ſaid to be an ancient part of it. One cannot help laughing to obſerve, that falſehood is always but another name for folly: the truth, namely, that the ſee of Glaſgow had made new and great acquiſitions did it high honour; the falſehood, namely, that theſe acquiſitions had formerly belonged to it, did it diſhonour, not only as a falſehood,

[f] Collections concerning Scotiſh Hiſtory. Edin. 1705, 8vo.

but

but even taken as a truth, it gave an idea of weakneſs and uncertainty in the poſſeſſions of the ſee; and power reſting wholly on opinion, nothing can injure it more than ſuch an idea, whereas acquiſition encreaſes the opinion of power to a degree far exceeding the reality. The *regnum Cambrenſe*, or Welch kingdom in Scotland, is confounded here with the *regnum Cumbrenſe*, or kingdom of Cumbria. Ignorance indeed might alſo have it's ſhare in this error; for there was but one letter of difference, and the diſtance between them did not exceed ſixty miles. Father Innes, as a good friend to the biſhopric of Glaſgow, reſts upon this authority, that the kingdom of Strat-Clyde and that of Cumbria were all one, and reached from Cumberland to Glaſgow; but we have *diſintereſted* authorities againſt this, as ſhall preſently be ſhewn; and tho I have a high opinion of the learned father, yet he deſerves blame for ſacrificing any hiſtoric point to a *pious fraud*. The next article alſo muſt be partly conſidered in this light.

9. For Jocelin, a monk of Furneſs, in Lancaſhire, wrote about 1180, and dedicated his life of St. Kentigern, or Mungo, to another Jocelin, biſhop of Glaſgow, from 1174, till 1199[s]. In that long work there are ſeveral anecdotes of the kingdom of Stratclyde. He calls it *Regnum Cambrenſe*, or the Welch kingdom; and deſcribes it as reaching from the wall in Northumberland, to the firths of Forth and Clyde; an abſurdity by his own account, for he mentions that St. Kentigern converted the Piks in Galloway. He makes the biſhopric of Kentigern extend over all that kingdom; another abſurdity, for if he had held ſuch a biſhopric, it could never have eſcaped Beda, who does not mention him at all. Kentigern lived in the time of Saint Gregory the Pope, and of Columba, or about the year 600: and Jocelin

[s] MS. Cotton. Vitell. c. VIII. et tranſcript. penes Aut.

extends his life much, ſo that he could not die before 650. Now it is evident from Beda that there were no biſhops at Glaſgow in that period, tho there were of Candida Caſa, or Whithern: and that the Engliſh poſſeſſed moſt of the ſouth of Scotland, till driven out by the Piks in 684, or 46 years before Beda wrote, as he tells us, book IV. ch. 26. As the Engliſh held Lothian, and the ſouth of Galloway, ſo the Piks held the weſt by Jocelin's own account; and this *Regnum Cambrenſe* muſt be confined to Dunbarton and Renfrew ſhires, and a ſmall part of Lanerkſhire. In ſhort, his book is palpably written to gratify the ambition of the biſhop of Glaſgow; and Jocelin has ſpared no *pious fraud* on the occaſion. Yet even his errors throw light on the truth; and, if we withdraw our faith from the ambitious parts, we may give him conſiderable credit for the reſt, referring to hiſtory, or geography; eſpecially as, he ſays, he followed two elder lives, the one in Latin, the other in Iriſh. Of Kentigern's biſhopric, we ſhall ſpeak in Part VI. Jocelin puts Kentigern as cotemporary with two kings of Strat-Clyde, Morken and Rederech; and mentions his prophecy about Conſtantine, a third who ſucceeded Rederech: he alſo names Langueth the queen of Rederech.

10. Ailred, abbot of Reval, in his life of St. Ninian, written about 1150, ſpeaking of the weſtern parts of Scotland, where St. Ninian was born, ſays, that it was certain, not only by the teſtimony of hiſtories, but by the memory of men, that theſe weſtern countries had a proper king of their own till the end of the Saxon, or Engliſh times, that is, till the Norman invaſion. And he mentions Tudwald as king in St Ninian's time, or about 412[h].

11. Roger Hoveden wrote about 1210; and, under the years 899 and 917, he mentions the

[h] MS. in Bibl. Bodl. Laud. F. XV. et tranſcript. penes Aut. See alſo Innes.

Strat-

Strat-Clyde Welch, as No. 6. and 7. Moſt of the Engliſh writers, who relate the reign of Edward the elder, alſo mention them, ſo their teſtimonies need not be repeated. Only it may be obſerved, that Matthew of Weſtminſter, called *Florilegus*, who wrote about 1320, always puts *Galwalenſes* for *Stratcludwalli*, knowing they lived in part of ancient Galloway, which extended even to Clyde.

12. Caradoc of Llancarvon wrote his hiſtory of Wales about 1157. The editions we have of him are ſtuffed with interpolations, eſpecially that of 1697. Little can therefore be reſted on him. He tells us, under the year 878, that, after the death of Roderic the Great king of Wales, "the northern Britons of Strat-clwyd and Cumberland were mightily infeſted, and weakened, thro the daily incurſions of the Danes, Saxons, and Scots;" ſo that many came to Gwyneth, under the conduct of one Hobert, and had all the country between Cheſter and the river Conway granted them for habitation, if they could expell the Saxons who had ſeized it. Neceſſity gave them courage, and they accompliſhed this. Under the years 944, and 1054, he mentions Stratclwyd *in Wales*.

This laſt evidence naturally leads us to the chief difficulty in this point, namely, if the kingdom of Strat-Clyde was in Scotland, or Wales? For there is alſo a river Clyde in North Wales; and Camden and others incline to think the Strat-Clyde Welch were really of that country. I was long of the ſame opinion; but am now convinced it is erroneous, for the following reaſons.

1. In no hiſtory of Wales, however particular as to the other kingdoms, do we find Strat-Clyde mentioned as a kingdom in that country. Caradoc alone mentions it as a diſtrict; and palpably infers that it received that name from the real Strat-Clyde Welſh, who came into it, and expelled the Saxons

about 878, as above ſtated. It may be ſaid, neither are the Strat-Clyde Welch mentioned in Scotiſh hiſtorians[i]. But this would be a quibble, for we have no Scotiſh hiſtorians till the begining of the Fifteenth century; whereas the Welch had annals before Geofrey and Caradoc, who wrote in the Twelfth.

2. Gwyneth, or North Wales, thro which the Welch Clyde runs, was of itſelf a very ſmall kingdom; Powis, or Middle Wales, being another kingdom equal to it in ſize; and Demetia, or South Wales, by far the largeſt. So that it is improbable that Strat-Clyde ſhould be a kingdom in North Wales. And if it were, as we find kings of Dyfy and Cardigan in South Wales mentioned by Caradoc, it is moſt improbable that the Welch writers ſhould be ſilent about a people remarkable even in Engliſh hiſtory.

3. The opinion of Camden was given from want of knowlege that there had been any Britiſh kingdom upon the Clyde in Scotland. Adomnan, Jocelin, Ailred, &c. he had never ſeen, nor heard of. An eminent writer may be ignorant, but to found upon his ignorance is folly.

4. Giraldus Cambrenſis, who wrote his *Deſcriptio Cambriæ*, and his *Itinerarium Cambriæ*[k], in the Twelfth century, is utterly ſilent concerning this kingdom, tho moſt particular in every other matter. In the Itinerarium, written 1188, he mentions the river Cluyd toward the end; but ſays not one word of this kingdom, nor of the Strat-Clyde Welch.

5. The Welch writers deny this kingdom to have been in Wales. Lluyd, in his *Commentario-*

[i] They are however implied repeatedly by the name *Britanni*, *Britones*, in one of our oldeſt fragments, the Chron. XII. Regum, apud Innes, as after ſhewn.

[k] See both at the end of the London 8vo edition of Ponticus Virunnius, an Italian writer, who abridged Geofrey of Monmouth, about the year 1500; and in Camden's Anglica, Hibernica, &c. *Francof.* 1602 fol.

lum,

lum[1], ſays expreſſly that the Strat-Clyde Welch were on the Clyde in Scotland, whence a part of them came into Wales about 878, as above ſtated. He indeed adds, that they founded a kingdom of Strat-Clyde in North Wales after that period. But in this he is poſitively contradicted by Williams his laſt learned editor, who ſays, that not a trace of this can be found in the Welch annals. They indeed ſay, *Pan oedd oed Criſt* 944 *y diffeithwyd Stratclud i gan y Seiſon*, that is, '*In the year of Chriſt* 944, *Stratclud was waſted by the Saxons.*' But this, proceeds Williams, muſt be underſtood of the region near Dunclid, or Dunbarton, for it appears from the Saxon Chronicle, that king Edmund in that year ſubdued all Northumberland; and that in the following years he waſted the land of the Cumbrians, &c. In the ſame annals, adds he, we read *Pan vedd oed Criſt* 974 *y cyrchawdd Dungwallawn Brenin Stratclud Rufain, ac y bu farw*: that is, '*In the year of Chriſt*, 974, *Dunwallon, king of Stratclud, went to Rome, and there died.*' But that he was not of Wales, but of Scotland, appears, ſays Williams, from this, that there is no mention of him, nor his kingdom, in the Welch annals, and we call the vale of Clyde in North Wales not Strat-Clwyd, but Dyffryn Clwyd. He then adds, that the Stratclydwalli, of the Saxon Annals, &c. were certainly on the Clyde in Scotland. At the end of this laſt edition of Llwyd, are *Æræ Cambro-Britannicæ*, in which, under the year 584, we find that Gurgi and Peredur, ſons of a prince in North Britain were ſlain. A note informs us, that at that time, and long after, the Britons, or Welch, held Dunclide, that is, Caer Alclud, now Dunbarton, and the neighbouring regions; and that the nobles of theſe

[1] This is the book ſo warmly attacked by Buchanan. It was publiſhed at London, 1572; republiſhed by Williams, London 1731, 4to.

countries are called in old Welch MSS. *Teyrnedd y Gogledd*, or *kings of the North*, who, tho ſeveral, were all obedient to the king of Cumbria, or Cumberland.

6. It will appear *prima facie* to an unprejudiced reader, that the Stratclyde Welch of Aſſer, the Saxon Annals, and the other Engliſh hiſtorians, above mentioned, were in Scotland, and not in Wales. For the progreſs of Halfden's army was north; while the other half of the Danes moved ſouth, toward Cambridge[m], as Aſſer tells. Halfden wintered on the Tyne in Northumberland, and ravaged the lands of the Piks and Stratclyde Welch. Between him and North Wales were about 170 miles: between him and Clyde in Scotland, not above 50. To ſay that Halfden ravaged the lands of North Wales, by excurſions from Northumberland, would be a ſtrange information. But that he ravaged the ſouth of Scotland, from that ſtation, is quite natural. Florence, Simeon, &c. always rank the Stratclyde Welch, with the Scots, Cumbrians, Northumbrians, all nations of the north. To rank the inhabitants of a ſmall vale, in North Wales, with ſuch nations, and ſuch northerly nations, would have been abſurd. Matthew of Weſtminſter expreſſly calls them Galwalenſes, or people of Galloway, taken in the large ſenſe it once bore.

7. The kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland, mentioned by Adomnan, Jocelin, &c. could not vaniſh. We have certain evidence that there was a kingdom on the Clyde in Scotland; but none at all that there was one on the Clyde in Wales. The inference is obvious.

8. The River Clyde in Scotland runs about 120 miles; that in Denbighſhire, not above 20. The former is a great and majeſtic river; the later a ſmall ſtream. There is ſomething ridiculous in

[m] Then called Grantebrycge, p. 27. edit. Wiſe.

ſuppoſing

ſuppoſing that the inhabitants round a little river, in a ſmall county of Wales, ſhould find a place in Engliſh hiſtory, where the Welch are put *in general*, even the three real Welch kingdoms being ſeldom, or never, mentioned; while, in the particular hiſtory of Wales itſelf, theſe inhabitants never occur.

Theſe arguments may, it is hoped, be found convincing; ſo that it may be regarded as an Hiſtoric Truth, that the Strat-Clyde Welch were upon the Clyde in Scotland; where in all events we know that a Welch kingdom long exiſted, the kingdom of *Petra Cloithe*, of Adomnan, the *regnum Cambrenſe* of Jocelin. The title is from the capital, according to a not uncommon cuſtom of the darker ages. Thus in a MS. of the Cotton library, Nero, E. I. we find *Didanus rex Oxenfordiæ*, for king of Mercia. In Caradoc of Lancarvon, under the year 933, we find king of London put for king of England; and the ſame expreſſion is uſed in the laws of Howel Dha. In Jocelin's life of Kentigern, moſt of that ſaint's adventures with the king Rederech happen at Glaſghu, or Glaſgow, anciently, as Jocelin ſays, called Cathures: and he alſo mentions, that king Rederech died the ſame year with Kentigern, *in villa regia quæ Pertmet nuncupatur*, at the royal country houſe called Pertmet.

Let us now proceed to conſider a little the hiſtory of this kingdom, which is obſcure in the extreme, and of which only ſcraps can be found. A Welch chronicle of Strat-Clyde would be a curious diſcovery, but not to be hoped, ſo we muſt put up with the imperfect notices we have.

The Romans held Valentia down to the year 409, when they left Britain. Upon this derelict[ion] they ſeem to have appointed various princes [a] over

[a] Zozimus, lib. VI. mentions letters of Honorius πρὸς τὰς ἐν Βρεττανία πόλεις, 'to the towns in Britain.' This was after

over different parts of Britain; a plan ſuggeſted by ſound policy, for theſe petty kings would naturally be at variance; whereas, had one king been given, his power would have been ſo great, that the Romans would have found a return difficult, if they were ſo inclined. This ſuppoſition is countenanced by Gildas, who addreſſes no leſs than five kings of the Britons in his time reigning at once over different parts, which unhappily he does not ſpecify. The kingdom now under view ſeems originally to have extended over all Valentia; and Theodoſia, or Alclud, being the capital of the province, naturally impregnable, and towering, like the acropolis of Corinth, on the top of a high rock riſing at once from a plain, it became of courſe the capital, and chief ſtrength of the new kingdom. But if ever this kingdom extended over Valentia, the duration of that extent muſt have been very ſhort indeed, for in 426 the Piks ſeized on all the eaſt parts of Valentia, down to the wall of Gallio; and on all the ſouth and weſt. About 450, Octa and Ebiſſa are ſaid to have erected a Saxon ſtate in Northumberland: and, however this be, the kingdom of Bernicia extended over the eaſt and ſouth parts, while the Piks ſeem to have retained preſent Airſhire. In ſhort, Renfrew, Dunbarton, and a part of Lanerk ſhire, ſeem from the very firſt to have conſtituted the kingdom of Strat-Clyde: a ſmall portion of the upper part of Airſhire muſt alſo be added, where the iles of Great and Little Cumbra, in the mouth of the Clyde, retain the name of their old Cumraig poſſeſſors, with the uſual terminating *a*, of iles, which does not ſignify *water*, as fooliſhly imagined, but

the Romans left Britain; but princes ſoon uſurped the power. The towns indeed, as founded by the Romans, might be conſidered as more attached to them; which circumſtance may perhaps account for theſe letters being addreſſed to the towns only.

iland.

iland[o]. The names in Cunningham and Kyle, or the two thirds of Air-ſhire to the north, are Gothic: ſome of thoſe in Carrick, or the ſouth part of Air-ſhire, are Iriſh. It is remarkable, that the Iriſh was ſpoken in Carrick to a late period[p], if it be not yet in part; and the Wild Scots of Galloway are mentioned in old writers. Theſe Scots, being quite diſconnected from the other Old Scots of Dalriada, or Argyle, ſeem to me to have paſt from the oppoſite ſhore of Ireland, by permiſſion of the lords of Galloway; either from being concerned in ſome Iriſh commotion, or being called to aſſiſt ſome lord of Galloway on occaſion, who in return, as common in ancient times, gave them land. However this be, the whole names in Cunningham and Kyle, are Gothic, and have in courſe been ignorantly called Saxon, by thoſe who know not that the Saxon is but a dialect of the Gothic; and that by the ſame rule the names in Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, are all Saxon. It is certain that the Saxons never held this part of the country. If they had, we ſhould have known much more of the kingdom of Stratclyde: but the obſcure hints of Beda ſufficiently ſhew, that the Saxon territory never ſurrounded this kingdom on all quarters, ſave the north, as it muſt have done, had the Saxons held Air-ſhire. The kingdom of Bernicia, as appears from Beda, extended to the Forth on the eaſt, but by no means to the mouth of Clyde on the weſt. Whithern, he ſays, was in it; and ſo was Abercorn; and it ſeems to have contained only the ſouth weſt of Galloway, tho it

[o] In old German *Ach*, or *Acha*, is water, Wachter; whence Scotiſh names, *Achtertul*, *Achinleck*, &c. &c. In modern German, it is *a*, or *aa*. But iles in *a*, as moſt of the Orkneys and Hebudes are from the Scandinavian *oe*, an *ile*, in which many Scandinavian iles, as *Samſoe*, &c. end.

[p] Deſcription of Galloway, with views of caſtles, &c. a fragment, temp. Eliz. in Muſ. Brit. and Dunbar's ſatires againſt Kennedy, in Ramſay's Evergreen.

held

held all the eaſt parts, from the Tweed to the Forth. But of this in the Supplement.

The hiſtory of Saint Ninian is very obſcure. He was cotemporary with Saint Martin, as his life ſhews, and all agree: that is, he viſited him on his return from Italy, and before he became biſhop of Whithern. Saint Martin died, it is believed, in 412; and from the whole tenor of Ninian's ſtory, it is apparent that he flouriſhed before the Piks ſeized on the ſouth parts, up to Gallio's wall, or the year 426. Tudwald therefore, the Britiſh king mentioned by Ailred, muſt have been one of the princes tributary to the Romans; and has no connection with the kings of Strat-Clyde. Ailred indeed only calls him a king in theſe weſtern parts. That Whithern was the ſee erected by Ninian over the Piks he converted, is a childiſh and ridiculous error. Ailred tells that it was his proper Britiſh ſee, long before he went to convert the ſouth Piks, who lived, as Beda ſhews, ſouth of the Grampian hills, or in Fifeſhire, &c. Ninian's ſucceſs among theſe Piks is paſſed in two lines by Ailred, tho the moſt important part of Ninian's life.

The firſt mention we find of kings of Strat-Clyde, is by Adomnan, who ſupplies Roderc as above ſhewn. This prince was clearly the Rederech of Jocelin, as Columba and Kentigern were cotemporaries. His father was Morken, as Jocelin ſhews, and his ſon Conſtantine: and we learn from Jocelin, that the ſucceſſion was lineal, as uſual among the Welch. The Life of Gildas mentions Caunus, or Navus, in the fifth century, and his ſucceſſor Hoel.

In the *Æræ Cambro-britannicæ*, publiſhed in the laſt edition of Llwyd's *Commentariolum*, we find ſome notices concerning this kingdom, under the year 577, when the battle of Arderydd, or Arterith, on the Eſk, near Solway firth, was fought. But theſe notices are ſo confuſed, as uſual with all Celtic hiſtory, that nothing can eaſily be made of

them. It is indeed ſurprizing that almoſt every intelligence conveyed in the Celtic dialects, Welch or Iriſh, amounts, from its confuſion and inaccuracy, to worſe than no intelligence at all; while the Northern hiſtories, written in Gothic, are ever clear and accurate. A ſtrong proof among many, that a Celtic mind is very different from a Gothic one. *Homo homini deus* It is there ſtated from ſome imperfect hints of Welch genealogies, &c. that this battle was fought between Roderic, king of Cumbria, on the one ſide, and Guendolau and Aedan, northern princes, on the other. Roderic was not king of Cumbria, but of Strat-Clyde, as appears from Williams's own account; for he ſays, he is the ſame mentioned in the life of Kentigern. So far as i can underſtand the matter, it was an inteſtine war; and is therefore ranged by the Welch author of the *Triades* among the three fooliſh battles, or thoſe fought for nothing. Neither of the two adverſaries of Roderic, namely Guendolau and Aedan, are once mentioned as kings. Guendolau, who fell in this battle, was the patron of Merlin of Calydon, who lived in Strat-Clyde, and converſed with Kentigern, as will be ſeen in Part VI. He and Aedan ſeem to have rebelled, and got aſſiſtance from Wales, which they were leading againſt Roderic, when met by him, and defeated. The genealogy of Roderic there given, is *Rhyddercb Hael ab Tudwal Tudglud, ab Cedig, ab Dyfuwal Hen, ab Ednyfed, ab Macſen Wledig*: and both Guendolau and Aedan are in a like manner traced to Macſin, or Maximus Tyrannus, which Williams, inſtead of laughing at, takes *bona fide!* But Welch and Iriſh genealogies are only documents for bedlamites, being the quinteſſence of frenzy and folly. We however learn, that Roderic was a monarch ſo generous, that he was called *Hael*, or The *Bountiful*, and is praiſed by different Welch authors. Nothing can be more ludicrous than the remark of Williams

Williams upon the ſimilarity between Aidan and Aedan, that the Scotiſh writers had ſtolen ſome actions of Welch princes. We have the authority of Beda, a page of whom is worth all the Welch and Iriſh annals in the world, for Aidan *rex Scotorum qui Britanniam inhabitant*; for the Welch nobleman Aedan, we have no authority at all. The Kintillus, or Kinatellus, ſon of Gauran, is a mere dream: and he is baniſhed from Scotiſh hiſtory.

Thus we can trace five kings of Strat-Clyde: from the life of Gildas, two who reigned toward the end of the fifth, and beginning of the ſixth century, CAUNUS and HOEL: from Adomnan, one who reigned toward the end of the ſixth century, Roderc: two from Jocelin, MORKEN predeceſſor of RODERC, and CONSTANTINE ſon of Roderc. They who wiſh to ſee uncertain hints of the firſt Caunus, are referred to Uſher's Antiquities of the Britiſh Churches; who alſo informs us, from Welch authors, that Hoel, the next, was ſlain in battle by Arthur [q]. Morken and Conſtantine, are mentioned by

[q] The reader need hardly be told that Arthur was merely a name given by the Welch to Aurelius Ambroſius, their Roman defender againſt the Saxons. See Gildas, c. 25. Beda l. 16. *Art-uir*, ſignifies the Chief, or Great Man. He flouriſhed about the year 480. Gildas lived in the very time aſſigned to the mock Arthur, yet knew nothing of him; nor did Beda. Nay, nor Nennius; for the chapter concerning Arthur, is an addition, and occurs after the words *Hic explicunt geſta Britonum a Nennio conſcripta*. See Bertram's edition. Mr. Whitaker, to ſupport his romance of Morte Arthur, which, with him, is hiſtory, makes Nennius live in 620, tho, from no leſs than five computations in his work, it be evident that he wrote in 858: and any man, the leaſt verſed in ſuch matters, muſt ſee from his work in general that it is of the Ninth century. Nor did Mr. W. obſerve that the chapter on Arthur is not of Nennius, but an addition taken from Geofrey's romance. The author, fond of Arthur's fame, once thought him a reality; but upon full examination is undeceived. Milton declares againſt the exiſtence of Arthur. Hume, following, as uſual, what Mr. Gibbon juſtly calls, 'the groſs ignorance of Carte,' ſupports the dream. That Arthur was Aurelius Ambroſius is certain: but the Arthur of Welch

by Jocelin. Roderc is celebrated by different writers; and was the greateſt of the kings of Strat-Clyde.

The Annals of Ulſter, the moſt valuable and authentic of the Iriſh Hiſtories, and generally founded on thoſe of Tighernac, who wrote in 1088, give us the following kings of Alclyde, or Stratclyde. In 657, ſay 660, as theſe annals generally precede the common calculations of the Chriſtian æra by three years, GUIRET king of Alclyde died. He was probably ſucceſſor of the above Conſtantin. In 693 [696], DONAL, ſon of Owen, king of Alclyde, died. In 710 [713], there was a battle between the Dalriads, or Iriſh of Argyle, and the Britons, [of Stratclyde,] in which the later were vanquiſhed. In 716 [719], there was another battle at the ſtone, called Minro, and the Britons again fled. In 721 [724], BILE, ſon of Eilphin, king of Alclyde, died.

After this we find nothing concerning this kingdom till the year 726, when Egbert, king of Northumberland, and Unnuſt, king of the Piks led their army to Alcluid, and the Britons yielding, received terms. So Simeon of Durham; and Roger Hoveden [r]. The terms would ſeem to be of tribute. To return to the Annals of Ulſter.

In 779 [782] Alcluid was burnt in the Calends, or 1ſt of January, but by whom appears not. In 869 [872,] Alclyde was beſieged by the Norwegians

Welch hiſtory is a non-exiſtence. The names of places built on by Mr. Whitaker, aroſe merely from the romances; and none of them are older than the 13th and 14th centuries. Arthur's Seat near Edinburgh is a name of yeſterday, and aroſe from the tournaments near it; as did Arthur's Round Table at Stirling. In the centuries of chivalry and romance, Arthur was quite popular, and gave occaſion to many names of places.

[r] Anno 756, Eadbert rex, decimo quinto anno regni ſui, et Unnuſt rex Pictorum, duxerunt exercitum ad Urbem Alcluit; ibique Britones inde conditionem receperunt prima die menſis Auguſti. *Hoveden, et ſic etiam Sim. Dun.*

and

and Danes from Ireland, under Olave and Ivar, who, after beſetting it for four months, at length deſtroyed it. In 871 [874,] ARTGA, king of the Britons of Stratclyde, *Strabclwothe*, was ſlain by Conſtantine II. king of the Piks. Thus far the Annals of Ulſter.

In 875 we find Halfden waſting the territories of the Strat-clud Welch, and Piks. About this time, if we believe Welch writers, a part of the Strat-clud Welch and Cumbrians ſettled in Wales.

In the reign of Edward the Elder, of England, (900—925) we find the Stratclud Welch expreſs affection and ſubmiſſion to him, if Engliſh writers be believed.

About 972 we learn from Caradoc of Lancarvon, that Dunwallon, king of Strat-Clyde, went to Rome. Llwyd informs us, he was the laſt king of Strat-Clyde, and that he died at Rome ſoon after.

The nature of the termination of this kingdom ſeems unknown. In 970, Kenneth IV. became king of the Piks, and reigned till 992. It is moſt remarkable, that in the ancient Chronicle of the Twelve kings, who reigned after the union of the Piks and Dalriads, we find that this very Kenneth *prædavit Britanniam*, and after, *prædavit Saxoniam*. The *Britones* and *Britannia* of the whole of that Chronicle appear unqueſtionably the Strat-Clyde Welch, or Britons, and their country. It informs us that Eochoid, the fifth of theſe kings, 883, was *filius Ku regis Britannorum*, 'the ſon of Ku king of the Britons.' That in the time of Conſtantine, the ſeventh of theſe princes, 904, Dovenald, king of the Britons, died, and was ſucceeded by Dovenald ſon of Ed. We alſo find here that Culen 965, and his brother Eochoid, were ſlain by theſe Britons; which is confirmed by the Annals of Ulſter.

In

In 945, according to the Engliſh hiſtorians[s], Edmund king of England gave Cumberland to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. The Piks were in poſſeſſion of Lothian and Galloway, from the year 426. In the reign of Indulf, about 956, we find that the town of Eden was given up to the Scots by the Engliſh[t]; but, if this were Edinburgh, it does by no means follow that the Engliſh then held Lothian, for the text bears only that town, which would be abſurd, had the large territory around it been alſo given up. The fact ſeems, that Athelſtan, when he ravaged the ſouth of Scotland in 934, had left a garriſon here, in like manner as later kings held forts in the ſouth, nay north of Scotland, when they had not the ſmalleſt territory around them. This garriſon departed in Indulf's time, and the town was of courſe given up to the Scots. When Cumberland was given up to Malcom in 945, there is every reaſon to think that the Scotiſh dominions reached down to Solway in the middle, and to the Tweed in the eaſt. But the ſouth-weſt part of Scotland, or that between the rivers Clyde and Nith and the weſtern ſea, ſeems from it's angular ſituation to have long maintained a ſpecies of independency. It is well known that, even down to the twelfth century, the lords of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scotiſh kings[u]; and were in fact petty ſovereigns. Down to the tenth century, or about 970, the kings of Strat-Clyde were apparently in like predicament; and the Forth was regarded as the boundary between them and the Piks on the North eaſt, as it originates near Loch Lomond in Dunbartonſhire; as Loch Long, and the mouth of Clyde, divided them from the Dalriads on the north and weſt. We find in that old Chronicle, publiſhed by Innes, that Kenneth loſt many of his

[s] Chron. Saxon. &c. [t] Chron. apud Innes.
[u] Sir David Dalrymple's Annals.

infantry

infantry when he attacked theſe Britons; and that he fortified the banks of Forth. The kingdom of Strat-Clyde certainly remained in exiſtence for about thirty years after Cumberland was given up to the Pikiſh kings. Before this event we find the Piks and Strat-Clyde Britons in cloſe alliance; ſo that Eochoid, the ſon of a king of Strat-Clyde, came to the Pikiſh throne by inheritance in 883, as above mentioned, tho Grig, who was only regent, has uſurped his place, and held it excluſively among the Scotiſh fabuliſts, who chriſten him Gregory the Great, and ſay he was a big conqueror, and all that. But when Cumberland was reſigned to Malcom I. in 945, on account of the turbulence of it's Welch inhabitants, as Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, the Piks became of courſe the enemies of the Britons, who regarded them as new tyrants. This enmity extended to Stratclyde, between which and Cumbria there was conſtant intercourſe; ſo that before 970, as appears from the above quoted old Chronicle, wars had ariſen, and in that year Culen was ſlain by theſe Britons.

About 972, it appears that Kenneth IV. entirely ſubdued theſe Britons of Strat-Clyde: and their territory being annexed to the Pikiſh throne, we find no mention of the kingdom of Strat-Clyde afterward. But the people occur in charters, &c. to a late period. Innes ſhews that charters to the ſee of Glaſgow, by Malcom IV. and William, are addreſſed, *Francis, et Anglicis, Scotis et Galweienſibus, et Walenſibus, et omnibus eccleſiæ S. Kentegerni de Glaſgo, et ejuſdem epiſcopi, parochianis.* The *Franci et Angli* are Normans and Engliſh, ſome of whom ſettled in the ſouth of Scotland; the *Galweienſes*, the Piks of Galloway, as will after appear; the *Walenſes*, or Welch, are the Britons of Strat-Clyde. In 1304 the law of the Scots and *Brets* is mentioned in an inſtrument quoted by Sir David Dalrymple, in his Annals. Theſe Brets were palpably the Britons of Strat-Clyde, as all the

the Northern Writers call the Welch *Brets*, and Wales *Bretland*[w]: Winton alſo uſes *Bret* and *Bretan*, for Briton and Britain. Nay in Clydeſdale at preſent, if you will aſk the common people about any ancient caſtle, or the like, they will tell you it was erected *by the Brets, or by the Pechts*, that is by the Britons, or by the Piks. The *Notitia Imperii* uſes *Britti* for Britons: the Saxon tranſlation of Beda *Brytta*: Witichind, in his *Geſta Saxonum*, uſes *Bracti* often for Britons.

Dunbartonſhire, Renfrewſhire, and great part of Lanerkſhire, formed the kingdom of Strat-Clyde, being about eighty miles long, and thirty broad; and equal in ſize to the kingdom of Kent, or ſome others of the heptarchy, and ſuperior to moſt of the other Welch kingdoms. The language of this part of Scotland ſtill retains ſomething of the Welch accent, and ſome peculiar words; tho the Pikiſh, or broad Scotiſh, the language of the ſouth of Scotland all around this part, has ſupplanted the old ſpeech entirely. It is alſo believed that the people were very much leſſened before they were ſubdued; for their defence, as may be judged from the old Chronicle above quoted, was obſtinate and bloody, and coſt Culen, one of the kings of Scotland (then Pikland), his life; and Kenneth IV. in whoſe reign their laſt king is placed and their name vaniſhes, a great part of his infantry. Dunwallon, their king, ſeems to have fled to Wales, whence he went to Rome; and it is likely that many of his ſubjects alſo eſcaped into Wales. The ſpeech of Galloway has in general a good deal of the Welch accent, which is vulgarly thought the Iriſh, for the Celtic accents

[w] Snorro, and the Icelandic Sagas, call Wales *Bretland*, and it's people *Brets*. The Saxon Chronicle calls the Welch *Bryttar*. Fordun, II. 56, mentions *Albaniæ Britones*. It is remarkable that Lanerk is a place on the Clyde in Wales, as in Scotland; and the name is Cumraig, *Llan*, a church, *Llanerch*, areola, a little area: *Davis Dict. Kymb.*

are much the ſame. In Carrick till lately Iriſh was ſpoken; but this is an exception, owing to that part being poſſeſſed by the Wild Scots of Galloway, an Iriſh ſettlement, as above mentioned.

It may perhaps be matter of wonder that this kingdom of Strat-Clyde ſhould exiſt ſo long in the midſt of enemies. But this wonder will ceaſe, when we conſider: 1. That when the Piks firſt ſeized on the reſt of the ſouth of Scotland in 426, moſt of the Britons of Valentia ſeem to have retired to this weſtern part, around the fortified capital of Theodoſia, or Alclud; and, by their compact numbers and ſequeſtered ſituation, to have defied the Pikiſh power, even as in Wales, Cumberland, and Cornwall, their brethren to later periods withſtood the Engliſh. 2. That when the Dalriads, in 503, ſettled in Argyle, they became next neighbours to thoſe Britons; and they ſeem to have naturally formed alliance from proximity of ſpeech; both ſpeaking the Celtic, tho in different dialects; and to have protected each other. 3. That the Piks were, to a late period, too much harraſſed by the Angli, to think of attempting this conqueſt, and would naturally rather wiſh to have the Strat-Clyde Britons in their amity, as a barrier againſt the Angli. 4. That when the Angli were in poſſeſſion of Bernicia, which was but for a ſhort and tumultuary time, they were not only harraſſed by the Piks and old Scots, but by their ſouthern brethren; ſo that it would have been folly in them to have attacked the Strat-Clyde Welch, and thus have converted into an enemy a people whoſe whole view ſeems to have been ſelf-defence. Cauſes like theſe have always protected ſmall ſtates, lying between powerful ones. And tho the kingdom of Strat-Clyde be moſtly level and fertile, yet theſe reaſons ſerved as mountain barriers to protect it againſt ſurrounding foes.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER VI.

The kingdom of Cumbria.

THIS kingdom was not within the bounds of this Part of my work, being ſouth of Solway firth; but ſome wrongly extending it further north, and it being at any rate a kingdom of the Southern Britons, once belonging to Scotland, it ſhall be conſidered here. As this kingdom has by Innes, and others, been confounded with that of Strat-Clyde, it becomes neceſſary to ſhew that it was quite a different ſtate, before entering upon any other diſcuſſion of this ſubject. Innes has taken the matter for granted, and gives no reaſons for his opinion; but they, who would ſhew Cumbria and Strat-Clyde to have been one and the ſame kingdom, might argue thus.

1. Beda mentions that Alclud was in the hands of the Britons in his time, or 731; but ſays nothing of any poſſeſſions they had in preſent Cumberland, tho he lived in Northumberland; and, if they had ſuch poſſeſſions, they could not have eſcaped his knowlege.

2. The *Inquiſitio facta per David Principem Cumbriæ, de Poſſeſſionibus Eccleſiæ Glaſguenſis*, a deed of the year 1113, expreſſly puts Glaſgow as the ancient metropolitan ſee of Cumbria: and, by it's uniform tenor, ſhews that the framer of it looked on Cumbria as including the intervening country between Cumberland and Glaſgow. That is, if we judge from this deed, Cumbria and Strat-Clyde were certainly all one.

3. Geofrey of Monmouth, who wrote about 1150, is of the ſame opinion; for in his Life of Merlin o Caledon, a MS. in the Cotton Library, Veſp. E. IV. he puts Roderch, the celebrated king of Strat-Clyde, as king of the Cumbri; and calls his kingdom Cumbria, tho his city he names Alclud [a].

4. That the Cumbri were not of preſent Cumberland might appear from Richard of Hexham, who ſays that when David king of Scotland entered the territory of St. Cuthbert, in 1138, he there waited for his army. 'And without delay, according to his orders, the Piks, and Cumbri, and men of Carlel and ſurrounding country, came to him [b].' Had the Cumbri been of Cumberland, they muſt have been the men of Carlile, and it's

[a] Geofrey alſo in his Romance, which proved ſo ruinous to Engliſh hiſtory, confounds Alclyde, or Dumbarton, with Carlile. Roger of Cheſter, author of the Polychronicon, written about 1330, and aſcribed to Ralph Higden, was confounded with this blunder of that ignorant fabuliſt, and doubts where to place Alclyde. Goodal hence wiſely infers, that Alclyde was Carlile, and it's kingdom Cumberland! Alclyde, or Dunbarton, was deſtroyed by the Danes from Ireland in 872, as above ſhewn. About 875, the Danes who ravaged Northumberland deſtroyed Carlile. Geofrey of Monmouth is the *only* writer who confounds Alclyde with Carlile. Roger of Cheſter, a late writer of no authority, is puzzled with his error; and by miſtaking the Wall of Antoninus, implied by Beda, for that of Gallio. But againſt theſe writers are Beda, Adomnan, Jocelin, who place Alclyde on the Clyde in Scotland; and ALL the old Engliſh hiſtorians, who call Carlile Luguballia and Carlele, but never Alclyde. Simeon of Durham at 756 calls Dunbarton *Alcluith*; at 1092 he terms Carlile *Luguballia, anglice Carlele.* Fordun, II. 29, ſpecially diſtinguiſhes Carlile from Alclyde, ſaying, 'Kaerleile etiam, et Alneclud, five Alclide, quæ et nunc Dunbretan nuncupatur, oppidaque plurima,' &c. In Welch, Carlile is called Caer Liwelydd, Evans, p. 36, which bearing ſome ſimilarity to Caer Alclydd, might occaſion Geofrey's miſtake; but he himſelf, lib. VII. puts Alclud in Scotland, and has a curious deſcription of Lake Limogonn, or Loch Lomond, which he places in Mureith, or Moray!

[b] Nec mora ex ejus edicto Picti, et Cumbri, et homines de Carlel et de circumjacente regione, ad illum convenerunt. Ricard. Haguſtald. de Geſt. Steph. Col. 319, in Scriptor. X.

ſurrounding country; ſo that a diſtinction between the Cumbri and the people of Cumberland ſeems unavoidable. And if the Cumbri were not of Cumberland, they muſt have been of Strat-Clyde, as will be allowed by all.

Theſe arguments are all that i can find which may ſerve this opinion; and they are ſtated with the utmoſt candour, as i neither wiſh to miſlead, nor be miſled. Indeed they were at firſt ſo prevalent with me, that i long thought Strat-Clyde and Cumbria all one; but was forced to abandon this opinion for reaſons which ſhall be produced, after giving anſwers to the above arguments on the other ſide.

1. Beda's ſilence as to the Cumbri and Cumbria is at beſt but a negative argument, and of courſe a nullity. His work is intitled *The Eccleſiaſtic hiſtory of the Engliſh nation*: ſecular affairs he very ſeldom, and very briefly, mentions. He ſays not one word of the Britons in Wales, and Cornwall; ſo that his ſilence as to thoſe in Cumbria need not be wondered at.

2. The *Inquiſitio* is an eccleſiaſtic fraud, to ſerve the purpoſes of an avaricious and ambitious ſee, not a diſintereſted charter, which can ſerve hiſtory.

3. Geofrey is a romancer, not an hiſtorian. He has uſed ſuch freedoms with the hiſtory of his own country around him, that, in ſuch diſtant regions as Cumbria and Strat-Clyde, his veracity is at beſt moſt ſuſpicious. It might alſo very naturally happen that many of the Welch writers, from the remoteneſs of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria, and obſcurity of their hiſtory, might confound theſe two regions into one, or miſtake the one for the other.

4. The fourth argument is to me the ſtrongeſt. Richard lived at Hexham in Northumberland, near the ſpot, and alſo near the time, or about 1150. He is the only writer in being, who ſeems to diſtinguiſh the Cumbri from the people of Cumberland,

berland. Carlele is infallibly Carlile: but how came a people in that city and the ſurrounding territory different from the Cumbri, who by every hypotheſis held Cumberland? The following ſeems the only way of accounting for this. About the year 875 the Danes under different leaders ravaged all the north of England with great fury; and, as we learn from many hiſtorians, razed Carlile to the ground. The ſame writers mention that in 1092 it was rebuilt by William II. after lying deſert for two centuries. It was to revenge this erection of a fortified town in the midſt of his feudal dominions, that Malcom III. invaded England in 1093, when he was ſlain. In 1100, Henry I. of England married Matilda, ſiſter of Edgar the Scotiſh king; upon which event amity followed between the kingdoms till 1137, when David I. oppoſed Stephen of England. During this ſpace it appears, from the hiſtorians of the War of the Standard, 1138, that Carlile and Cumberland, nay Northumberland, had been regarded as part of the Scotiſh dominions. So that it would ſeem that Henry I. upon his marriage had in particular reſigned Carlile to Edgar: for no formal poſſeſſion had been ever taken by the Engliſh of any other part of theſe domains; and it appears from the Doomſday Book, that they were not regarded as part of England. The rebuilding and fortifying of Carlile, by William II. was an unexampled encroachment, but, from the ſudden boldneſs in erecting a ſtrong town in the heart of an enemy's poſſeſſion, was a ſtroke of daring policy, worthy of an impetuous and haughty monarch; and, conſidered either by it's depth or reſolution commands admiration[c]. But when William II. rebuilt Carlile,

[c] But it is to be conſidered, whether, as Lord Paramount of Cumberland, as he certainly was, the king of Scotland paying homage for it, he had not a title to build a fortified city to protect

lile, in 1092, it cannot be dreamed that he repeopled it with Welchmen, or Cumbri. Engliſh or Normans muſt-have been the new tenants, and moſt probably the later. When, about 1100, Carlile was given up to the Scotiſh, we cannot believe that the Engliſh garriſon was allowed to remain, for this were without all example. Edgar king of Scotland certainly ſent a garriſon into it, of his own ſubjects, and not of the Dalriads, or Old Scotti, of Britain, for they were deſpiſed by our kings; and being mere Celtic ſavages, ignorant of all arts, could know nothing of engines, or aught belonging to fortifications, or defence of them. We may therefore conclude that this new garriſon was of Piks from the ſouth of Scotland, either *Galweienſes*, or *Tevedalenſes*, or *Lothianenſes*, or a mixture. Thus the reaſon appears why the people of Carlile, and the ſurrounding territory were not Cumbri, tho the Cumbri were queſtionleſs the people of Cumberland.

Having thus, it is hoped, ſatisfactorily anſwered theſe arguments for Strat-Clyde and Cumbria being all one, let us proceed to poſitive proofs of their difference.

1. Florence of Worceſter, one of the moſt ancient and authentic of Engliſh ſecular hiſtorians, and who wrote about 1100, ſpecially diſtinguiſhes between the Cumbri and Stratcludwalli, ſaying under the year 901, p. 598, ed. Francof. 1601. fol. that Edward the Elder '*Scotorum, Cumbrorum, Streatgledwalorum, omneſque Occidentalium Britonum reges in deditionem accepit.*'

2. Roger Hoveden, who wrote about the year 1205, has the ſame diſtinction; ſaying, under the year 900, that Edward the Elder *Scottorum, Cum-*

protect his own territory? This queſtion is ſubmitted to thoſe verſed in feudal laws and cuſtoms. It muſt alſo be obſerved, that William the Conqueror, quarelling with Malcom III. gave Cumberland to Ranulph de Meſchines. See Monaſt. Angl. I. 400.

brorum, Stercglendwalorum, omneſque Occidentalium Brittonum reges in deditionem accepit: 'received ſubmiſſion from the kings of the Scots, Cumbri, Strat-Clyde Welch; and all the kings of the weſtern Britons,' (now Welch proper).

3. Caradoc of Lancarvon, the moſt authentic of the Welch writers, and who wrote about 1150, ſays, as above ſtated, 'the northern Britons of Strat-Clyde, AND Cumberland:' thus clearly diſtinguiſhing between theſe countries.

4. In 945, as Engliſh hiſtorians ſay, Edmund king of England gave Cumberland to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage. Some of the Engliſh hiſtorians called the territory given, *Cumberland*, as the Saxon Chronicle, William of Malmſbury, Henry of Huntingdon: others call it *terram Cumbrorum*, 'the land of the Cumbri,' as Florence of Worceſter, Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. This is a plain proof that the Cumbri held no country, ſave Cumberland.

5. In 945 Cumberland was reſigned to Malcom I. and it was generally ruled by the intended ſucceſſor to the Scotiſh (then Pikiſh) throne. But ſo late as 972 we find Dunwallon, a Welch prince, ſovereign of Strat-Clyde, as Caradoc above cited ſhews. In the time of Edgar of England (959 to 975), a Malcom was king of the Cumbri, as appears from William of Malmſbury, Simeon of Durham, Florence of Worceſter: and at that very time Dunwallon was king of Strat-Clyde. This ſurely proves a difference between Cumbria and Strat-Clyde. Perhaps it may be ſaid, that Dunwallon was the titular Welch king, while Malcom really held the territory; but it is believed that the idea of a titular king was not then known, and that when a family had loſt a throne for about thirty years, as would be, in this ſuppoſition, the caſe with Cumbria, if the ſame with Strat-Clyde, the title was loſt with the poſſeſſion.

6. Had

6. Had Cumbria extended from Cumberland to Dunbarton, the whole weſtern part of the ſouth of Scotland muſt have formed one continued Welch kingdom; nor could the Piks have held Galloway, as it appears from Jocelin[d] they did even in the ſixth century; and, from old chronicles[e], they did in the ninth, when Kenneth acceded to the Pikiſh throne; as from Engliſh writers they did in the twelfth, at the time of the War of the Standard. The Piks muſt in this caſe have been in the heart of this Welch kingdom, and have divided it into two great parts; a matter unexampled and unconceivable.

7. Had Cumbria been of ſuch extent it muſt have been a kingdom 140 miles long, and in many places 60 broad; while all Wales is not above 120 miles long, and 60 broad. The power and force of this kingdom muſt therefore have been ſuperior to thoſe of all Wales united. Let the reader but cooly reflect on the conſequences of this ſuppoſition. If Wales, tho ſplit into three diviſions, made ſuch a figure in hiſtory, what muſt Cumbria have done? Could ſo great a kingdom almoſt eſcape the notice of hiſtorians? While Wales produced ſo many writers, how could Cumbria produce but one or two? Could ſuch a kingdom, bordering on the Iriſh ſea, eſcape the notice of the Iriſh writers, who yet mark ſo much concerning Pikland, and the petty kingdom of Dalriada? Could ſo large a ſtate eſcape Beda, who narrates ſo many events that befell in and about it? All theſe, and many other views, in which this ſuppoſition may be placed, hold it out in ſo abſurd a light, that every reaſonable man will at once reject it. Whereas if we grant Strat-Clyde and Cumbria to have been two petty Welch kingdoms, at a diſtance from each other, all this abſurdity vaniſhes. Nor

[d] Vita Kentegerni.
[e] Reg. St. And, apud Innes: and ſee Part V.

can

can i ſee how Innes could ſincerely imagine that Cumbria was of ſuch vaſt extent as the *Inquiſitio* marks: and it is uncertain, whether pity or anger be due to him, who, for the ſake of a *pious fraud*, gave up a grand point in the hiſtory of his country to his love for the old ſee of Glaſgow, and the Roman faith.

8. The names themſelves are here of the greateſt weight. Adomnan's king of Petra Cloithe, or the rock of Clyde, or Alclyde, as *Al* in Welch means a rock, is ſo nearly allied by name to Strat-Clyde, that it were moſt reaſonable, from this alone, to infer them one and the ſame; eſpecially ſeeing that it is unqueſtionably Dunbarton on the Clyde in Scotland which is meant by Adomnan, and that Strat-Clyde is mentioned as near the Piks, ſo that it muſt alſo have been on the Clyde in Scotland, as above ſhewn. In like manner Cumbria, from the firſt mention of it to the laſt, is by authentic Engliſh writers uſed ſolely for Cumberland; and 'the land of the Cumbri,' and 'Cumberland,' are uſed alternately, as alſo above noted. Not one hint can be brought from any writer, that the meaning of the words Cumbri and Cumbria was ſo abridged, as to paſs at firſt for all the ſouthweſt of Scotland, and afterward be confined to a county of England.

From theſe arguments it is believed that Cumbria will, in ſpite of the ambition of the ſee of Glaſgow, be for ever reſtored to it's true circumſcription of Cumberland in England: and we are happily no longer in fear that ſome future venal ſcribe ſhould change an *a* into an *u*; and for *regnum Cambrenſe*, read *regnum Cumbrenſe*. Jocelin always uſes the former for the kingdom of Strat-Clyde: and tho he extends it over all the ſouth of Scotland, eaſt and weſt, yet he does not include Cumberland in it, as he makes it terminate at the wall

wall of Severus[f]. Having thus ſhewn Cumbria to have been totally different from Strat-Clyde, let us proceed to mark every thing that can be found in hiſtory concerning it, while a ſeparate kingdom. It's Northern boundaries were certainly not more extended than thoſe of preſent Cumberland, being chiefly the river Eſk, which runs into Solway firth; but it is more likely that the wall of Gallio, the *Piks Wall*, was the northern frontier, as we find in Beda that the Piks in 426 ſeized the country up to that wall. The Weſt boundary is the ſea. The Eaſt the river of South Tyne, which parts it from Northumberland. The South boundary is more difficult to adjuſt; but it is generally ſuppoſed that Weſtmoreland, and a ſmall part of Lancaſhire, were included in ancient Cumbria: and this ſeems confirmed by the Doomſday book, which omits Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and a ſmall part of Lancaſhire, as not belonging to England. Northumberland is alſo omitted in the Doomſday book, having Daniſh independent princes, till 953, when Earls nearly as independent followed; as may be ſeen in Hoveden, and others. Theſe Earls continued till the time of William II. who took Northumberland into his own hands, as did Henry I. as appears from Hoveden, and from a liſt of theſe Earls of the 12th or 13th age, in the Cotton library, Domit. D. VIII. given in the Appendix.

The Britons, who retired to the mountains of the weſtern coaſt, were little noticed or regarded by the Saxon invaders, who were content with the plenty of the eaſtern plains. Hence little or no information can be derived concerning even Wales, the greateſt poſſeſſion of theſe Britons,

[f] Dioceſis vero epiſcopatus ejus [Kentegerni] ſecundum limites Cambrenſis regni extendebatur; quod utique regnum ſicut vallum quondam a Severo principe a mari uſque ad mare .... et uſque ad flumen Fordenſe pertingit, &c. *Vita Kentegerni*, MS. Bibl. Cotton.

from

from the Saxon authors. No wonder then that the Strat-Clyde Welch, and the Cumbri, almoſt eſcaped their notice. The diviſion of England into petty kingdoms, which in fact laſted till 959, when Edwy king of the Weſt Saxons dying, Edgar became firſt king of all England, alſo contributed to our want of information, by occaſioning ſuch confuſion, that even the Saxon hiſtory is obſcure. In conſtant diſſentions among themſelves, they had other employment than to attend to the ſituation or affairs of their neighbours. In Beda's time, when the firſt light ariſes, it is, as Spenſer phraſes,

A little glimmering light, much like a ſhade.

That venerable writer is ſo occupied with miracles, that he hardly deigns to ſpeak of ſecular matters; but, in return, what little he ſays is moſt juſt and authentic. We can only learn from him, that the Britons were confined to the weſt of England; and ſeem in his time to have held all the weſtern ſhore, from Cumberland to Cornwall; as for their ſtates, or diviſions, we learn nothing, he ſpeaking of them only in general, by the name of Britones, or old Britons. From Nennius, and Samuel his helper, who both wrote about 858, we learn as little; they mentioning only the Britons in general, as Beda; and relating little or nothing, but concerning Vortigern and Hengiſt, ſo that they might from their ſtory be placed in 620, as ſome have done, as well as at their real period[s]. The Danes

[s] The work of Nennius and Samuel is not a *hiſtory*, but an account of the ſettlement of the various nations in Britain. It goes no lower than Vortigern's death, 473. But the Welch have no connection with the early Britiſh kings, who were Belgic, or Engliſh. Their hiſtory begins about the year 600, after they were pent up in preſent Wales. Nennius in his preface dates his work 858, in the 24th year of king Mervin. A critical examination of Welch hiſtory is much wanted; but Iriſh and Welch hiſtory can only be examined by perſons perfectly ſkilled in theſe languages, eſpecially the ancient, which differ as much from the modern, as Saxon and Engliſh, or as all other languages do.

began

began to invade England in the eighth century, generally ravaging the north; and ſeizing on Northumberland entirely in 876 held it ever after. In ſuch confuſion, and want of information, no wonder we learn nothing of the Britons in Cumberland, while the knowlege of Bernicia, an adjoining Anglic kingdom, has almoſt periſhed; and that of Northumberland, tho the moſt powerful of the heptarchy, is moſt obſcure. In Cumbria no ſaint, or writer, happened to be born or converſant. The moſt covetous invaders turned with contempt from it's wild mountains and romantic lakes, now ſo much admired. They produced no gold, nor pearls. Deer and goats were not objects of prey. The inhabitants lived concealed amid their mountain barriers; and neither glory nor gain could ſpring from attacking them. And who encounters danger, where neither glory nor gain can be got?

The very firſt mention we find of the Cumbri is by the Engliſh hiſtorians, in treating the reign of Edward the Elder (900—925); when they are mentioned among the nations who owned him as father and lord.

In 937 we find Eugenius, or Owen, king of Cumbria ſurrendering to Edmund of England. *Will. Malmſb.* &c.

In 938 we find the ſame king at the great and famous battle of Brunenburg. *Idem*, &c.

In 945 Edmund gave Cumbria to Malcom I. of Scotland, on condition of homage, and defending the north of England againſt the Danes. *Saxon Chron. Hoveden, Huntingdon, Malmſbury.* Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, that king Edmund, with the aſſiſtance of Leolin, king of Demetia, (South Wales), deſpoiled Cumbria of all its wealth, and, depriving of their eyes the two ſons of Dunmail, king of that province, gave it to Malcom, king of Scotland, to be held of him, and on condition of defending the north of England, by ſea and

and land, from the incurſions of enemies. This Dunmail is the only Welch king of Cumbria, whoſe name is preſerved by Engliſh writers. There is a very ſlight reſemblance between his name and that of Dunwallon, the laſt king of Strat-Clyde; but the difference is great enough to prevent any ſuſpicion of the one being taken for the other; and it was ſurely after the death of Dunmail, and during the minority of his ſons, that Edmund conquered Cumbria in 945; whereas Dunwallon died in 972, or after.

After this ſurrender of Cumbria to Scotland, the heir apparent of the Scotiſh crown was generally appointed prince, or king as then ſtiled, of that province, and reſided in it as in a diſtinct ſovereignty.

In the reign of Edgar of England (959 to 975) we find a Malcom king of Cumbria, under Kenneth IV. of Scotland, who ſucceeded in 970.

In the year 1000 Ethelred of England waſted Cumbria. *Simeon of Durham.*

In 1054 Siward, Earl of Northumberland, was ſent by Edward king of England to aſſiſt Malcom, ſon of the king of Cumbria, in aſſerting his claim to the Scotiſh throne. Siward died in 1055, having returned to Northumberland; but Malcom aſcended the throne in 1056. Thus Hoveden and other Engliſh writers ſtile Malcom III. ſon of the king of the Cumbri; and rightly, as ſhall be ſhewn in Part V. After this, Cumbria ſeems to have been immediately held by the kings of Scotland, and not committed to the charge of the ſucceſſor.

I have intentionally reſerved Fordun's hints about Cumbria to the end. The firſt mention he makes of Cumbria is lib. IV. c. 21. where he tells, that Conſtantin, ſon of Ed (904—944), gave Cumbria to Eugenius, ſon of Dovenald, his apparent ſucceſſor. This teſtimony of Fordun is ſtrongly confirmed by William of Malmſbury, the chief of the Engliſh hiſtorians, and who wrote in the Twelfth century;

century; for he names Eugenius as king of Cumbria in 934. But how ſhall we reconcile it with that of Matthew of Weſtminſter, concerning the ſons of Dunmail? If one authority muſt fall, Matthew's muſt yield, for he did not write till two centuries after William. But Matthew's is circumſtantial, and apparently true, ſo that to reconcile both would be beſt. Conſtantin of Scotland, a warlike and active prince, had apparently ſeized on Cumbria, and appointed Eogan, or Eugenius, king; which was, as Fordun ſays, in the ſixteenth year of his reign, or in 920. Edward the Elder, in whoſe reign this happened, was occupied in conſtant conteſts with the Danes; and perhaps he favoured Conſtantin's poſſeſſion of Cumbria, as a new check on the Danes; and if the kings of the Scots and Cumbri acknowleged Edward as lord, it muſt have been on this occaſion. In 934 Athelſtan king of England quarrelled with Conſtantin, and ravaged the ſouth of Scotland. Eugenius king of Cumbria ſeems on this event to have taken refuge in Scotland; and William of Malmſbury, and others, ſay he ſurrendered his crown to Athelſtan, either now, or in 938, after the great battle of Brunenburg. Upon this the old line of Cumbrian kings naturally came to the throne; and Dunmail ſeems to have been the heir, who was dead, as appears before 945, when his ſons were torn from the ſucceſſion by Edmund. This account has every probability on it's ſide, and much more veriſimilitude than that Edmund ſhould conquer the kingdom, and preſent it to Malcom. Such preſents are rarely made. It was however proper and reaſonable, that homage ſhould be performed for it to the kings of England, within whoſe dominions it lay. The Danes were then the great ſcourge and terror of the Engliſh kings; and Edmund ſeems to have followed the policy of Edward, and to have been glad by reſigning a province, never in fact ſubject

to

to England, to acquire a powerful vaſſal in his defence againſt the Danes.

Fordun in the ſame book, ch. 26, tells that Edmund knowing the Cumbri to favour the Scotiſh more than the Engliſh, and wiſhing Malcom as an ally againſt the Danes, delivered up Cumbria to him and his ſucceſſors for ever. Conſtantin had, as Fordun ſays, introduced the cuſtom of appointing the heir to the throne, king of Cumbria. In 953, the firſt year of his reign, Indulf appointed Odo, ſurnamed Duff, ſon of Malcom, king of Cumbria. (Fordun IV. 27.) To Duff who aſcended the Scotiſh throne in 961, ſucceeded Malcom his ſon: who is mentioned by Engliſh hiſtorians as king of Cumbria, in the reign of Edgar (959 to 975). Then followed another Malcom, ſon of Kenneth IV. in the time of Ethelred (979—1016) and of Kenneth IV. who died 992. It was in his time that Ethelred A° 1000 ravaged Cumbria, becauſe Malcom refuſed tribute. (Fordun IV. 36. 38). In 1001 this Malcom aſcended the throne of Scotland, having ſlain Grim; and, toward the middle of his reign, gave Cumbria to Duncan, his grandſon, who ſucceeded him in 1031. Upon which another Duncan, the ſon of the Scotiſh king, was appointed king of Cumbria. He is the laſt king of Cumbria mentioned; Malcom III. his ſon, who acceded to the throne of Scotland in 1056, keeping that principality in his own hands, as did his ſucceſſors, till the reign of Malcom IV. (1163), who ſurrendered Cumbria to Henry II. of England.

In the Welch writers we might expect ſome intelligence concerning the Welch line of kings of Cumbria. Caradoc mentions that Kentigern, who lived about 600, was grandſon to URIEN king of Cumbria[h], and ſon of Owen, regent of Scotland, for

[h] Urien lived about 560; and many notices concerning him may be found in Evans's Specimens of Welch Poetry. He was the

for ſo the Welch writers ſometimes called Strat-Clyde, as being the only Welch kingdom in Scotland; as the Scots, from the ſame reaſon, reverſed the name, and called it *regnum Cambrenſe*, or the Welch kingdom. The ſame writer mentions that about 616 Eneon Bhrenin, a king of theſe Scots, as he calls them, reſigning his royalty, came to Llyn in Gwyneth (North Wales), where he built a church, ſtill called from him Llan Eingan Bhrenin, near which he lived in religious retirement. The title of king was in theſe days as general as that of prince now in Germany: any independent baron was a king: and thus we find, in Caradoc, kings of Cardigan, Dyfed, and Guentland, in Wales. That Eneon was not the king of Strat-Clyde is clear from Jocelin: and indeed Caradoc himſelf adds, "a conſiderable prince in the north of Britain," which were ridiculous, had he been the king. This Eneon, our author ſays, was ſon of Owen Danun, ſon of Eneon Irth, ſon of CUNETHA Wledic king of Cumbria. This Cunetha lived, as we learn from Price's Deſcription of Wales[i], 540 years after Chriſt. Urien ſeems to have ſucceeded him in the throne of Cumbria.

If we truſt Langhorne's authorities[k], OWEN the ſon

the moſt famous of all the kings of Cumbria, being the *Urbgen* of the additions to Nennius, *cap. ult.* and in his court flouriſhed the three great Bards Taliеſin, Aneurin, and Llywarch Hen. Evans gives ſpecimens of their poetry; and they are all in *rime*, in the ſame form with thoſe he gives of the 13th century! It was a common trade with the bards to forge poems in the names of celebrated predeceſſors; and theſe pretended pieces are palpably of the eleventh and Twelfth centuries. Was Mr. Evans ignorant that rime was not uſed till a late period? That Mr. Gray ſhould be impoſed on by ſuch pieces would be ſurprizing, did not all know that hiſtoric Antiquities are not ſtudied in Britain. *Apage Nugas!*

[i] Prefixt to the laſt edition of Caradoc of Lancarvon, London, 1697, 8vo.

[k] In his Chronicon Regum Anglorum, Londini, 1697, 8vo.

ſon of Urien ſeems to have followed: and then CARETIC. After an interval DEOVAMA was cotemporary to Edbert of Northumberland 738. Then an ANONYMOUS king aſſiſted Oſbert of Northumberland againſt the Scots. Humphrey Lluyd mentions a CONSTANTINE, king of Cumbria, killed at Lochmaben about 870; upon which event, as he ſays, many of the Welch of Cumbria and Strat-Clyde paſſed to Clyde in Wales, and erected a kingdom called Strat-Clyde: but, as Williams ſhews that not a tittle of this can be found in any Welch Annals, Lluyd ſeems to have borrowed this relation ſolely from Hector Boyce *; ſo that it muſt be regarded as a mere dream. And tho there is every reaſon to think that on the deſtruction of the Welch kingdom of Cumbria in 945, and of Strat Clyde about 970, a great part of their inhabitants went to Wales, yet they there mingled with their brethren, and preſerved no ſeparate diſtinction; elſe they could not have eſcaped the notice of Giraldus, ſo particular in other matters.

he gives the following table. '*Reges Cumbriæ et Alcludæ.* Navus ſeu Caunus Gildæ pater. Hoel, Huelin, vel Cuil. Anonymus pater Sancti Petroci. Marcus. Anguſellus Lothi et Uriani frater. Evenus Uriani filius. Rodericus. Cereticus. Hoanus, ſive Oenus, Donaldum Breccum Scotorum regem interfecit. Deovama Edberto Northumbrenſi contemporaneus. Anonymus Oſberto Northumbrenſi contra Scotos fœderatus. Conſtantinus ejus filius a Gregorio Scotorum rege occiſus. Hebertus Conſtantini frater. Eugenius Athelſtano Anglo contemporaneus. Dunwallo ſive Dunmail regno exutus.' This liſt is full of errors by confounding Cumbria and Stratclyde, and by taking ſome from Geofrey of Monmouth and Lluyd, no authorities.

The kings and nobles of the North are noted in Welch poetry, as Mr. Evans remarks in his Fragments of it. Aneurim, author of the Gododin, was of the North; and perhaps from Welch MSS. we might learn whether of Stratclyde, or Cumbria. Merlin the Wild was of Stratclyde, as is clear from his life by Geofrey, compared with Adomnan and Jocelin.

* In whoſe hiſtory it occurs literatim, fol. 217 of the firſt edition, among the fabulous tranſactions of his Gregory the great.

There

There is no reaſon to imagine that the little Welch vale of Clyde was ever mentioned in Engliſh hiſtory; and even in that of Wales it is only mentioned twice, as ravaged, or encamped in, by the Engliſh, when they attacked Wales on the north. Caradoc, or his interpolator, ſays, that after the death of Roderic the Great king of all Wales, in 876, many of the Welch of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria paſſed into Wales under one Hobert, becauſe they were much troubled by the Danes in their old ſeats. This is extremely probable, as we know from Aſſer, and others, that the Danes in 875 ravaged the country of the Piks, and Strat-Clyde. But theſe refugees erected no kingdom, nor ſeized any country from the Saxons, as Lluyd pretends. And we know from the moſt authentic writers, as above ſhewn, that the Welch held Cumbria till 945, and Strat-Clyde till about 970, at leaſt. Llwyd is even ſo ignorant as to make his Conſtantine, who, as he fables, was killed at Lochmaben in 870, king of a vaſt territory, including Strat-Clyde, Cumbria, and Galloway! But his errors are ſo childiſh, and truly Celtic, that they confute themſelves, tho they had the fortune in their day to excite the ſcorn of Languet, and anger of Buchanan[1].

[1] Languet in his Epiſtles to Sir Philip Sidney has many contemptuous remarks on Lluyd's Commentariolum, ſuch as, 'Ego non ita contemno tuum Cambrum ut tu ſcribis, nam niſi eſſet in ipſo aliquid ingenii, non poſſet tam inſigniter ineptire.' &c. Buchanan's Second Book is fooliſhly occupied with a hot battle againſt Lluyd: and nothing can be more diverting than to ſee one fabuliſt fighting againſt another.

PART III.

The Northern Britons, otherwiſe called Caledonians, or Piks.

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CHAPTER I.

The Northern Britons, Caledonians, Piks, one and the ſame people.

ALL the inhabitants of Britain were anciently, as now, ſtiled Britons, tho of very different origins. The Belgæ of the ſouth and eaſt, who were Germans, and uſed the Scythic or Gothic tongue, were equally Britons with the Cimbri, Cumri, or Welch, of the weſt, who were Celts. The Caledonians of the north, who were alſo Germans from Scandinavia, are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio; and with the utmoſt propriety, as inhabitants of Britain: juſt as now the Engliſh are Britons, as well as the Welch, tho

widely different in origin, ſpeech, and manners; and as we call the Britiſh ſettlers in America, Americans. But, after the Roman power had been a long time eſtabliſhed in Britain, the name of Britons was conſidered as confined to the provincials; and toward the cloſe of the third century, or the year 296, we firſt find the Piks, or Caledonians, mentioned as not Britons, but enemies of the Britons, even from the time of Julius Cæſar[a].

In the great ignorance which attended the decline of the Roman empire, the affairs of Britain, ever obſcure, becauſe of the diſtance of this iland from Rome, the ſeat of ſcience, were clouded with almoſt total darkneſs. Inſomuch that about 550 we find Procopius[b] deſcribing Britain as the land of departed ſouls. No wonder then that in Britain itſelf, where no writers aroſe, all genuine materials for hiſtory ſhould periſh. Gildas, the firſt Britiſh writer, was born in the year of the battle of Badon, as he tells us, ch. 26. that is in 520; and he wrote, as he there ſays, forty years after it, or in 560. A tumultuous period of more than a century had elapſed, between the arrival of the Saxons and his time; and, as there was no difference between the Belgæ and Saxons in ſpeech, and the later had made the former their *coloni* and ſlaves, Gildas naturally thought his Welch countrymen the genuine Britons, and calls them Britons excluſively; an error which modern indolence and ſuperficiality have, as uſual, blindly followed. Indeed the Roman troops who held Britain, being ſtationed along the walls of Antoninus and Hadrian, and in the midſt of the Welch inhabitants of Britain, called them Britons, and their tongue the Britiſh; regarding the Belgæ as late ſettlers, and the Welch as the people produced by the iland itſelf, or genuine Britons. We ourſelves ſpeak of Ameri-

[a] Panegyr. Vet.
[b] Lib. IV. and ſee Appendix.

cans,

cans, without ſpecifying whether we mean the firſt ſavages, or European ſettlers; and of Britons, without ſpecifying Engliſh, or Welch, Scotiſh, or Iriſh of the highlands; yet we uſe Britons alſo ſpecially for Welch, and the Britiſh for the Welch tongue. Theſe inaccuracies are underſtood at the time; but in the courſe of ages cauſe great confuſion. It is therefore neceſſary to attend to them; and to reflect that at firſt, as natural, the Romans called all the nations found in Britain by the name of Britons; that, after they had ſubdued the greater part of it, they naturally blended the whole inhabitants of the ſubdued part under the name of Britons, calling the Caledonians, or Piks, who were alone unſubdued, by their own name; and that the Welch were peculiarly called Britons then, as now; tho they by no means conſtituted all the Britons. Without attending to theſe circumſtances, we ſhall fall into an error found in the modern writers; namely that the Piks and Belgæ were Welch, becauſe they were Britons. The Piks and Belgæ were indeed Britons, as the Engliſh now; but no more Welch, or Celts, than the Engliſh now. There is nothing new under the ſun; and antiquaries might avoid many errors by recourſe to analogy. So much for the Piks being called Britons by Tacitus, and others; who at the ſame time call them Caledonians, and their country Caledonia.

That the Caledonians and Piks were one and the ſame people is now univerſally allowed; and it is almoſt ridiculous to ſhew this, for, as the ancient Spartan ſaid to him who had compoſed an eulogy on Hercules, *Does any one diſpraiſe him?* ſo it may be ſaid here, *Is any one ignorant of this?* Buchanan, Camden, Lloyd, Innes, Whitaker, the Macphersons, O'Conor, D'Anville, tho differing widely in other points, all join here. Stillingfleet, in the ſame work[c], firſt doubts; then grants this.

[c] Origines Sacræ, p. 246.

Uſher

Uſher i cannot tell what to make of, for he produces the words of Tacitus, that the Caledonians were of German origin, to ſhew that the Piks were of Scandinavia; and the words of Eumenius, ſhewing the Caledonians to have been Piks, and that the Piks infeſted the Britons before the time of Julius: then he gives us Geofrey of Monmouth; from whom he draws three later Pikiſh colonies to have entered Britain after the time of Chriſtianity. It is impoſſible even to gueſs at his thoughts on the occaſion. In his whole work there is a moſt remarkable defect of underſtanding. All authorities are quite alike to him. Tacitus and Hector Boethius, Beda and Geofrey of Monmouth; hiſtorians, and fabuliſts; writers of the firſt century, and of the ſeventeenth; are all jumbled together in uniform confuſion; are all quoted with equal attention, and confidence. If one were deſired to mention a work capable of ſhewing that an author may be vaſtly and profoundly learned, without poſſeſſing common judgement, Uſher's *Antiquitates Britannicarum Eccleſiarum* might be produced as an inſtance. Yet is this work precious as a common-place book, for he gives all that all have ſaid upon his ſubject: and, had his judgement equalled his learning and diligence, he would have been the moſt valuable antiquary that the Britiſh ilands ever produced. With regard to the three colonies, as they reſt ſolely on Geofrey of Monmouth, and authors who follow him, i ſhall not abuſe the reader's attention ſo far, as to offer even one remark on them.

It once appeared to me, before i had fully examined this ſubject, that the Piks were a new race, who had come in upon the Caledonians in the third century, and expelled them; and that the Caledonians were Cumraig Britons. But finding Tacitus, Eumenius, Ammianus Marcellinus, Beda, in full and direct oppoſition to this idea; and not chuſing to imitate our Scotiſh antiquiſts in fighting againſt

againſt authorities, which are the ſole foundation of hiſtoric truth, i was forced to abandon this ground, tho perhaps many an acute and wiſe argument might have been employed in it, to prove truth falſehood, and falſehood truth. For ancient authors are the ſole guides to real truth in hiſtoric antiquities; conjectures and arguments are only ingenious lyes.

That the Caledonians and Piks were the ſame, is in fact as uncontrovertible, as that the ſame people who called themſelves *Hellenes* were called *Græci* by the Romans. This will appear to the reader from the accounts of the ancients concerning them, which ſhall here be briefly ſtated, and will at once aſcertain their identity.

Tacitus is the firſt writer from whom information can be drawn on this ſubject; for, before the campaign of Agricola, Caledonia was unknown to the Romans. He calls this country, being all that part of Britain which is to the north of Loch Fyn and Tay, by the ſpecial name of CALEDONIA; and that always when it is mentioned, ſo that the name was fixt and preciſe. The people he calls by the general name of *Britanni*; but expreſſly gives his opinion that they came from Germany, becauſe they reſembled the Germans in their large perſons, and red hair[d]; whereas he thinks the other Britons came from Gaul. This ſufficiently marks the Britons of Caledonia to have differed from the reſt: and the ſigns given by Tacitus are, in a ſavage ſtate of ſociety, very ſtriking and obvious.

Ptolemy forty years after marks the people of this part of Britain by the name of ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ[e],

[d] Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem aſſeverant. *Agricola.*

[e] Απο δε τυ Λαιλαμονιου κολπου μιχρι της Ουαραρ εισχυσεως Καληδονιοι; και υπερ αυτους ὁ Καληδονιος δρυμος. "From the *Lelamonius Sinus* (Loch Fyn) to the frith of *Varar* (Murray) are the Caledonii; and above them the Caledonian Foreſt." As the province Veſpaſiana exiſted in Ptolemy's time, he regards it as Roman, and the Caledonians as confined beyond it's limits, that is in the preſent highlands. With Geographers *above*

or

or Caledonians, and gives us the names of all their tribes, or ſhires as we might now ſtyle them.

Dio who wrote about 230, or the century after Ptolemy, alſo calls this people Caledonians. As all Britain up to the wall of Hadrian had now long been provincial, that part was regarded as wholly Roman; and this writer ſpeaks of the Mæatæ, or Cumri between the walls, and the Caledonians beyond them, as the only two nations in Britain; that is the only two nations who kept up the Britiſh name as *Barbari*, not *Romani*. For the provincials were often ſtyled *Romani*; and the world was regarded as either *Romanus*, or *Barbarus*. A diſtinction as old as the days of Ovid, who uſes *Barbaria* often, in his *Triſtia*, for all without the Roman pale.

In 296 the name of PICTI is firſt uſed by Eumenius the Panegyriſt, in his oration, ſpoken at the end of that year, upon the victory of Conſtantius over Allectus. The paſſage is a famous one; and the more ſo, as it's conſtruction in the old editions puzzled Buchanan, and the beſt Latin ſcholars. No apology need therefore be made for dwelling a little on it's explanation. A large piece of the preceding text is alſo given that the connection may be clear.

Quam [Britanniam] *Cæſar, ille auctor veſtri nominis, cum Romanorum primus intraſſet, alium ſe orbem terrarum ſcripſit reperiſſe; tantæ magnitudinis arbitratus, ut, non circumfuſa oceano, ſed complexa ipſum oceanum, videretur. Sedenim, illa ætate, nec Britannia ullis erat ad navale bellum armata navigiis; et Romana res inde jam a Punicis, Aſiaticiſque, bellis, etiam recenti exercitata Piratico, et poſtea Mithridatico, non magis terreſtri quam navali uſu vigebat. Adhoc natio etiam tunc rudis, et ſoli Britanni, Pictis modo, et Hibernis, aſſueta hoſtibus adhuc*

implies the north, but Ptolemy's north is really the weſt of Scotland, ſo that the Caledonian foreſt was on the weſt of the highlands.

ſeminudis,

ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis ſigniſque ceſſerunt. Prope ut hoc uno Cæſar gloriari in illa expeditione debuerit quod navigaſſet oceanum. Eumen. Panegyr. Conſtantio, *apud* Panegyr. Vet. Livineii, Antv. 1599. 8vo. n. xi. prope medium orat.

The ſentence beginning *Adhoc natio*, &c. and in which the Piks are mentioned, is moſt obſcure. Buchanan propoſes to underſtand *ſoli Britanni* in the genitive, 'of the Britiſh ſoil;' and the meaning would be 'Moreover the nation then rude, and only uſed to the Piks and Iriſh of the Britiſh ſoil, enemies even half naked, eaſily yielded to the Roman arms.' Strange that Buchanan [f], ſo able a Latiniſt, ſhould ſuppoſe *Britanni* here uſed adjectively, while *Britannici* is the common word uſed in proſe in that way. *Britannus* is merely a Briton; *Britannicus*, Britiſh. But let us hear the unprejudiced interpretation of foreigners, whoſe judgment on this ſubject muſt be unbiaſſed, and who indeed uniformly conſpire againſt the little local prejudices of even our beſt writers. Jaques de la Baune, the learned editor of the edition for the uſe of the Dauphin, gives us the ſentence, and notes, thus:

Adhoc natio * *etiam tunc rudis, et ſoli Britanni, Pictis modo et Hibernis* † *aſſueta, hoſtibus adhuc ſeminudis, facile Romanis armis, ſigniſque, ceſſerunt.*

NOTES. * *Duarum vocalium tranſpoſitio obſcuritatem huic ſententiæ induxit; ita vero hanc reſtituit Acidalius:*

[f] Sir George Mackenzie attempts to confirm Buchanan's interpretation, from Lucretius,

Nam quid Britannum cælum differre putamus,

and Claudian,

Terribilis Mauro, debellatorque Britanni
Littoris.

But Sir George ought to have known that poetical licence will never authorize proſe. The diminiſhing of words, called *aphæreſis*, &c. by grammarians, is common in Greek and Latin Poetry, but never uſed in proſe at all; and for a good reaſon, becauſe the rhythm forced poets to uſe it, whereas in proſe it could ſerve no purpoſe in the world.

Adhoc natio etiam tunc rudis. [A] Pictis modo et Hibernis assueta hostibus: adhoc seminudi, [et soli, Britanni] facile Romanis armis signisque cesserunt.

† *Pictis*] *Ethici populi sunt Scotiæ cis Tavum fluvium.*

Hibernis] *Populi insulam oceani Britannici incolentes non minorem Anglia.*

This correction of Acidalius was most plausible, and approved by all, till the last valuable edition of the Panegyrists, by Schwarzius and Jæger, appeared at Nurenberg, 1779, in two volumes octavo. In which, from an excellent manuscript often used and referred to in that edition, this famous sentence stands ultimately blameless, and perfect, thus:

Ad hoc natio etiam tunc rudis; et solis Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt.

In the notes is first given the correction of Acidalius as above; then follows,

Proba hæc lectio ex MS. Gud. et solis Britanni Pictis modo et Hibernis adsueti hostibus, adhuc seminudi, facile Romanis armis, signisque, cesserunt. *Sic magis exprimitur quasi vitium veterum Britannorum, qui quondam eo facilius a Julio Cæsare vinci superarique potuerunt, quod solis Pictis et Hibernis hostibus olim adsueti fuerint; et quod sine gravi armorum genere, adhuc seminudi, prælia inierint.* Swharz.

If, with Acidalius, who wrote about the year 1620, we had redd *soli Britanni*, we must have understood that Cæsar fought with *Britons alone*, whereas Allectus had also Roman soldiers; so that Constantius did more than Cæsar, as he fought not with Britons alone, but with Romans. But this reading of the MS. above-mentioned, puts this out of the question; and the whole passage above produced may be translated as follows. The Panegyrist, to shew the greatness of the actions of Constantius in Britain, compares them to those of Julius Cæsar,

"*Which*

" *Which iland of Britain when Cæſar, he the au-*
" *thor of your name, had entered firſt of the Romans,*
" *he wrote that he had found another world; thinking*
" *it of ſo great ſize, that it might ſeem not to be ſur-*
" *rounded with the ocean, but to embrace and com-*
" *mand it. But ſtill in that age Britain was pro-*
" *vided with no ſhips for naval war; while Rome,*
" *even from the Punic and Aſiatic wars, and alſo*
" *recently exerciſed with thoſe of the pirates, and*
" *of Mithridates, flouriſhed not more by land than*
" *by ſea. Moreover the nation he attacked was*
" *then rude; and the Britons, uſed only to the*
" *Piks and Iriſh as enemies, and being yet them-*
" *ſelves but half naked, eaſily yielded to the Roman*
" *arms and enſigns.*"

Eumenius lived at Auguſtodunum, or Autun, in Burgundy, a place now ſo famous for it's number of Roman antiquities, that it has been called the French Rome. He was there profeſſor of rheioric[g]; and pronounced this oration in preſence of Conſtantius Chlorus, on his victory over Allectus, who had ſlain Carauſius, and uſurped the imperial title in Britain, and who fell in the battle which was fought in the year 296. All commentators agree that this oration was pronounced in the end of that year. Conſtantius was then only *Cæſar*, whence Eumenius calls Julius the author of his name, which was always given to an apparent ſucceſſor to the empire. This cuſtom of pronouncing panegyrics on the Emperors and Cæſars, in their preſence, ſeems to have begun in the time of Trajan; and Pliny's Panegyric on that prince, pronounced in his preſence, is extant and well known. Greater accuracy in facts, and in expreſſion, was naturally expected, and neceſſarily exerciſed, on ſuch ſolemn and trying occaſions, when the firſt audience in the world were witneſſes of the narra-

[g] See the prolegomena to the editions of the Panegyriſts, *Delphini*, or *Schwarzii*.

tion

tion of their own actions, than even in hiſtory, where the writer remained unawed and unchecked in the ſilence of his cabinet. Hence the great anxiety expreſt by Eumenius and the other Panegyriſts. In his oration to Conſtantine, the Ninth in the collection, Eumenius expreſſes the utmoſt awe on the occaſion; and ſays that what is ſpoken muſt be *diu ſcriptum, et ſæpe tractatum*, 'a long time written, and often reviſed.' And, in beginning this to Conſtantius, he is more than ordinarily ſollicitous, obſerving, among other points, *Quo in genere orationis quanta eſſet cura, quantus labor, quam ſollicita veneratio!* 'In this kind of oration how great the care, how ſevere the labour, how anxious the veneration!'

As ſuch accuracy and care were required, and Eumenius, from his reſidence in Gaul, had opportunity for all information concerning Britain, we may rely upon his teſtimony as moſt authentic. And it is valuable, not only for the very firſt mention of the Piks, but as it ſhews that, even before the time of Julius, they had infeſted the Britons. Now the Britons, in all theſe orations, are uniformly the provincial Britons. At this time, as formerly ſhewn, the name of Mæatæ had utterly periſhed; and there is every room to believe that, when Carauſius divided Britain from the Roman empire, in the yeat 286, the Mæatæ gladly joined their Britiſh brethren, in aſſerting his right againſt the Roman Emperors; and that under him their name was loſt in the general one of Britons. For, after this period, the Roman writers know of no Britons beyond the Clyde and Forth. The Piks are conſidered as not Britons, tho undoubtedly in Britain. When all were barbarous alike, all the nations in the iland were Britons: but in proceſs of time the nations ſouth of the Clyde and Forth became romanized; and it was diſcovered that the Caledonians, or people beyond theſe rivers, were quite a diſtinct people from the Cumraig Britons, their

their ſouthern neighbours, and the chief inhabitants of the iland in number. The name of Caledonians, or Woodlanders, given them by the Welch, was exchanged for their real name, the name they gave themſelves, PIHTAR, latinized PICTI. Perhaps it may be thought that as the Piks were really the *Vik Veriar* of Norway, and had that name in all appearance long before they came to Scotland, Eumenius meaned to expreſs the invaſions of Britain by the Piks from Norway, before they effected a ſettlement. But it will be afterward ſhewn that the Piks were queſtionleſs ſettled in that part of Britain which lyes north of the Clyde and Forth, long before the time of Julius, ſo that this idea muſt fall of courſe. And the Romans could have no knowlege that the Piks ever were in Norway, or ever invaded Britain from thence, if they even knew that Norway exiſted: they only knew them as of Caledonia, a country now long divided from provincial Britain, and conſidered as another land. That Eumenius, in particular, only regarded them in this view will appear from another paſſage of his, now to be produced.

This occurs in the panegyric to Conſtantine I. ſon of Conſtantius, ſpoken in March 310, as the commentators ſhew, and is at full length as follows:

Dies me ante deficiet, quam oratio, ſi omnia Patris tui facta, vel hac brevitate, percurram. Cujus etiam ſuprema illa expeditio non Britannica tropæa, (ut vulgo creditum eſt) expetivit; ſed, diis jam vocantibus, ad intimum terrarum limen acceſſit. Neque enim ille tot tantiſque rebus geſtis, non dico Caledonum, aliorumque Pictorum, ſilvas, et paludes, ſed nec Hiberniam proximam, nec Thulen ultimam, nec ipſas, ſi quæ ſunt, Fortunatorum inſulas, dignatur acquirere: ſed (quod eloqui nemo voluit), iturus ad deos, genitorem illum deorum ignea cæli aſtra refoventem proſpexit Oceanum; ut, fruiturus exinde luce perpetua, jam

videret illic diem pæne continuum. Vere enim profecto illi ſuperum templa patuerunt; receptuſque eſt conſeſſu cæli Jove ipſo dexteram porrigente.

This paſſage has no variation whatever, either in MSS. or editions. To underſtand it, we muſt obſerve, that the Caledonians or Piks making incurſions into provincial Britain in 306, Conſtantius Chlorus, who a year or two before became Emperor (*Auguſtus*) of Gaul and Britain, prepared to repel them. As he was ſetting ſail from Gaul for that purpoſe, his ſon Conſtantine, (afterward the firſt Chriſtian Emperor), whom Galerius had detained in Italy as an hoſtage, eſcaped, and came to him. They proceeded into Britain together, when the Piks were repelled; and Conſtantius ſoon after died of a fever at York, that ſame year. The Panegyriſt, with rhetorical fancy, takes advantage of this expedition of Conſtantius, juſt before his death, into the north of Britain, famous among the Romans for the ſun's being hardly ever beneath the horizon in ſummer, and for being regarded as another Thule, and extremity of the world. Hence the orator repreſents this expedition into the ſecret receſſes of the ocean, perpetually enlightened by the ſun, as a meet preparation of Conſtantius for his journey to the elyſian fields, which were pictured with ſimilar circumſtances, of remote ſtation in the ocean, and eternal ſunſhine. Take this tranſlation.

"*The day would fail before my oration, if i were* "*to run over all the deeds of thy father, even with* "*this brevity. His laſt expedition did not ſeek for* "*Britiſh trophies, (as vulgarly believed,) but the* "*gods already calling him, he came to the moſt ſecret* "*bound of the earth. For by ſo many, and ſo great,* "*actions, he deigns not to acquire, i will not ſay the* "*woods and marſhes of the Caledonians and other* "*Piks, but Ireland which lyes nigheſt, nor diſtant* "*Thule, nor even, if ſuch there be, the Ilands of* "*the Fortunate themſelves; but, (what none inclined*

"*to*

"*to ſpeak,) being about to go to the gods, he beheld*
"*the ocean, that father of the gods, refreſhing the*
"*fiery ſtars of heaven; that, being about thence to enjoy*
"*perpetual light, he might have a foreſight of eternal*
"*day. For in the end of ſpring, the temples of the*
"*gods were open to him; and he was received into*
"*the aſſembly of heaven, Jove himſelf reaching to*
"*him his right hand.*"

It appears unqueſtionably from this paſſage that the Caledonians were Piks: and this is happily marked by the very author who firſt uſes the name of *Picti*, ſo that not a doubt can remain even with the moſt ignorant. The *other* Piks were thoſe of the Hebudes and Orkneys, and perhaps the *Vecturiones*, or ſouthern Piks of Fifeſhire, &c. who are put by Ammianus Marcellinus as one of the two diviſions of the Piks; the *Dicaledones* being the other. Lindenbrogius [c] inclines to think that the *Caledones* of Eumenius ſhould be redd *Dicaledones*, as Ammianus writes them. But not one MS. or edition has the leaſt hint of this, as may be ſeen in the lateſt and beſt editions, for the Dauphin, and of Schwartz and Jæger. *Non Dicaledonum*, as Lindenbrogius propoſes, to read for *non dico Caledonum*, ſpoils the ſenſe of the paſſage, and cannot be received: tho indeed it were madneſs to alter a text for a conjecture, in ſpite of all MSS and editions. Lindenbrogius, i believe, mentions that ſome nameleſs MS redd ſo; but ſuch aſſertions are frequent among critics, hot for their conjectures: and as this MS. has eſcaped

[c] In notis ad Ammian. Marcellin. as quoted by Goodal, in his Introduction to Fordun. Goodal ſupports this opinion, 1. becauſe the readings of MSS ought to be preferred. 2. becauſe *Caledones* is not uſed by other writers, but *Caledonii*. To the 1ſt anſwer, that not one MS has been found which reads *Dicaledonum*. 2d. That not one latin author uſes *Caledonii*. Tacitus has only *Caledonia*: the Greeks, Ptolemy and Dio, have indeed Καληδονιοι. But the later argument is childiſh, for all know ſuch terms to be identic, as *Brito*, *Britannus*; *Franco*, *Francus*; *Burgundio*, *Burgundus*, &c. &c.

all editors, it is probable it never exiſted, ſave in the brain of this commentator; and can in no event be preferred to the ſeveral MSS followed by editors.

Ammianus Marcellinus, under the year 360, mentions the Piks thus: *In Britanniis cum Scoterum Pictorumque, gentium ferarum, excurſus, rupta quiete, condicta loca limitibus vicina vaſtarent*, &c. 'In Britain, when the excurſion of the Scots and Piks, fierce nations, having broken the peace, ravaged the APPOINTED GROUNDS, next to the boundaries,' &c. Theſe CONDICTA LOCA, or GROUNDS MUTUALLY APPOINTED AND AGREED ON near the boundaries, were ſurely thoſe of the future province of Valentia: and this paſſage ſtrongly confirms the idea that the bounding wall was not regarded as the utmoſt limit of Roman power, but that there was a warlike frontier-territory beyond it; which in times of peace was poſſeſſed by the Romans, and defended by them in times of war. For they were not ſuch cowards as to act on the defenſive alone; and from behind their wall. The wall was as that of a city; and a large territory lay beyond it. In this paſſage of Ammianus, the very firſt mention of the Scots appears; and it is immediate, and preſent; not retroſpective, as that of the Piks by Eumenius. From Eumenius we learn that the Piks exiſted in the time of Julius Cæſar: from Ammianus, that the Scots exiſted Four Hundred and Ten years after, or in the year 360. It is moſt remarkable, that Eumenius never mentions the Scots, but by the general name of *Hiberni*; and he joins theſe *Hiberni* with the Piks, as Ammianus does the *Scotti*. Theſe Scotti of Ammianus were infallibly, as ſhall be ſhewn, the people of Ireland. They ſailed from Ireland to Argyle, and the neighbouring ſhores of Pikland; where it was neceſſary they ſhould join their allies, that they might act in conjunction: for it is remarkable, that we never find

find them attacking the Britons in Wales, or indeed at all, save in conjunction with the Piks; while the Caledonians or Piks were always making incursions alone. But of the Scots fully hereafter.

Under the year 364, Ammianus has *Picti, Saxonesque, et Scotti, et Attacotti, Britannos ærumnis vexavere continuis.* 'The Piks, and Saxons, and Scots, and Attacotts, vexed the Britons with continual harrassments.'

Under the year 368, he says, *Et quoniam, cum Constantis Principis actus componerem, motus adolescentis et senescentis oceani, situmque Britanniæ, pro captu virium explanavi; ad ea, quæ digesta sunt semel, revolvi superfluum duxi. Illud tamen sufficiet dici, quod eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicaledonas et Vecturiones, itidemque Attacotti, bellicosa hominum natio, et Scotti per diversa vagantes, multa populabantur.* 'And since, when i composed the acts of Constans, i explained as well as i could the motions of the flowing and ebbing ocean, and the situation of Britain, i have held it superfluous to revolve matters already digested. Let this suffice to be said, that at this time the Piks, divided into two nations, the Dicaledonæ and Vecturiones, as also the Attacots, a warlike nation, and the Scots, wandering diverse ways, ravaged many parts.' Constans was made Cæsar in 334; and three years after came to the empire, and reigned thirteen years, or to 350. He made a voyage to Britain in winter from Bononia, or Boulogne; and there is a coin on the occasion, of small brass, representing Constans in a ship, with the legend BONONIA [d]. The loss of that part of Ammianus is irreparable; as his testimony would have put the history of Scotland, at the first revival of literature, upon quite another footing, by shewing at once what we are now obliged to glean from many minute lights, that

[d] Vaillant, Banduri, &c.

Scotti was but a new name for the *Hiberni* or Iriſh Goths, now beginning, like the Caledonians, to be known by the name they gave themſelves: and that *Attacotti*, or Hither Scots, was but a name given the Dalreudini, or firſt colony of Scots that ſettled in Argyle, about the year 258, as ſhall be after ſhewn.

This paſſage of Ammianus is of itſelf a ſufficient proof that the Caledonians and Piks were one and the ſame people. For the *Oceanus Deucaledonius*, or that bordering on the *Dicaledonæ*, is put by Ptolemy on the north of Scotland, where the Orkneys lay in it. The Vecturiones are by Richard placed in Fife, Angus, &c. on the eaſt of Scotland, beyond the Friths, but ſouth of the Grampians. The diviſions of Ammianus are thus the ſame with thoſe of Beda [e], who mentions the Southern Piks below the Grampians, (*Vecturiones*;) and the Northern Piks above them, (*Dicaledonæ*.) The former name of Vecturiones was in fact the proper and real name which the Piks gave themſelves, the *Pehtar* or *Pechtar* of the Saxon Chronicle, the *Vikveriar* or *Vichtveriar* of the Icelandic writers ſoftened and latinized. As theſe lived cloſe to the frontier, and had, in peace, frequent intercourſe with the Provincials, the name they gave themſelves was of courſe known, and uſed. While the northern Piks living at a diſtance, the old name of *Caledonæ* and *Dicaledonæ* was as naturally retained for them. Yet it was known that they were all Piks, all one people, though divided by a chain of mountains. Mr. Macpherſon derives the name *Deu Caledones* from their Northern poſition, and i am happy for once to agree with him. Mr. Whitaker objects

[e] III. 4. Provinciis Septentrionalium Pictorum, hoc eſt eis qui, arduis atque horrentibus montium jugis, ab auſtralibus eorum ſunt regionibus ſequeſtrati. Namque ipſi Auſtrales Picti, qui intra eoſdem montes habent ſedes, &c. *Intra* here means *on this ſide*, in oppoſition to *extra*, *beyond*.

that

that they were on the weſt, not the north; becauſe Ptolemy's map places the Deucaledonian ſea on the weſt; but this is a miſtake, as, tho Ptolemy's Caledonia runs in a wrong direction, it by no means follows that his poſition of the Deucaledonian ocean is wrong; for, in it the Orkneys, and Thule, are rightly placed by him to the north of Scotland, and it is humbly preſumed that Mr. Whitaker did not imagine the Orkneys were on the Weſt of Scotland, while Ptolemy rightly marks them, and the Deucaledonian ocean, to the north. And that the Deucaledonian ocean was to the north of Scotland is clear from Ptolemy, who ſays it is another name for the Sarmatic or Baltic [f]; which reached, as the ancients thought, from the Sarmatæ or Ruſſians on the eaſt, to the Caledones on the Weſt. The name of the ocean on the Weſt of Scotland was the Iriſh Sea, the Ωκεανος Ιουερνικος of Ptolemy, in which were Μοναιδα or Maun, Μαλεας or Mull, the Ebudæ or Hebudes, &c. To the ſouth of which was the Ωκεανος Ουιεργιουιος *Oceanus Vergivius*, now St. George's Channel. Did Mr. Whitaker ſeriouſly imagine there was no name for the ſea north of Britain, while that to the weſt had, by his account, three names for three different parts? The ſea on the eaſt is in Ptolemy the Ωκεανος Γερμανικος, or German Ocean.

I need not inſiſt on a matter ſo clear, and known to all, as that the Caledonians and Piks were the ſame; but ſhall only further add the authority of Beda, who marks the ſettlement of the Piks in the north of Britain as aboriginal. For he ſays that, *cum plurimam inſulæ partem incipientes ab auſtro poſſediſſent* [Britones] *contigit gentem Pictorum*

[f] Απο αρκτων δε τω συνημμενω ωκεανω, τω περιεχοντι μεν τας Βρεττανικας νησους, και τα Βορειοτατα της Ευρωπης, καλουμενω δε Δουκαλυδονιω τε και Σαρματικω. *Lib.* VII. *c.* 5. (A ſummary Deſcription of the World.) 'On the North joining to it the Ocean, which embraces the Britiſh iſles and moſt northern parts of Europe, and which is called Deucaledonius, and alſo Sarmaticus."

de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis oceanum ingreſſam, &c. I. 1. 'when the Britons, beginning at the ſouth, had poſſeſſed the greateſt part of the iland, it happened that the nation of the Piks from Scythia, entering the ocean in a few large ſhips, as is reported,' &c. The Britons of Beda were the Welch, whom he regarded as indigenes, knowing nothing of the Gael who preceded them. But that theſe Welch or Cumraig Britons poſſeſſed all Britain for centuries before Julius is unknown to none. Beda proceeds, *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti habitare per ſeptentrionales inſulæ partes cœperunt: nam auſtrina Britones occupaverunt*. Ib. 'Therefore the Piks going to Britain, began to inhabit the Northern parts of the iland; for the Britons had ſeized the Southern.' Theſe Northern parts of Beda were all north of Clyde and Forth, as is clear from ch. 12. of this book of his Hiſtory, and other places, where he deſcribes the Piks as coming from the north, and explains that he means the north of the firths of Clyde and Forth, which were indeed in the time that the wall of Antoninus was firſt abandoned, as above ſhewn, the natural bounds between the territories of the Caledonians, and the Southern Britons. It is unneceſſary to dwell longer on a ſubject ſo univerſally known and allowed, as the identity of the Caledonians and Piks, and which indeed no one can deny who does not prefer his own dreams to ancient authorities of the beſt note, ſo that laughter, and not confutation, ſhould be employed againſt him.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

The opinion of Camden and Lloyd, and that of the two Macpherſons, concerning the Origin of the Piks, examined.

BEFORE ſhewing the real origin of the Piks, it becomes neceſſary to diſcuſs two erroneous opinions, which have been formed concerning it. It is granted by all, and is indeed beyond a doubt, that the Piks muſt either have proceeded from Scandinavia, Germany, or the South of Britain; and that they muſt have been either Goths or Celts. If Goths, they ſpoke the Gothic tongue, the parent of the preſent German, Daniſh, Engliſh, &c. If Celts, their ſpeech was either Cumraig, that of the German Celts; or Gaelic, that of the Gaulic Celts.

That they were Goths ſhall be ſhewn in the next chapter, from the conſent of all the ancient writers, and from other arguments. That they were Celts is the opinion now to be confuted. The authors who aſſert the Piks to have been Celts are divided in their ſentiments.

I. Camden, a topographer intitled to the higheſt praiſe, and whoſe works diſplay no inconſiderable learning and judgment, ventures in his Britannia to aſſert, for the firſt time, in oppoſition to all preceding authors, that the Piks were Welſh. For this idea he ſeems to have been indebted to ſome Welchman, whom he conſulted[a] concerning etymology, and other points belonging to the ancient Britiſh language, in which he was himſelf totally unconverſant, and was at the ſame time unfortunately an equal ſtranger to the Gothic tongue, a knowledge of which would have ſaved him from many lapſes. It is poſſible that this Welſh interpreter conſulted by Camden may have been Humphrey Lluyd, ſo noted for his *Commentariolum*, in which he diſplays an intemperate zeal for the fabulous honour of his country, making Brennus, and other illuſtrious names, Welchmen of Wales. The warlike reputation of the Piks might well excite a ſimilar fabling diſpoſition to convert them into genuine Cambro-Britons; and the neglect ſhewn by Hector Boyce, and the other Scotiſh writers, to theſe the ancient inhabitants of their country, and their own progenitors, might encourage this attempt. Camden himſelf evidently ſhews a ridiculous reſpect, and awe, when he diſcuſſes the ſtory of Brutus, and others the moſt notorious fictions of Cambrian, or rather of Armo-

[a] This appears from Camden's MSS. in the Britiſh Muſeum.

rican,

rican, romance: and the antiquarian page, from Leland's time to his own, ſufficiently evinces that the reigns of the Tudors had an effect in inducing the Engliſh writers to a reverence for Welch fables. In no inſtance has Camden fallen into ſuch raſhneſs of oppoſition to all preceding teſtimonies as on this ſubject; and he may fately be conſidered as having been miſled by his Cambrian counſellor, his chief argument, as will preſently be ſeen, reſting on a knowledge of the Welch language.

It is no wonder that Mr. Lloyd ſhould, in his valuable Archæologia[b], ſupport an opinion which reflected ancient honour on his countrymen, tho it had been abundantly confuted by Uſher and Stillingfleet. But that Innes ſhould ſtain his work with ſo radical an error is ſomewhat ſurprizing.

II. The two Macpherſons, Dr. John and Mr. James, miſled by ſimilar ideas, have with great reſolution attacked, and *confuted*, all the ancients. Tacitus, and Ammianus, and Beda knew nothing of modern Erſe, and fall the victims of this viſionary dagger. In the *opinion* of theſe two formidable champions the Piks were merely a branch of the Gaelic race, and only differed from the highlanders in local ſituation. Mr. O Conor, in his Diſſertations, has juſtly obſerved that the *ſecond-ſight* was neceſſary for this ſurprizing diſcovery, which is indeed beneath ſerious confutation. The groſs ignorance of the two Macpherſons is ſupported by its uſual adjuncts, ſupercilioufneſs and petulance: and ſcience would kindle with indignation, if it did not ſmile in contempt, when it beholds ſuch men aſpiring to dictate their viſions to the literary world. The ſequel of this work will, tho unin-

[b] Preface.

tentionally,

tentionally, ſufficiently confute their ludicrous and ſelf-ſufficient aſſertions: and the radical difference between the Caledonians or Piks, who were Goths, and the Highlanders, who were Celts from Ireland, will be clearly evinced.

The opinion of Camden, and of Innes, calls for quite other treatment. Reſpectable and modeſt writers are entitled to be anſwered with reſpect and with modeſty: while thoſe, whoſe ſuperciliouſneſs and impudence can only be matched by their ſuperficiality and ignorance, deſerve not that regard which they never ſhew to others. The reaſons, if they may be ſo called, for the opinion that the Piks were Welch, are, 1. That Tacitus, Herodian, and Dio, call them Britons. 2. That they were painted as the other Britons. 3. That the names of mountains and rivers on the eaſt of Scotland, where the Piks dwelled, are often Welch. Of all theſe in order.

1. That the Piks are called Britons by Tacitus, Herodian and Dio, is no more to be wondered at, than that the Engliſh are now called Britiſh, or that the Engliſh in America are called Americans; tho the Engliſh, it is humbly preſumed, be neither Welch, nor American ſavages. In the beginning of the laſt chapter this was ſpoken of; and this argument is ſo ſilly, that it is unneceſſary to take up the reader's time with it. How came the Belgæ of the ſouth to loſe their name in that of Britons, tho they were infallibly Germans, ſpeaking the Gothic tongue, and no more Welſh than the Engliſh are? Was it not becauſe that, if a hundred nations, of a hundred different origins, had been ſettled in Britain, they would all have been with the ſtricteſt propriety called Britons? Let me here anſwer an *argument* of Mr. Lloyd's

of

of equal ponderoſity; heavy indeed as lead, and which may however be melted with the ſlighteſt fire. He ſays, 'that the Piks were Britons without queſtion, appears by the name of them in Latin and Iriſh.' I know not whether this *reaſon* be Latin or Iriſh. The Latin name is *Picti*, from the name they gave themſelves *Pibtar*, as the Saxon Chronicle ſhews. The Iriſh is *Cruithneich*, which, as ſome Celtic dreamers ſay, means *painted*, others ſay it means *wheat-eaters*; and it appears to me to be a mere patronymic, as common with the Celts, from *Cruthen* the firſt king or leader of the Piks. Thus *Dalreudini* were from *Reuda*, &c. But an author muſt have a right Celtic underſtanding who builds on ſuch trifling nonſenſe. Mr. Lloyd tells us, that the old Britiſh manuſcripts call the Piks *Fitchid Guydhelians*. And the Guydhelians, he ſays, were the Gaelic aborigenes of Britain who were driven into Ireland by the Welch. I ſuſpect from this that the word Guydhelians was uſed for any aboriginal, or moſt ancient inhabitants. But this ſeems to be one of the miſtakes, which thoſe learned in Welch ſay are not unfrequent in Lloyd, who is thought to have known Iriſh better than the antiquities of his own country, for his countryman Humphry Lloyd ſays, the Welch annals call the Piks '*Phichtaid, id eſt, Phichtianos.*' And Sir John Price, in his deſcription of Wales, ſays, that in the ſixth century "*Y Gwydhyl Phictiaid*, which is to ſay, the "*Iriſh Picts*, did over-run the Iſle of Man." Now that many Piks were ſettled in Ireland is certain from Adomnan, in his life of St. Columba, Probus the old author of the Life of St. Patrick, the Annals of Tighernac and Ulſter, and other pieces of Iriſh antiquity: and Lloyd ſeems to have miſtaken the *Gwydhyl Phichtiaid*, or *Iriſh Piks*, for the real original Piks. Indeed names and facts, that are ſo unfortunate as to paſs thro Celtic ſtrainers, receive ſo deep a tinge of nonſenſe, that it is almoſt impoſſible

impoſſible to diſcover their genuine hue. It is alſo moſt riſible to ſee Mr. Lloyd have the Celtic marks upon him; for his argument is ſelf-contradictory. He deſcribes the Guydhelians as a race preceding the Welch; and their ſpeech as more ancient than the Welch; yet he ſays the Piks were certainly Welch, becauſe they are called *Guydhyl Phichtiaid*, or Guyhelian Piks in old Welch MSS. that is, the Piks were Welch becauſe —they were not Welch. If Lloyd had any meaning at all in theſe ſtrange arguments, it was, that the Piks were Britons, becauſe their name, as he dreamed, implied both in Latin and Iriſh that they painted themſelves, as the other Britons did: and this leads to the ſecond argument.

II. That the Piks were Welch Britons, becauſe they painted as the Britons did. This argument is alſo ſelf-contradictory, for there is not the ſmalleſt authority to believe that the Welch Britons, or any Celtic people, ever painted themſelves at all. It was a cuſtom common among the Gothic nations, to make themſelves look terrible in war; and was with them, a mark of nobility, ſo that, as the ancients ſay, the moſt noble had the greateſt number of figures ſtained on his body [c]. Cæſar found nothing of this in Gaul, among the Celts proper; but when he paſſed into Britain, he found ſuch Britons as he ſaw at all, that is the Belgæ, a Gothic people, painted; and he of courſe aſcribes this cuſtom to the Britons in general. That any Celtic people ever uſed this cuſtom, no authority can be produced. That it was common to the Goths, the following inſtances will ſhew.

We learn from Pliny that this cuſtom was that of the whole Dacians, and Sarmatæ [d]. Under the

[c] Herodot. V. 6. Excerpta Diod. Sic. Valeſii p. 357. Dio Chryſoſt. Orat. xiv. Mela II. 1. III. 6. Ammian. Marcell. xxxi. 3. Iſidor. Orig. xix. 23.

[d] XXII. 1. Mareſque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora ſua inſcribunt.

name

name of Dacians Pliny expreſſly ſays, he alſo includes the Getæ[e]. Vaſt names, and which ſpread over a territory of three thouſand miles in circumference! The Sarmatians, or Ruſſians, are out of the queſtion; ſave that they ſhew the univerſality of the practice in the eaſt, whence the Goths came.

Herodotus[f] deſcribing the manners of the Thracians, whom he calls the moſt numerous people in the world, ſave the Indians alone, tells us that they all marked their bodies with theſe ſtains, and that it was permitted to no ſlave, being a badge of freedom. Nay nobles and chiefs were diſtinguiſhed by the nature and number of theſe marks, as now among the American ſavages.

Valerius Flaccus, ſpeaking of the men of Lemnos, who married Thracian ſlaves, ſays

Picta manus uſtaque placet ſed barbara mento.
Argonaut. II. 150.

Phanocles Leſbius, and Plutarch[g], ſay the Thracians marked their women ſo, for tearing Orpheus in pieces; a fabulous origin of a real cuſtom.

From Dacia, and Getia, it has been ſhewn in a ſpecial Diſſertation, to be found at the end of this work, that all the German and Scandinavian nations proceeded. But the cuſtom of ſtaining their bodies was not retained by all, becauſe it was done with a particular herb, which could not be procured in all countries. This herb was the *glaſtum*, or woad, which ſtains blue. However many nations of Germany and Scandinavia ſtill held this cuſtom. Of theſe the Geloni and Agathyrſi are the moſt famous in antiquity. Herodotus[h] ſays, that Gelonum was a large town of the Budini, walled with wood: that the people of it were originally Greeks, and uſed a ſpeech partly

[e] IV. 12. Getæ, Daci Romanis dicti. [f] V. 6.
[g] Phanocles apud Stob. Serm. 185. Plutarch de ſera numinis vindicta. [h] IV. 108.

Scythic,

Scythic, and partly Greek: that the Budini were alſo called Geloni by the Greeks; but that the Geloni were agricultors, the Budini only paſtors. He alſo mentions that the Budini had red hair, and blue eyes, and were a great nation. The red hair and blue eyes were the two grand features of the Scythians, or Goths; of whom deſcended the Germans and Scandinavians, ſo noted for thoſe features in ancient and modern authors. Mela[i] apparently from Herodotus, ſays the Budini lived in large deſerts, while the Geloni had a wooden town. The name of Budini is not, it is believed, mentioned by other writers; and that of Geloni ſeems to have ſwallowed it up, as Herodotus ſays it had in his time among the Greeks. By the Geloni we muſt therefore underſtand not the mixt Greeks of Gelonum; but the wide nation of the Budini where it lay. Theſe Geloni are, by Pliny, and Solinus, placed beyond the fountains of Boryſtenes, or Nieper, and next beyond them were the Agathyrſi, whom Ptolemy and others place on the eaſt ſhore of the Baltic in preſent Eſthonia. Mela ſpecially remarks, that among the Agathyrſi theſe marked ſtains were ſigns of nobility, as the perſons were more or leſs diſtinguiſhed by them[k]. Agathyrſi is apparently a Greek name, from the thyrſus of Bacchus, whoſe myſteries they delighted in; as the Thyrſagetæ, another Gothic nation, haply received their name from the ſame cauſe. For all the Scythians, or Goths, were in their firſt ſeats great celebrators of Bacchus; who, by all appearance, was a monarch of the primitive Scythic Empire in Aſia; and a great conqueror, who made a famous expedition into India, and from thence introduced the vine into his dominions.

[i] I. 19.

[k] Agathyrſi ora artuſque pingunt: ut quiſque majoribus præſtat ita magis vel minus: cæterum iiſdem omnes notis, et ſic ut ablui nequeunt. II. 1.

Hence his orgies were celebrated by the Scythians, or Goths, in climates where the vine was unknown; and the wine of barley, as they called it, or ale, ſupplied it's place. The Thracian bacchanals are moſt celebrated, and from them paſſed to Greece; tho Thrace was cold, and no vines grew there. The real name of the Agathyrſi is unknown; but that they were Scythians, Goths, Germans, is apparent from all accounts. Stillingfleet[l] plauſibly thinks them the very people afterward called Piks: and that they were a branch of the Peukini, or Baſternæ (whom i take to be the Peohtar, or Piks) ſeems probable becauſe the Peukini, and Sitones are the only Scythians, Goths, Germans, who can be traced up to the ſouth-eaſt ſhores of the Baltic, and into Scandinavia, as ſhewn at length in the Diſſertation annexed to this work.

The *Arii*, a nation in the very heart of Germany, are alſo ſpecially mentioned by Tacitus[m] to have uſed this practice of ſtaining their bodies.

But it may be ſaid that this practice does not appear to have been general among the Germans, elſe Tacitus would have remarked it; and that tho the Scandinavians may have uſed this practice, without it's ever coming to the knowlege of the Romans, who knew next to nothing of Scandinavia, yet it is not to be conceived that, had the Southern Germans and continental Belgæ, uſed a practice ſo uncommon, and new to the Romans, it could have eſcaped the ſpecial notice of Cæſar, who warred with them, and of Tacitus who reſided among them, as Procurator, or Lieutenant Governor of Belgium. How then came it to be uſed among the Belgæ of Britain, and not among the Belgæ of Gaul?

To this be it anſwered, that the practice was an ancient one, wearing out gradually. The firſt German nations we find mentioned in hiſtory, the

[l] Origines Sacræ.
[m] In Germania.

Agathyrſi, and Geloni, uſed this cuſtom; and it is reaſonable to think it was then practiſed by many other German nations, as we find it in the time of Tacitus retained by the Arii. The *glaſtum*, or woad, was not every where to be found; and it would ſeem that, even in Pliny's time, the Britiſh Belgæ had it from Celtic Gaul, where no uſe was made of it [n]. If in the heart of Germany we find the Arii, not a diſtinct people, but only a tribe of the Lugiones, retaining this cuſtom, tho the other tribes of the Lugiones had it not, is there any wonder that a part of the Belgæ ſhould keep it after the others had dropt the practice? Surely the former caſe is ſtronger than the later; for the Arii were not divided from their brethren, ſave by imaginary bounds; while the Britiſh Belgæ were ſeparated by the ſea, and in a world apart. It muſt alſo be remarked that in iſlands, as containing remote, diſtinct, and ſeparate ſocieties, all old cuſtoms, traditions, &c. are retained much later than in the vague and mixt continent. Thus in Scandinavia, which is ſo nearly an iſle, that it may be called one, the old Scythian, or Gothic manners, traditions, &c. were retained many centuries longer than in Germany: and in Iceland, tho very lately peopled, ſtill many centuries longer than in Scandinavia, ſo that all Eddas, Sagas, &c. are of Iceland. Britain was even by Cæſar, in the then improved ſtate of Roman navigation, regarded as another world. No wonder then that it's inhabitants retained many cuſtoms for centuries after they had been dropt by their brethren of the continent. The Belgæ of Britain were, as all allow, ſettled here three or four centuries before Cæſar, when the cuſtom of ſtaining their bodies was, in all likelihood, retained by many of the

[n] Simile plantagini glaſtum in Gallia vocatur, quo Britannorum conjuges, nuruſque, toto corpore oblitæ, quibuſdam in ſacris, et nudæ, incedunt, Æthiopum colorem imitantes. XXII. 1.

German

German nations, and by them in particular. Hence it is not ſurely matter of heſitation that the Britiſh Belgæ ſhould ſtill ſtain their bodies; while their anceſtors of the oppoſite ſhore had abandoned the practice, and conformed to the more advanced ſtate of ſociety, which the Greeks of Marſeilles had by degrees introduced into Gaul. And when we know from Tacitus that the Arii, a part of the Lugiones, uſed this cuſtom, while the other Lugiones did not, all heſitation muſt ſurely vaniſh.

That the Celts ever ſtained their bodies, there is not one authority, if i miſtake not, that can ſhew. Had the Cimbri, Cumri, Cimmerii, or German Celts, who once poſſeſſed from the Euxine to the Britiſh ſea, uſed this mode, ſo remarkable a circumſtance could never have eſcaped the old Greek authors, who mention the Cimmerii, nor the Roman authors, who ſo particularly deſcribe the perſons of theſe Cimbri who fought with Marius. That the Gauliſh Celts did not uſe it, is plain from Cæſar, who, tho he delineates the moſt minute matters concerning them, ſays nothing of this; but mentions it as a novelty, when he comes among the Belgic Britons. But were we to grant for one moment, that the Cumraig Britons had this cuſtom, it is palpable they muſt have received it from their Gothic neighbours and inmates, the Piks on the north, or the Belgæ on the ſouth. Or to cloſe all argument on the point, let us grant, tho a palpable falſehood, that the Welch Britons excluſively had this practice at firſt, what would the uſe of it among the Piks prove, but that, as a faſhion, it had paſſed to them from their ſouthern neighbours? Are we of Britain all French, becauſe we dreſs ourſelves after the French, and not after the Spaniſh faſhion? Thus the argument is, in every view, not only futile, but puerile. Let us now paſs to an argument of real weight, and the only one ſuch that can be offered on the ſubject.

III. That the Piks were Welch, becauſe the names of rivers and mountains, in thoſe parts of Scotland where they dwelled, are often Welch. To him who has redd the firſt Part of this work this argument muſt fall of itſelf. For he will there ſee that the Cumri actually poſſeſſed Scotland for centuries before the Piks came in. Rivers and Mountains are perpetual, and their names cannot be eaſily changed; while towns, and other works of man, are periſhable, and their names are often altered. Hence in Greece and Aſia many rivers and mountains retain, to this day, the names by which they were known to Homer, 900 years before Chriſt, and perhaps actually bore 900 years before Homer. Yet theſe parts have paſſed thro many ſcenes of barbariſm, and utter deſolation; while in Scotland there has been but one change of inhabitants on the eaſt, when the Piks drove out the Cumri; and but four on the weſt, when the Piks ſucceeded the Cumri, and then gave up that part to the Dalriads, which was afterward ſubdued and held by the Norwegians, tho not excluſive of the Dalriads, the moſt numerous inhabitants. But it is the eaſt and ſouth parts which here require our notice: and that in the former names of rivers and mountains ſhould ſometimes be ſtill Cumraig, is ſurely no matter of wonder when the Piks expelled the Cumri only about two centuries before Chriſt. Had this event happened two thouſand years before Chriſt, theſe names would have nothing ſurprizing.

But as the ſubject of names of places in Scotland has been ſeldom touched, a few remarks ſhall here be offered upon it. And firſt ſome hints ſhall be premiſed concerning what is called the Celtic language.

In the Gothic language we have a monument of the fourth century, namely the Goſpels, and other fragments of the Scripture, as tranſlated by Ulphilas, biſhop of thoſe Goths who paſſed the Danube, and ſettled in Mæſia. The work which Ovid tells

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us he wrote in this language has unhappily periſhed; but it muſt have been a fixt and exact ſpeech before Ovid's time, elſe he could not have written in it. Accordingly we find it, in the Goſpels of Ulphilas, as perfect and grammatical as the Greek, or Latin; and with perhaps as few anomalies as theſe tongues. Of this Gothic the Anglo-Belgic, commonly called Anglo-Saxon, of Cædmon and Alfred in the eighth and ninth age; and the Francic, Theudeſque, and Icelandic, of ſeveral writers from that period, are mere dialects. The Codes of the Viſigoths, Burgundians, &c. from the fifth century, alſo preſerve many words and ſentences of the Gothic tongue; as do Jornandes, and other early writers. So that the Gothic may be regarded as a fixt and written language from the Fourth century, to this day that it's dialects prevail over Germany, England, Scotland, and the Northern kingdoms. In the days of Ulphilas the Goths were quite unmixed with any other people; as was alſo the caſe with the Angli of the heart of Germany, and with the Icelanders.

Very different was the lot of the Celtic tongue. The Goths, pouring in from Aſia, almoſt exterminated the Celts, or ancient ſavages of Europe, by the ferocious mode of carrying on war, ſo uſual in the earlieſt times. In Germany but a few Cimbri, or Celts, were left about a hundred years before Chriſt; and of theſe few the greater part fell by the ſword of Marius; the ſmall remnant, confined to a little point on the ſea, as Tacitus deſcribes, was either cut off by the Germans, or quite loſt as a drop in the ocean. In Gaul, as more diſtant from the Gothic progreſs, the Celts retained their poſſeſſions longer. Cæſar found a third part of Gaul ſtill held by the Celtæ; that is, chiefly; for the boundaries of Celtic Gaul, the Seine and Rhone, as marked by Cæſar were geographic and arbitrary: and we find, among his Celtæ, nations

certainly Germanic, as the Senones, or Semnones, the Boii, &c. However, even excluding theſe nations, one third of Gaul was poſſeſſed by the Celts in Cæſar's time: but theſe Celts, in a century or two, totally exchanged their ſpeech for the Latin; and Strabo vouches that even in his time the Latin was ſpoken generally in both Gaul and Spain. Nor does a ſcrap of the Celtic exiſt preceding the Tenth century, when by mixture it had become partly Latin, partly Gothic. The ancient Gauliſh, or Celtic, is therefore univerſally marked by the learned as a loſt language.

In Wales, indeed, and in Ireland, the form, and grammar, and doubtleſs many words of the two grand Celtic dialects, the Cimbric, or Cumraig, and the Gauliſh, or Gaelic, have been preſerved. But unfortunately the Welch were ſubject to the Romans, and incorporated with them, for four centuries: nay, for centuries before the Romans arrived, they had been ſurrounded by Gothic nations, the Piks and Belgæ. The Saxons alſo and Danes altered the Welch vocabulary by an influx of Gothic words; and when the language firſt appears in writing in the laws of Howel Dha, of the tenth age, and other genuine works, the grammar is indeed Cumraig, but the body of the language is as much Gothic, and low Latin, as Celtic. The reader muſt attend that it is a ſingular quality of the Celtic tongue, to corrupt and debaſe others, to it's own vague form, and eſpecially by altering the beginning of words; ſo that it becomes as difficult to recognize them, as to know a perſon in a maſk. A modern Engliſh word, or name, when cloathed in the Celtic habit, becomes as ſingular and old-like as a real Celtic word of two thouſand years ſtanding.

In Ireland where, as Leibnitz obſerves, the Celtic muſt be found if any where, an equal, if not greater, mixture took place than in Wales. The old Iriſh grammarians, as Mr. O'Conor remarks,

marks, call the Iriſh tongue *Berla Tabide*, or a mixt ſpeech; and with great propriety, for Cumri, of Welch, and Belgians and Piks from Britain, had all their ſhare in the Iriſh tongue, even about the birth of Chriſt. Afterward the Danes ſettling in Ireland, ruled it for centuries; and there is no fragment of Iriſh extant, which can be placed prior to the Daniſh ſettlement. Nevertheleſs the Gauls, or Celts, who firſt peopled that noble iland, ſtill remaining the moſt numerous, the grammar and ſtructure of the ſpeech are infallibly Celtic; and it is as difficult to recognize the foreign words in Iriſh as in Welch, or more ſo. A learned Hungarian has obſerved, on the language of his own country, that tho the grammar and ſtructure reſemble the Hunniſh, or Turkiſh, yet the words are very different, being generally either German, or Slavonic [o]. This will ever be the caſe in an ancient, but mixt language, for the form, grammar, or ſtructure of a ſpeech is radical, and fundamental: the words are in conſtant fluctuation. Nay the modern Greeks are an unmixed people; and tho the grammar be the ſame, how different is ancient Greek from modern! In like manner the Iriſh and Welch retained the Celtic grammar; but their ſpeech even in it's earlieſt remains is no more Celtic than the Hungarian is Turkiſh.

Some late ſuperficial dreamers have aſſerted, that the Gaelic of the Highlands of Scotland is the pureſt dialect of the Celtic! This opinion was unhappily advanced by people who tell us that poems, yet repeated in the Highlands, were repeated there in the ſame words in the third century. *Au miracle! Au miracle!* Immortal languages of Greece and Rome, what are your glories to theſe! All the eternal monuments of your authors

[o] Kol in notis ad Olahi Hungariam, Vindob. 1763, 8vo. p. 91. note.

could not fix the ſpoken language half ſo long, as that of theſe ſavages has ſtood upon it's own bottom. Certain it is, that in Wales and Ireland even the moſt learned find it difficult to interpret manuſcripts of the twelfth and thirteenth age; and, were a poem of that period to be put into the hands of any of our highland tranſlators, he would ſtamp, and ſtare, and give up the purſuit. Over all the globe, it ſeems, language, mixt or unmixt, has changed with time, ſave in this favoured ſpot, where Eternity has built a neſt for her own phœnix. Among the mountains of Swizzerland and Biſcay, the language is quite changed and corrupted; but among the mountains of Scotland the mutability of human affairs has no power. No doubt a Celtic underſtanding will always be a Celtic underſtanding; and that folly imputed to the Celts by the Greeks and Romans[p] remains unimpaired. But this Gaelic of the highlands is doubtleſs more corrupt than either Welch, or Iriſh. For the Attacots, or Dalreudini, who firſt ſettled in Argyle about 258, were a ſmall colony from the north of Ireland, where both the Tuath de Danan, or Cumri, and the Cruitnich, or Piks, had eſtabliſhed themſelves: nay were themſelves moſtly Scots, or Goths of Ireland, tho in that country, being loſt among the numbers of Celts who had fled there as to the laſt refuge, they had adopted the Celtic tongue, but doubtleſs retained much of the language of their anceſtors, the Gothic. The Attacots were driven back to Ireland in the fifth century. In 503 they returned with reinforcements, under Loarn and Fergus, and remained fixt. On all hands, ſave the weſt,

[p] Diodor. Sic. V. p. 354. marks the obſcure ſpeech, and conſequently underſtanding of the Celts.

Et tumidus Galla credulitate fruar.

Says a Roman poet: and another has

Vaniloquum Celtæ genus.

where

where the ſea was their boundary, they were ſurrounded by Piks and Welch: the former were their allies, and no doubt many Piks remained among the new ſettlers, and many intermarriages took place. The Welch of Alclyde, or Strat-Clyde, appear alſo to have had much intercourſe with the Attacots, Dalriads, or Highlanders. Above all, in the ninth century, the Hebudes were ſeized by the Norwegians, who held them for about four hundred years. Not a fragment of the Gaelic has been found in Scotland older than the Fourteenth age; and it is perfectly known that the preſent Gaelic of the highlands of Scotland is quite full of Norwegian words. Hence this ſpeech muſt be much more corrupt than any other Celtic dialect; inaſmuch as it's written monuments are five centuries more modern, and, before the writing began, a grand revolution and total intermixture had long exiſted. For in theſe ilands of Hebudes, the Celtic tongue had a better chance than in the highlands of Scotland, where conſtant intercourſe with the Piks, or Lowlanders, on one ſide, and the Norwegians on the other, muſt have totally changed it. In ſhort, thoſe ſkilled in the Celtic of Ireland pronounce that of the highlands of Scotland a corrupt dialect, even of the Iriſh Celtic, which is itſelf totally corrupt. In the whole highlands, and weſtern iles of Scotland, are numerous deſcendents of the Piks and Norwegians; and the Iriſh ſpeech and manners ſpred over parts uninhabited by Iriſh, ſo that, as ſhall after be ſhewn, the inhabitants of theſe countries are as mixt as their ſpeech. The Celts being natural ſavages, and regarded as ſuch by all writers of all ages, their tongue was ſimple and poor, whence they were always borrowing of others; while hardly in modern European language can one word derived from the Celtic be found. Our Celtic ſeers of etymology, ignorant of all theſe facts, derive modern words from the Celtic, without

out ſuſpecting the real truth, that the Celtic words are derived from them. Without complete knowlege of the Gothic, and it's dialects, no man ought to meddle with Celtic etymology, elſe he will blunder in utter darkneſs. For want of this knowlege, Mr. Whitaker has derived near 3000 Engliſh words from the Welch, which had in fact paſt from the Belgic, Saxon, and Daniſh, into the Welch; and moſt of them may be found in the Gothic, Theudeſque, and Icelandic, to which they could never paſs from the Welch. The Goths were the conquering people, and ſuperior in all things to the Celts; and ſo numerous that they ſpred over all Europe, and great part of Aſia, many centuries before Chriſt, while the Celts were pent up in two or three little corners.

Celtic etymology is indeed the peculiar madneſs of this ſuperficial age. Etymology of names, whether of perſons, or places, has been in all ages ſynonymous with complete folly. In the old time *Britain* from *Brutus*, *Scandinavia*, *a ſcandendis navibus*, *Viſurgis*, *quod vi ſurgat*, were thought pretty and apt. Next Hebrew and Phœnician etymologies were introduced by Bochart. Now Celtic is the word; and etymologiſts are more mad than ever, for the Latin and Hebrew were fixt and ancient tongues; whereas this Celtic is a vague mixture of many languages, and ſo ſoft and indeterminate in orthography, that, as Buchanan obſerves of the etymology of his time, *ex quolibet quodlibet fit*, you may make what you pleaſe of whatever you pleaſe. We have ſeen Arthur's ſeat, and other common Engliſh names, derived from the Celtic! Indeed you may derive what you pleaſe from it; and with as much juſtice and truth, as Dean Swift ludicrouſly derives Greek and Latin names from plain Engliſh. We dream that theſe Celtic names juſt fit the perſons, places, &c. but never dream that three thouſand others would all fit juſt as well; and that a cap and bells would

would ſit ſtill better. Among the Saxon names all over England, Greek names over Greece, Latin over Italy, who has explained, or can explain one? In the name of good ſenſe let us apply this to our Celtic nonſenſe. Every name that is thought with peculiar fitneſs to ſpring from the Celtic, i ſhall engage to derive with equal fitneſs from any tongue in the world, with the help of a dictionary. Suppoſe now for a ſpecimen, we take the Spaniſh, and apply it to names in the highlands of Scotland. Take *Sonachan* and *Ardmallie*, names in Argyleſhire, which firſt ſtart to my eye in Mr. Pennant's map, is not *Sonada*, a tune, and *chança* a jeſt? The firſt place was one where the bards uſed to ſing and play, anciently *Sonadachança*, now by an eaſy contraction *Sonachan*. Is not *Ardmallie* from *Ardid*, a ſtratagem, and *mal*, ill, a place where a conſpiracy againſt Fingal was defeated? Read Swift, good Celtic etymologiſts; read Swift.

Of all etymology whatever, the Celtic is the moſt uncertain, becauſe the language is hardly a written one, and its orthography, on which etymology depends, is quite various and lax. The old Celtic is totally loſt; and to derive old names from the Iriſh or Welch Celtic, is as ludicrous as it would be to derive ancient names in Greece or Italy, from modern Greek or Italian. Etymology of names, whether of perſons or places is often deluſive; for we know not the reaſon of the name, or whether it had any reaſon at all. Such etymology is therefore always dubious, but Celtic etymology is mere deluſion; for we do not only know nothing of the reaſon of the name, but we know not even the Celtic tongue.

In theſe remarks, therefore, on names in Scotland, i have nothing to do with etymology, but merely with the *form* of the name, which marks it Welſh, Iriſh, or Gothic, as ſuch names occur in Wales, Ireland, or Germany, and the northern

kingdoms. Thus Clyde, Douglas, Lanerk, are names in Wales as well as in Scotland: *burgh* is common in the Gothic kingdoms, &c. &c. Our obſervations ſhall conſider the names of, I. Rivers. II. Mountains. III. Towns.

I. RIVERS. Theſe retain their names even longer than Mountains, for they often run thro ſo vaſt a territory, that to change the name in one ſpot were moſt unneceſſary, and inconvenient; and thro the whole, impoſſible. On the weſt coaſt of Scotland there are no rivers beyond the Clyde, but an exuberant number of excellent bays, creeks, and rivulets, ſwarming with fiſh, the wealth of the ocean; and which, had not the country been reſigned to the ſavage indolence and ignorance of Celts, would, centuries ago, have enriched that ſhore to a degree ſurpaſſing the eaſtern. Had the induſtrious Goths poſſeſſed this, as well as the eaſt, theſe fine natural havens would have been adorned with glittering towns and villages, and the heathy dales with plenteous harveſts. But when theſe Celts allowed a country ſo fertile as Ireland to lye uncultivated, and her ſpacious plains to run into marſhes, it is no wonder that they have neglected the weſtern mountains of Scotland. Nor can any progreſs in ſociety be ever expected from them, ſo that the plantation of little colonies, from the ſouth and eaſt, is the only plan which can enſure an improvement of the weſtern coaſt of Scotland. Theſe bays and creeks, fooliſhly called lochs or lakes, have ſometimes names apparently Celtic, as *Linnhe* and *Duich*; but far the greater number retain the Gothic form, either from the Piks who once held all this tract, and even in Columba's time, 565, poſſeſſed Hyona or Icolmkill, nay till the ninth or tenth century all ſave Argyleſhire; or from the Norwegians, who had the weſtern iles, and part of the weſtern coaſt. Such Gothic names are *Long*, *Strevan*, *Ridan*, *Fyne*,

Fyne, Awe (water), *Craigniſh, Melfort, Etive, Sumart, Sheil, Moydart, Morrer, Carran, Torredon, Gare, Broom, Calva, Heather*, &c. &c. If any Celtic dreamer derives thoſe from the Celtic tongue, any perſon the leaſt ſkilled in the Gothic can repay him with Gothic etymologies. The names of the HEBUD ILES are alſo Gothic. *Arran, Arroe* an ile in the Baltic, *Aran* the name of a man in Torfæi Norveg. I. 307. *Bute, Bote*, antiently *Bot*, the name of a man, Worm. Ser. Reg. Dan. p. 28. *Botkerke* in Sweden, *Bote* a town there [p]. *Ila* and *Sura* have the Gothic termination of ilands, *a* iland [q]. So *Colonſa* and *Oranſa*. *Mull, Moll-ſund* in Norway. *Uiſt* or *Viſt*, from Gothic *Viſi, Viſt*, the weſt, as the moſt weſterly. *Haris* (*haar*, high) the hights; *Leuis*, the lees or low parts: *Herro* is an ile on the coaſt of Norway. *Staffa, Staaf* alſo an ile on the Norwegian coaſt, and another in Sweden, *Staf*, a rock in Norway, Torf. I. 64. *Staf* a pillar. *Egg, Eggiaford* in Norway, *Egſund* in Sweden, *Egholm* of Denmark, *Eggi* a farm in Norway, Torf. I. 64. *Rum, Rom* an ile of Denmark; *Ruim* the old Belgic name of Thanet [r]. *Skia* (corruptly called *Sky*, as *Ar* is called *Air*), *Skuo* one of the Ferroe Iles. In ſhort the names even of the ſmalleſt iles are all Gothic; even the two Cumbras at the mouth of Clyde have the Gothic *a* or *oe, iland*, the ilands of the Cumri or Welch.

It is from the names of rivers on the eaſt and ſouth that the argument ſprings for the Piks being Welch. And ſeveral of theſe names are doubtleſs

[p] Bleau's Atlas has been chiefly uſed, and may be conſulted by the reader who wiſhes to verify the names here given.

[q] 'Ey, inſula, Swedis et Danis, *oë:eyland*, inſula.' Wachter. To ſpell *iſland* is not only foreign to pronunciation, but to etymology. So the Saxon *thoh* we ſpell *though*, and plead etymology!

[r] Inſula quid dicitur in Saxonica lingua Tenet, Britannico autem ſermone Ruim. Aſſer. Vita Alfredi, p. 7.

Cum-

Cumraig, but prior to the Pikiſh time. Beginning from the north of the eaſtern ſhore, *Devon* ſeems the firſt river which perhaps bears a Cumraig name. Next is *Dee*, certainly Welch, as it is the name of a river in Wales; and the word in Cumraig means *water*. Then are two of the *Eſks* which abound in the ſouth and eaſt of Scotland, and are alſo Cumraig; *Yſk* alſo meaning *water*, and being the name of ſome rivers in Wales. Next *Eden*, alſo a river in Cumberland. *Tiviot*, the Welch *Tevy*. Another Dee in Galloway. The *Clyde*, as in Wales; where alſo a town called Lanerk ſtands on the river. Theſe names are all Cumraig; and precedent to the Pikiſh times.

On the other hand, many names of rivers in the north, eaſt, and ſouth of Scotland are Gothic.

To begin with the north, the Gothic names here may be from the Norwegians, who held Sutherland and Caithneſs, along with the Orkneys. The very name of *Sutherland* implies this, as it muſt have been ſo termed by a people who lived in the Orkneys, to the ſouth of which it is. The rivers *Durneſs*, *Navern*, *Armiſdale*, *Hallow Dale*, *Forſa*, *Thurſo*, *Wick*, *Dunbeath*, *Hemſdale*, *Brora*, *Uynes*, *Caran*, *Conan*, *Beaulie*, are all Gothic. *Neſs* is moſt ancient Gothic; *Neſſus* a river of Thrace near Abdera, mentioned by Laertius, and Iamblichus in the Life of Pythagoras, and many others. *Nairn*, *Findorn*, *Loſſie*, *Spey*, are Gothic; the laſt name *Spae* means, I believe, the foam of any violent water. *Uggie*, *Ythan*, ſeem Gothic; as does *Don*, the name of the river in England upon which Doncaſter ſtands. The *Tay* is by all appearance Gothic, *Tavus*, *Tau*; *aw*, or *aa*, is water, river, in the Northern and German tongues, as *Almund Aa*, Almund river, *Uldal Aw*, Uldal river; hence *Te-aw*, *The River*, by eminence. Forth is perfect Gothic; *Fiorda*, *firth*, the mouth of a river; the Firth of Forth is a ſoleciſm, meaning the Firth of a Firth. The *Tweed* is ſurely Gothic,

for the name ſuperabounds in Denmark and Norway, tho it be there generally given to towns and ſpelt *Twede*. The paſtoral ſtreams that fall into the Tweed *Gala*, *Etterik*, *Yarrow*, are Gothic; the laſt is alſo the name of a river in Northumberland, and is from the ſame root as *arrow* implying ſwift. *Annan*, *Nith*, *Orr*, *Fleet*, *Cree*, ſeem all Gothic: *Nid*, a town in Iceland, the river *Nid* in the dutchy of Triers in Germany; *Ora* a river in Norway, and another in Sweden, and another in Fifeſhire, with the lake *Ora*; *Fleet*, ſwift. *Stinſar*, *Girvan*, *Dun*, or *Don*, *Air* (ſay *Ar*) *Irvin*, *Garnock*, are alſo Gothic.

The word *Loch*, univerſal for a lake in Scotland, is the ſame word prevalent among all the Scythic nations, from the beginning to this day: λεκκος Greek, *lacus* Latin, *lake* Engliſh, *lac* French, *lago* Italian, *lago* Spaniſh. The Northern and German nations are fond of the broad *oo* as the Greeks of ω, and alſo of aſpirations, whence it is pronounced *loch*; and tho this term be very rare in Germany, and the north, yet in a curious map of the celebrated ile of Helgeland, or Holyland, on the coaſt of Jutland, to be found in Bleau's Atlas, occurs a ſmall lake called *Pypers loch*. The Iriſh Luagh is ſomething ſimilar, but farther from the ſound of *lake* than *loch*, for *gh* is not pronounced. Whether the name be originally Celtic, or Scythic, or both, ſeems dubious[s].

II. MOUNTAINS. The Grampian hills are the moſt celebrated mountains in Scotland: and the name is ſurely from the Northern *Gram*, the name of a town in Norway, but more remarkable as a perſonal appellation. *Gram* was the third king of Denmark, and a great name in the north,

[s] Wachter gives many meanings of *Loch* in old German, among which are apertura, hiatus; cavitas rotunda; 'an aperture, or opening,' which a lake is as to the ground.

for

for Torfæus[t] informs us that in the earlieſt times every independent leader was called *Gram*, and his ſoldiers *Grams*. Hence the Grampian hills ſeem to imply *the hills of warriors*. *Mormond* near Fraſerſburg is alſo Gothic, *mor-mond*, the mount by the ſea. *Pentland* hills carry a ſingular appellation from Pikland; as when the Saxons ſeized Lothian, they called it Pikland; and Trumwine the biſhop ſigns himſelf *Epiſcopus Pictorum*[u]: the Piks retaining their poſſeſſions under the Saxons. As *Pebt*, the Scotiſh pronunciation of the name Pik, feels uneaſy and indiſtinct in the mouth, it was made fixt, and clear in *Pent*; ſo *Pentland* firth in the north of Scotland was called by the Norwegians of the Orkneys Pichtland firth, and was ſo ſpelled and pronounced even in the time of James V. as appears from that prince's *Navigation*[v]. Berwick *law*, and the ſeveral *laws* in Scotland, are all from the Gothic *lag*, law, for on ſuch ſeparate mounts were courts held. They were ſometimes alſo called *Montes Placiti*, as the Mute hill at Scoon. There is no occaſion to dwell long on the names of mountains in Scotland, as like thoſe of rivers, they are partly Cumraig from the Cumri, partly Gothic from the Piks. Of the former are ſurely the *Ochel* hills, *ochel* being the Welch for high. *Tinto* ſeems alſo Welch, as *Tintagel*. The *Rins* in Galloway ſeem doubtful if Celtic, or Gothic: the name implies a *ridge* of

[t] Ea tempeſtate quilibet princeps, qui non alienis bellum gereret auſpiciis, Gramus appellabatur, milites vero Grami. *Hiſt. Norv.* Tom. I. p. 379.

[u] Langhorne Chron. Reg. Angl. London 1679, 8vo. p. 236, quotes a charter in the Cotton Library of Egfrid, king of Northumberland, which bears *Ego Trumwine Pictorum Epiſcopus ſubſcripſi.* Perhaps this charter was burnt in the fire, 1730, but, if extant, query if genuine? Beda however IV. 26, calls Trumwine biſhop of the Piks, and places his ſee at Abercorn.

[v] Publiſhed at Paris 1583; and in the Miſcellanea Antiqua, London 1710, 8vo.

mountains,

mountains, and approaches even to the Engliſh word, and to the general idiom, when it is ſaid, that a chain of mountains *runs* thro a country. The Gothic *rune* and *runes*, whence the Runic character, means *lines*; whence may be the term as a *line* of mountains, a *row*. But *Rinn*, in Iriſh, implies a ridge of mountains; and the queſtion remains, whether it paſt from the Gothic with the Firbolg, or from the Cumraig, with the Tuath de Danan into the Iriſh? For the Welch and Iriſh are ſuch mixt tongues, that no reliance can be placed on them. *Rins* or *Rinds* is alſo a name for a villa or two in Fife, and other parts of Scotland, where no chain of hills exiſts: and the ſame fall of letters may be found perhaps in Otaheite, China, Norway, and Africa.

III. TOWNS. This claſs is the moſt important to the queſtion. Towns, among the Scythians and Celts, were mere ſtraggling huts placed near each other, but in no order nor contiguity. As theſe huts were of wood, no ruins remain. The Celts of Britain and Ireland had, no doubt, ſuch towns, for they are found even among the moſt ſavage nations of Lapland, Kamchatka, America, Africa. Cæſar ſays of the Belgic Britons, that they gave the name of town, when they fortified a thick little wood with a ditch and rampart[n]. But this was a town of defence; and they ſurely had hovels, a convenience not unknown to the moſt brutiſh nations. To ſleep in the open air, in a Britiſh winter, was certainly impoſſible. And wherever men are found, huts are found; ſo that we may ſafely conclude, that villages or towns, like thoſe of the Indians, were ſcattered all over Britain, and Ireland, upon their very firſt population, perhaps thouſands of years

[n] Oppidum autem Britanni vocant, quum ſilvas impeditas vallo atque foſſa munierunt; quo, incurſionis hoſtium vitandæ cauſa, convenire conſueverunt. *Lib.* V.

before Chriſt. Ptolemy mentions ſeven or eight towns in all parts of Ireland in his time; and theſe towns certainly were not fortified thickets, but large collections of huts. Indeed the word *oppidum*, uſed by Cæſar, and whence falſe ideas concerning the Britiſh towns have ariſen, means always, in Latin, *a walled town, a fortified town*; and Cæſar's meaning is, that the Britons called ſuch a wood a *fortified town*. The word *Vicus* is uſed always by Tacitus for what we call a town, an Indian town, as he deſcribes thoſe of the Germans to be. We muſt therefore underſtand Cæſar that the Britons dwelled in *vici*, or large ſtraggling villages; and that their only *oppida*, or fortified places, were ſuch as he mentions. Tacitus, deſcribing the conſequences of the defeat of Galgacus, ſays, *fumantia tecta*, the roofs all ſmoking, the villages being burnt by the Piks in their retreat.

Now, as, in America, the old name of the Indian town is often preſerved, when an European town is built on or near the ſituation, we may, with all reaſon and analogy, apply this univerſal practice of new ſettlers, barbarous or civilized, to ſuch names of towns on the eaſt of Scotland, as ſeem Celtic. For the Piks, who drove out the Cumri, muſt have done it by degrees, and been well acquainted with the names of their ſtates and towns, long before they fell into their hands. But i ſay as *ſeem* Celtic, for i am convinced that what we call the Celtic is ſo full of old Gothic words, that no man of ſound ſenſe will take upon him to ſay, if the term be really old Gothic or Celtic. Nations alſo borrow terms from each other, when they ſeem much adapted to the ſubject. Thus we talk of a *Savanna*, a Spaniſh term for a meadow. So in Scotland, *Strathmore* is the name of a river and it's dale in Sutherland; and Strathnavern, to a late period, that of a large tract on the river Navern, in the ſame county.

Strath is not found now in Norway, &c. where *Field* is uſed in that ſenſe. Yet i know not if it be a term left by the Cumri, as the Welch have *Yſtrat Alyn*, *Yſtrat Marchelh*, &c. or a Gothic word from *ſtrat*, *via*, whence our *ſtreet*, the *way of the river*; or from *ſtracka*, *extendere*, whence our *ſtretch*, the ſtretch or extent of the river. The words *Strath* and *Aber* have been chiefly marked as ſigns that the Piks were Welch. Yet the granting theſe words Welch would only ſhew that the Piks retained theſe terms of the old inhabitants, as the European inhabitants of America do Indian terms. But i ſuſpect both of them to have paſt from the Gothic to the Celtic; and ſhall now conſider *Aber*[x].

At the end of Keith's Catalogue of Scotiſh Biſhops, is a liſt of pariſhes in Scotland, which muſt ſerve us as an *Index Villaris*, till a work, ſo much wanted, be given to the public. In this we find the following names:

Aberbrothoc in Angus.
Aberchirder in Bamf.
Abercorn in Lithgow.
Aberdalgie in Perth.
Aberdeen in Aberdeen.
Aberdour in Fife.
Abferfoil in Perth.
Aberlady in Haddington.
Aberlemus in Angus.
Aberlemno in Angus.
Aberlour in Bamf.
Aberluthnit in Kincardine.
Aberneit in Angus.
Abernethy in Perth.

Now we are told that in Welch *Aber* means the mouth of a river. I know it is in Welch equi-

[x] Beda tells us, that a town at the end of the Northern wall was called Peanvahel, in the Pikiſh language: 'ſermone Pictorum Peanvahel.' I. 12. This name, ſay Welch writers, ſhews the Piks Welch, as it implies, in Welch, 'the head of the wall.' But Nennius tells us, that the Welch name was *Penguaal*. And there are no ſuch words as *Pean*, *vahel*, or *fahel*, in the Welch language, as the reader will find on looking into Daviſes Dictionary, or Lloyd. *Pen* in Welch is *the head*; *gwal*, *a wall*. So that the Engliſh name *Penwaltun*, added by Beda, is more Welch than the Pikiſh. In Gothic *Pæna* is *to extend*; Ihre: *veal* is *wall*; Lye: ſo that if we infer the term Gothic *the extent* or *end of the wall*, there is greater reaſon on our ſide.

valent to the French *havre*, a *haven*; and they ſay a ſhip enters the *aber*, &c. But, alack, both in Wales and Scotland, it begins the names of towns many miles from the mouths of rivers, and where not a freſhet runs into the ſtream. Hence Borlaſe, in his Corniſh vocabulary, ſays, "*Aber*, a ford; a fall of water; a mouth of a river; a meeting of two rivers." Here are meanings enough, becauſe Borlaſe found towns beginning with *Aber* in all theſe ſituations. The fact is, that poor *Aber*, which has been tortured into ſo many meanings, is abſolute German *Uber*, beyond, and means ſimply a town *beyond* a river, an idiom of the ſpeech for *upon* it. Tho indeed it ſeems to have been always impoſed by the moſt populous or noted neighbourhood, and applied when the town lay beyond the river as to them. And it is ſuch old Scythic as to be abſolute Greek, υπερ, *upon*, *above*, *beyond*. So that it appears to me originally, as in Greek, to have meant *upon*, as well as *beyond*; tho i am not ſufficiently verſed in old German to ſay if it, without an idiom, bears both meanings in that tongue[y]. It is uſed for a town *upon* a river; and as we ſay Newark upon Trent, Newcaſtle upon Tine. But in old German the word ſeems to have been ſpelt *Aber* and *Eber*; for i find only one town with *Uber* in exiſtence,

[y] The old German *ober*, meaning *upper*, may alſo have ſhare in the Scotiſh *Abers*. Our old chronicles put *Apur* for *Aber*, *Apurnethige* for Abernethy, *Aperfeirt*, &c. Innes, p. 778. So the Icelandic writers ſay *Apurdeen*, for Aberdeen. Wachter obſerves that *aber* is *ſuperior*; but *uber*, *over*, *beyond*, *toward*, *behind*. 'Uber vocula antiquiſſima, Hebræis *eber*, Perſis *awar*, Gothis *ufar*, Francis *ubar*, Anglis et Belgis, *over*.' 'Uber, verſus locum, trans locum, ſupra, retro.' *Gloſſ. Germ.* Pelloutier obſerves, that the *Ubares*, a German people beyond the Rhine, probably received their name from the German *Uber*, beyond. In old Gaul was *Ebredunum*, and *Eburones*. Grotius in prolegom. ad Hiſt. Goth. ſays, 'Ebrimor, Græcis Ebrimur, Jornandi Eber-mor, Transmarinus, natus trans mare, quale cognomen regum quidam in Galha ab educatione habuit. Ebir quod nunc Over unde Ebirmuot, Ebirwir, &c.'

namely,

namely, *Uberling* upon the lake of Conſtance. Whereas many begin with *Aber* and *Eber*; as *Aberden* in the duchy of Bremen, *Aberburg* in Livonia, *Eberſtein* in the Marquiſate of Baden, *Eberan*, the German name of a town in Hungary, *Eberfort*, &c. *Aberford*, Yorkſhire. Had we a liſt of the pariſhes in Germany, as many *Abers* and *Ebers* might perhaps be found there as in Scotland. Sometimes the word is put abſolutely as *Loch Aber*, a diſtrict in Inverneſs-ſhire, *Haberneſs* in Denmark, *Aberick*, an ile on the ſhore of Livonia, *Abor*, a town of Norway on the ſea. It may be ſuſpected that *Alver*, which begins the names of ſeveral towns in Norway, is but a various orthography of the ſame word, *Alverſtorp*, &c. Perhaps the Goths retained ſeveral old Cumraig names both on the continent, and in Britain, not only of rivers and mountains, but of old Celtic towns. But i rather ſuſpect that the Welch, who are a people mixt with ſuch Belgæ, or Britiſh Germans, as preferred a ſtate of paſtoral ſavageneſs to the Saxon yoke, received this, with many other words, from the Gothic. For the Welch language, as well as the Iriſh, is ſo full of Gothic words in diſguiſe, that it is almoſt impoſſible to ſay if any particular word be originally Gothic or Celtic. That the word *Aber* is Gothic is apparent even from this, that the Welch do not underſtand the meaning of it. On the whole, ſuch minute matters are moſt dark and uncertain; but this much is certain, that the *Abers* in Scotland no more prove the Piks Welch, than thoſe in Germany prove the Germans Welch. It muſt alſo be conſidered in examining this point, that, after the Chriſtian times, the foundation of a church was commonly that of a town around it; and that the clergy among the Piks were almoſt entirely Welch and Iriſh, for ſo little were the Piks addicted to godlineſs, that there is not one Pikiſh ſaint or even churchman on record. Now theſe Welch and

Iriſh founders gave Welch and Iriſh names to their churches, which, of courſe, paſſed to the towns. Let me obſerve in paſſing, that the above-marked obduracy of the Piks to Chriſtianity is itſelf a ſtrong ſign of their Scandinavian origin, for the people of Scandinavia were ſo averſe to Chriſtianity, that none of them received it till the tenth century. If the Piks were Welch or Iriſh, who can account for Pikland being unknown in the Chriſtian records, while all Wales and Ireland were ſwarming with ſaints?

But if the *Abers* could ſhew the Piks to have been Welch, then, by the ſame rule, the *Bals* might prove them Iriſh; for names beginning with *Bal* are frequent in Ireland, and alſo in the Pikiſh part of Scotland, as *Balbirny*, *Balmuto*, *Balmerino*, *Balcarras*, &c. This is another word which might puzzle the moſt profound etymologiſt to determine, if really Celtic or Gothic. Nothing is more certain than that *Bal* and *Bally* are moſt frequent in Ireland, as initial of the names of towns; and that *Baille* in Iriſh implies a city, town or village. In Welch it means the head of a river flowing from a lake, as Twyne ſays; but, according to Price, a town: Davies doubts this laſt, except that it be from the Latin, *Villa*, or the Arabic, *Balad*, a town. I cannot help obſerving, that the Welch ſpeech is to this day little known, for even Lloyd had no great ſkill in it; and that Iriſh interpreters are much more juſt and preciſe in diſcloſing their language. Nothing is alſo more certain, than that in the Icelandic or Gothic, *Bol*[z] is a town, or village; and that the

[z] '*Bol*, caput, πολος, Gr. Bolwerk, *Bol*, rotundus.' Wachter. '*Bal*, vide *Bol*,' *id.* As the firſt towns were on the tops of hills, the conſonance of *caput* and *rotundus*, with a town, is apparent. The Greek πολος and πολις are in ſingular agreement. *Dun* is another German name for a town, and our word is a corruption of it, '*Dun*, civitas, urbs, oppidum.' Wachter. '*Dun*, mons, collis.' *Id.* '*Dunkel*, occultus, ſecretus.' *Id.*

broad

broad *o* is often uſed in the North, where *a* is uſed in Scotland, as in the names of ilands which ſurround Norway, &c. end in *o* or *oe*, while in the Hebudes and Orkneys they end in *a*; the Scotiſh language not having the ſound of *oe* in it. The names in Norway ending in *boll* and *bull* are quite numerous. But to cloſe this at once, there are even *Bals* enough in the northern kingdoms to ſhew the word as much Gothic as Celtic; as in Denmark, *Ballé*, *Balling*, *Balſlo*, *Balkaré*, *Balkared*, *Balteberg*, *Langball*, *Nordballe*, *Ballum*, *Suderballig*, *Wullſball*, *Balligard*, *Brabal-lig*; in Iceland *Balhokill*, *Balgar*; in Sweden *Bal-ſen* ile, *Balsfiord*, *Balby*, *Balabygd*. So alſo in the duchy of Bremen *Balli*; and in Friezland *Bal-lum*; in Shetland *Bal*.

Dal ſeems equivalent to *Bal*; and as in Scotland we have *Dalſwinton*, *Dalſerf*, *Dalrymple*, *Dalgus*, &c. ſo in Norway, Denmark, &c. *Dal* is quite frequent; as *Dalby*, *Dallerup*, *Dalby-neder*, *Dalby-offre*, *Dalmolle*, *Dalroth*, &c. &c.

The *Invers*, as *Inverleith*, *Inverary*, *Inverneſs*, ſeem alſo Gothic; as in Denmark are *Iverfleth*, *Iverſbull*, and *Immerwath*, &c. Yet i believe in Iriſh the word means the mouth of a river; but were there ever any Iriſh in Denmark? Has not the word paſt from the Gothic to the Iriſh?

In Fifeſhire there are many *Pits*, as *Pitferran*, *Pitmedie*, &c. &c. But this name has never been ſuſpected either Welch or Iriſh; and ſuch names are not to be found either in Wales or Ireland; but are frequent in England, as may be ſeen in the Index Villaris.

Let us now produce two ſpecimens of numerous names on the eaſt of Scotland, which are not ſimi-lar to any, either in Wales or Ireland; and will of themſelves turn this point quite the other way. The firſt is of *Kins*.

Kinkell in Perth.
Kinloch in Perth.
Kinnef in Kincardin.
Kinnethmont in Aberdeen.

Kinloſs in Moray.
Kinaird in Forfar.
Kinaird in Perth.
Kinneil in Weſt Lothian.
Kinuel in Forfar.
Kinnellar in Aberdeen.
Kinnettles in Forfar.
Kinnore in Aberdeen.
Kinnoul in Perth.
Kinroſs in Kinroſs.
Kintale in Roſs.
Kintore in Aberdeen.

Nennius in ch. 19. ſpeaking of the place at the end of the wall of Antoninus, which, Beda ſays, was called Peanvahel, by the Piks, ſays it was in Welch Pengaaul, but *Scotice*, in Scotiſh, *Cenail* pronounce Kenail. This place is now Kinneil in Weſt Lothian. *Scotice* is infallibly *Iriſh*: and *Cean*, or *Cen*, pronounce *Kean*, and *Ken*, means the *head*, as Malcom *Ken-mor*, or Greathead: being equivalent to the Welch *Pen*. An etymologiſt would ſay, it follows of courſe, that all theſe names in *Kin* are of Iriſh extract. But how then comes it to paſs, that in Ireland there is but one *kin*, namely, *Kinſale*; and even that, it is believed, was formerly *Kingſale*, while in England there are about thirty; as Kincot in Leiceſter —Kinaſton, Salop—Kinaſton, Stafford—Kinder, Derby—Kinchley, Durham—Kinderton, Cheſhire —Kineton, Warwick—Kinlet, Salop—Kinley, Gloceſter—Kinley, Hereford—Kinmel, Denbigh —Kinarton, Cheſter, with Kinton, Kinſon, Kinver, &c. &c. to the amount of about ſixteen more, as may be ſeen in the Index Villaris? What can be more uncertain than etymology of names? In the Northern Kingdoms i find no *kins* prefixt; but the word *kein* placed after ſeems the ſame, as *Areſkein*, &c.

The other liſt is of *Fors*.

Forbes in Aberdeen.
Forcaſtle in Perth.
Fordyce in Bamf.
Fordon in Kincardin.
Forfar in Forfar.
Forgen in Aberdeen.
Forgond in Fife.
Forgondenny in Perth.
Forglen in Bamf.
Forres in Moray.
Forteviot in Perth.
Fortingal in Perth.
Fortroſe in Roſs.

Of

Of theſe Forteviot is very famous from an ancient palace of the kings of Scotland there, and in the old Chronicles Kenneth died at *Fortevioth* in 860; as did many others after. Not a *For* is to be found in Wales, Ireland, nor in the Northern kingdoms. In England there are many *Fords*, but no *Fors*; and For cannot imply Ford. I ſuſpect the word is of the ſame family with *force*; and that it implies a place of ſtrength. Or perhaps from the old German '*Forſt*, nemus, ſaltus, indago.' Wachter. In which caſe it implies a town concealed in a grove.

The *Achs* are alſo very common in Scotland, as *Achterarder*, *Auchinleck*, *Acharn*, &c. and are found in the Northern kingdoms, *Achterup* in Denmark, &c. They ſeem the Engliſh *Ash*, and *Ac*, which are alſo quite numerous.

I ſhall here beg leave to inſert a liſt of names, which occurred in turning over Blaeu's Atlas, and which are clearly related to names in Scotland.

In Iceland *wick* and *neſs* are frequent. In NORWAY is *Skenland* (Scoon)—*Noard Bugden*—*Skeen*—*Mios wand* (Mouſe rivulet near Lanerk)—*Bouwe* (Bowie)—*Hoap* (Hope). In DENMARK, *Medelby*—*Almund* and *Almand* (Almond river)—*Haldum*—*Struer* (*Anſtruther*)—*Wym* (Weems)—*Oxenwath*, *Immerwath*, *Giordwath*, *Heldſwath*, &c. (Carnwath, &c.)—*Kolding* (Coldingham)—*Aller*—*Homae* (Home and Hume)—*Todſleff* and other *leffs* (Lillyſlef, &c.)—*Gleſmes* (Glasford, &c.)—*Falſbol*—*Lundby*—*Eille fulde*—*Alſtede*—*Fariltoſta* (Farintoſh)—*Friſel* (old name of Fraſer)—*Arnum*, (Arnot)—*Alkier*—*Gamel*, very frequent (real name of *Campbell*, it's pretended genealogy is a mere dream of Iriſh genealogiſts)—*Logum* (Logan)—*Galſtede* (Gala, &c.)—*Oſterlinneth*—*Aſſyth* (Aſſint)—*Ellum* (Elvonfoot)—*Carlum*—*Carlbeke*—*Hoppe*—*Eytum* (Aytoun)—*Methelbur*—*Binning*—*Melderup*

Melderup (Meldrum, &c.) *Wirrikeir*—*Alloe* (Alloa) —*Jeſterup* (Yeſter)—*Kulundt*, not far from Alloe, (Callendar)—*Bockholm*—*Foulich*, (Foulis Roſſſhire)—*Lockmart* (Lockhart)—*Avenberk*—*Wedelſpang* (Weddel)—*Dallroth* (Rothſay, &c.)—*Alver* (Alves and Alva)—*Birckholm*—*Schwanſen* (Swanſton)—In SWEDEN, *Carvaſen*—*Eſke ile*—*Skoen* in Nordland (Scoon)—*Lidh* Lidſdale—*Skonland* in Finmark (Scoon)—*Rindo* ile (Rinds)—*Stora* (Story)—*Dalſarfe* (Dalſerf)—*Betom* (Beton and Bethune)—*Meloſa* (Melroſe)—*Gillberg* (Gilchriſt, &c.)—Beſides theſe are *Wiems* in Finland (Weem and Wemys)—*Falkenau* in Livonia (Falkirk, &c.)—*Ales* in Livonia (Hailes)—*Adzel* in Livonia—*Hutten* in Sleſwick (Hutton)—*Rothneſs* ibid.—*Coldenkirke* (Coldenknows, &c.)—*Stobben* in Holſace (Stobo)—*Brodow* (Brodie)—*Ruttin* (Ruthven)—In the duchy of Stormar on the Elbe *Alveſloh*, a town near a marſh—*Munkloh*, a town in midſt of a marſh—In Freezland *Bimerwolde* (Bimerſide)—*Wymer* (Weem)—*Logen*—In Holland *Lammerſchage* (Lammermuir).

In the deſcriptions of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, &c. printed by Janſen, 1655, i find the rivers *Lida* in Sweden (Leith) and *Uiſk* (Uſk, or Eſk): other Eſks, as *Tornetreſk*, *Enaratreſk* in Lapland, and *Ulatreſk* in Cajania: *Eſſa* in Bremen. Were the Welch ever in Lapland? *Geſter* (Yeſter)—*Lethra* (Leith)—*Nyſſa*, a river of Sweden (Neſs)—*Oderchwart*, or *Oiertquart*, (Urquhart,) a town in Bremen. *Aſloa*, another name for Opſlo (Alloa)—*Brevik* (Berwick)—In the Norway of Torfæus, is *Lanaefield*, ſo that Lan is not always to be regarded as Welch or Iriſh for church—*Kileſtroom* and *Kiel hill* (Kyle)—The river *Galaae* (Gala)—The hiſtory of Haldan the Black, Hafn. 1658, 4to, ſays he loſt his life in a lake called *Ros* (Roſs)—There is a *Tullegarn* in Sweden (*Tullochgorum*)—and a diſtrict called *Mora* (Moray)

ray)—In Denmark a *Bruntlandt* (Burntiland) and *Corſtorp*, (Corſtorphin) [a].

To ſum up theſe remarks on the names of places in Scotland, which, tho perhaps they may little intereſt the reader, have coſt me great labour, let it be obſerved, I. That two thirds of the names in the Hebud iles and highlands are infallibly Gothic: This is owing to three cauſes, 1. That the Piks, a Gothic people, poſſeſſed theſe countries down to the ſixth century, when a ſmall part was given up to the Iriſh, who gradually multiplied and ſeized on the iles and highlands, regions deſpiſed by the Piks, who crowded into the more fertile parts, the ſouth of Scotland, and north of England. 2. That the Norwegians in the ninth century ſeized on the Hebud iles, and parts of the oppoſite ſhore, which they held four centuries. 3. That the highlanders, being a ſavage people, always engaged in petty emotions, many grants of forfeited lands among them were given to lowlanders. II. That almoſt the whole names of the North, Eaſt, and South of Scotland are Gothic, owing to the Piks, a Gothic people poſſeſſing theſe countries; as at times the Norwegians, another Gothic people, held the North; and the Saxons, another Gothic people, the ſouth. But there are, or at leaſt ſeem, two exceptions to this general rule, 1. That a few are Cumraig, owing to the Cumri being the firſt poſſeſſors of all Scotland: and to the churchmen who founded churches, around which towns roſe, being often Cumri, and giving the places Cumraig names. 2. That a few are Gaelic, owing to the Iriſh churchmen, who ſwarmed in Pikland, from the ſeminary at Hyona, and from Ireland, down to the eleventh

[a] It is ſuſpected the name *Fife* ariſes from the plant with a pod reſembling cotton, ſo common on the heaths of that country. Torfæus Orcad, p. 120, ſays *Fifa*, the name of a ſhip, is taken from that of the *paluſtris lanugo*, a plant whoſe cotton flies before the wind.

and

and twelfth centuries; and who denominated their churches, villages, and lands, in their own language; nay, as being the ſole literati in Pikland, beſtowed names perhaps even on large tracts, which paſſed into charters, and among the people.

I have with great care looked over the large Atlas of Scotland, by Pont, and find the above remarks univerſally applicable, and ſufficient to account for all the names in Scotland. It is indeed curious to obſerve that in Aberdeenſhire, for inſtance, the name of one village ſhall be abſolute Gothic with *burgh*, another within a mile with *aber*, and another at ſame diſtance *inver*. But the ſingle circumſtance of the clergy among the Piks being down to the eleventh or twelfth century entirely Welch and Iriſh, will ſufficiently account for this; if the *abers* and *invers* be indeed Welch and Iriſh.

Kils are alſo common in Scotland; but the word in Gothic ſignifies a *ſpring*, or *fountain*, as in Iriſh it implies a *cell*, or *chapel*, ſo that nothing can be founded on ſuch names which are alſo common in England. *Cars* as *Carberry*, &c. have ſeldom if ever any connexion with the Welch *Caer*, a town, as they are frequent over all the globe. In Wales *Llan* is very frequent, ſignifying a *church*; and in Scotland it alſo occurs, tho rarely: one inſtance there is ſo far north as Moray, where *Lan-bride* ſurely implies the church of St. Bride, or Bridget, and it muſt have been founded by ſome Welch clergyman. For as at firſt Ninian, Kentigern, and other early teachers of the Piks, were Welch; ſo in aftertimes the regions of Strat-Clyde and Cumbria proceeded, in conjunction with Columba's ſeminary at Hyona, to furniſh clergy to the Piks; and not one name of a Pikiſh ſaint, or churchman, can be found.

He that would build any argument upon the Welch names in Scotland is deſired to reflect that the names of places in Scotland may be about twelve

twelve thouſand; and of them not above thirty at the moſt even ſeem Welch. On the north, eaſt, and ſouth, not above fifty are Iriſh; while on the weſt about two thouſand are Gothic; and the Gothic names in Scotland amount in all to about Ten Thouſand. As for the Iriſh interpretations of theſe Gothic names, which any highland ſeer is ready to furniſh, ſuch as that a plain Engliſh name *Arthur's ſeat* is formed of three or four Erſe words, &c. it ſeems doubtful whether they who advance ſuch nonſenſe, or they who believe it, have moſt imbecillity. Theſe Iriſh etymologies are mere ſecond ſighted deluſions. Swift's mock etymologies of *Andromache* from *Andrew Mackie*, &c. are rational in compariſon of them. Were a Chineſe or Otaheitan to aſk one of theſe Celtic dreamers the meaning of any name in his reſpective country, the ſeer would tell him it was Gaelic, and all about it. The Celtic is ſo ſoft, unfixt, and nonſenſical a ſpeech, that from it you may make what you will of any thing. Thus the Iriſh word pronounced *awe*, for inſtance, and ſignifying *law*, is ſpelt *Adh*, *agh*, *ack*, *ath*, at pleaſure. In other tongues a vowel is ſometimes changed; but the conſonants, which give a determinate form to the word, remain. What reliance can by any man of ſenſe be placed on the meaning of names, when no one knows from what cauſe of ten thouſand the name was given, or whether from any at all? What reliance, when a name will, in two centuries, totally alter it's form? What reliance, above all, on etymologies from the Celtic, a ſpeech which alters it's conſonants, it's very eſſence, at pleaſure, and which declines it's nouns by changing their beginnings? Theſe Celtic dreamers commonly catch at ſome locality, or deſcriptive attribute, which fits the ſpot, and then cook their etymologies accordingly. This gives them a plauſible air to the ſuperficial, who never reflect that any ſpot may have a hundred deſcriptive attributes

all equally fitting. M. Bullet, in his *Memoires ſur la langue Celtique*, has delivered the plaineſt Engliſh names from the Celtic, as *Oakland* from *Oc*, a little hill, *lan* a river, *d* from *dy*, two, &c. &c. Is not this lunacy? But ſuch are all Celtic etymologies; and when a man of ſcience erred ſo groſsly, what muſt we expect from our ſhallow highland dablers? An apology is indeed due to the reader for any attempt to confute ſuch glaring abſurdities.

Even in Gothic, a fixt ſpeech, a ſenſible writer will hardly venture to hint at the etymology of a name now and then; for nothing can be more uncertain. *London* means, we are told, a town in a grove, from *Lund* grove, and *dun* town: yet the name might with equal plauſibility be derived from Sarmatic, Tartaric, Chineſe, or Arabic. What do we know about the origin of the name? Who was preſent when the name was given? Do even the Indians know the meaning of their names of places, tho certainly impoſed by their anceſtors in the ſame language they ſtill uſe, tho modernized? Are not names often mere jumbles of letters? A few Greek and Roman names of men had, and have, meanings; but produce, if you can, two names of places in Greece, or Italy, of which the meaning is known. What is the meaning of Rome? What of Athens? What of Lacedæmon? What of Corinth? Look into the beſt Lexicons, are you not told that ſuch are proper names, and admit of no explanation? Aſk an Indian ſavage the meaning of the name of his town, he will tell you he knows it not; it was ſo called by his fathers. Are our Celtic etymologiſts of names of places more wiſe than the Greeks and Romans? Are they not more fooliſh than the Indians? Did ever any Indian enjoy the ſecond ſight? Muſt not our Celtic neighbours have a remarkable defect in their underſtandings, and be loſt in the frenzy of diſordered fancy?

fancy? What ſhall we ſay of thoſe who truſt them in points of ſcience, when they cannot even be truſted in points of common ſenſe?

I have dwelt a little on this matter becauſe Celtic etymology is the frenzy of this ſhallow age. And ſhall only obſerve, before quitting it, that by Gothic names i mean ſuch whoſe form is Gothic, and may be traced in the Northern kingdoms, Germany and England. I have above produced a ſmall haſty note of identic names in the Northern kingdoms and in Scotland. And tho the preſent Engliſh certainly came from Denmark, and the German ſhore; yet i cannot trace half that number of identic names in thoſe countries and England. In Ireland moſt of the towns were built by the Danes and Engliſh; but names of villages are often Iriſh, and in Wales moſt towns and villages have Welch names, ſo that Celtic names of towns have ſure marks. For examples of what i call Gothic names in Scotland, take on the weſt *Dunſon, Campbeltoun, Southend, Knapdale, Melford, Braccadale, Stornaway, Bewiſdale, Annon, Dunſtaffnage, Skipneſs, Pluckhart, Everdale, Kingſburgh, Burg, Seaforth, Dundonald, Dunvegan, Limeſholder, Barvie, Stonfield*, &c. &c. &c.

From all that has been ſaid the reader will obſerve, that they, who infer the Piks to have been Welch, becauſe thirty Welch names, or at leaſt names in *Aber* and *Lan*, occur in Scotland, reaſon not more accurately than he who would prove the Germans Welch, becauſe names in *Aber* and *Lan* occur in Germany. That the argument is in itſelf abſolute Celtic and childiſh; for that granting theſe thirty names Welch, what is to be ſaid to the ten thouſand Gothic names in Scotland, which by this truly Celtic ratiocination are utterly forgotten? And that theſe few Welch names in Scotland are moſt eaſily accounted for, becauſe they are either very ancient, as thoſe of rivers and mountains eſpecially, and perhaps of ſome towns,

and

and in that caſe remains of the old Celtic inhabitants; or leſs ancient as ſome of towns and villages which aroſe from churches founded by Welch clergymen.

Having thus, it is hoped, ſatisfactorily anſwered the whole arguments, if they deſerve that name, for the Piks being Welch, i ſhall give the reader an abſtract of invincible authorities and facts, ſhewing that they were not Welch: and then, leaving this ſtrange controverſy, proceed to detail the real origin of the Piks.

1. Tacitus ſays that the Caledonians, or Piks, were of Germany, as he judged from their red hair, and other marks, that they were Germans. The Scandinavians ever have been, and are, remarkable for red hair, as are the other Germans. The Welch and Iriſh are a black-haired race. Theſe marks in the days of Tacitus were as deciſive, as that the African blacks have curled hair, the American lank hair.

2. Eumenius tells, that in the time of Julius Cæſar the Piks were the accuſtomed enemies of the Britons. Could the Britons, or Welch, be the accuſtomed enemies of themſelves?

3. Ammianus Marcellinus mentions the Piks along with the Saxons, and other foreign nations, who infeſted the Britons.

4. Gildas ſays the Piks came *ab aquilone*, from the north, to infeſt the Britons, and always ſpeaks of them as quite a different people. Had they been really of his own Welch countrymen, what food for declamations had their cruelty to their own brethren been!

5. Adomnan, who about 690, wrote the life of Columba, the apoſtle of the Piks, mentions that he had an interpreter between him and that people[b].

Columba

[b] Illo in tempore quo Sanctus Columba in Pictorum provincia per aliquot demorabatur dies, quidam cum tota plebeius

Columba was an Iriſhman, ſo that the Piks could not be Gael: and even from this they would ſeem not Cumri, for we find Patrick a Cumraig preached to the Iriſh, without an interpreter, as may be ſeen in the many large lives of him, where not a word of an interpreter is mentioned.

6. Beda, a writer eminently learned and ſuperior to his age, tells us the Piks came from Scythia, as the Britons from Gaul, and the Old Scots from Ireland. Jornandes, and moſt writers of the dark ages, call Scandinavia Scythia, and they thought the moſt ancient Scythians came from it. Beda alſo ſays there were in his time Five languages in Britain, Latin, Engliſh, Pikiſh, Scotiſh, Britiſh.

7. Nennius and Samuel, who both lived and wrote in conjunction, in 858, tell that the Piks came from the Orkneys, about 300 years before Chriſt. Theſe writers were both Welch; and their teſtimony is concluſive that the Piks were not Welch, for they ſpeak of the Piks, while the Pikiſh name was in full power; and mention the Piks as a people ſpreading, in their own time, from Galloway to the Orkneys.

8. The Saxon Chronicle, and whole writers of England, and Wales, and Scotland, and Ireland, preceding Camden, amounting to perhaps a hundred of all ages, who mention the Piks, uniformly derive them from Scandinavia and the Orkneys.

9. Giraldus Cambrenſis expreſſly calls the Piks *gentem Gothicam*, a Gothic nation. Even Geofrey of Monmouth ſays expreſſly, that the Piks came from Scythia to the north of Britain, and ſo downward. And he ever deſcribes them as quite a different people from the Welch; for which reaſon,

beius familia verbum vitæ, per interpretatorem, Sancto prædicante viro audiens credidit, &c. *Adomnan. Vita Columbæ*, lib. II. c. 12. In the ſame chapter Adomnan calls the Piks 'gentiles barbari,' *barbarous pagans*; and always implies them quite a different people from his own Iriſh, in ſpeech, manners, and every reſpect.

and as he founded a new ſchool in Engliſh hiſtory, he is quoted. For, tho a ſtupid romancer, he could not be ignorant if the Piks were Welch, or not, as they exiſted in his time, under their old name, as appears from Engliſh writers of the War of the Standard.

10. The Piks are uniformly mentioned by all ancient writers who ſpeak of them, tho without telling their origin, as a diſtinct peculiar people, neither Welch, nor Iriſh, nor Gaelic; but as different from either, as Engliſh from Welch.

11. The monuments of the Piks, the *Piks houſes*, &c. can neither be found in Wales nor Ireland; tho in the Orkneys many exiſt, and ſome in Scandinavia.

12. Nennius and Samuel avouch the Piks to have held their uſual territory in 858. The Iriſh annals of Tighernac and Ulſter mention Kenneth and his ſucceſſors, down to Donal II. 894, as kings of the Piks. Ailred, Richard of Hexham, and other cotemporary writers, mention that at the war of the Standard, 1138, the Piks claimed the firſt place in the Scotiſh army, as their ancient right. Now the weſt being given to the Iriſh, the Piks were laterly inhabitants of the north, eaſt, and ſouth, of Scotland, as all know; the people of which, to this day, are quite a diſtinct race from the highlanders of the weſt. And the language of theſe parts was always Gothic, as innumerable names of places remain to ſhew; and as it is at this day.

More arguments might be adduced; but theſe are ſufficient, as they admit of no anſwer, ſave by rejecting all ancient authorities and facts, that is by building romance on the ruins of hiſtory. For he who denies ancient authorities, and prefers his own ſhallow dreams, is a fabuliſt, and not an hiſtorian. It alſo deſerves remark that, of modern authors, thoſe confeſſedly the moſt eminent for learning have always aſſerted the Piks to have come

come from Scandinavia. Buchanan, Humphrey Lluyd, Verſtegan, Uſher, Stillingfleet, Sibbald, Sheringham, may be named, at a time when Camden alone was on the other ſide: but in this ſuperficial century, when writers copy each other, and examine nothing to the bottom, the opinion that the Piks were Welch, tho as above ſhewn abſolutely falſe, ignorant, and childiſh, has been more prevalent. Yet in this age the truth has alſo witneſſes in D'Anville, and the authors of the Encyclopedie. Nor can the aſſertors of the new opinion be diſmiſſed without the cenſure which the learned Sheringham paſſes on ſuch dreamers of dreams, *temerarii, et vix ſani hominis, eſt, quidvis ex libidine affirmare, vel negare; et ſine firma ratione ſcriptoribus fidem demere*; "it is the part of a raſh madman to affirm or deny whatever he pleaſes, and without any reaſon to refuſe faith to authorities."

CHAPTER III.

Origin of the Piks.

THE antiquities of a nation may be regarded as either *Poetical*, or *Hiſtorical*. The former are ſuch as have not that certainty requiſite to hiſtory, yet cannot be called abſolutely falſe, but have veriſimilitude ſufficient to recommend them to poetry, which delights in diſtant events, where it can raiſe a fairy light in the dark. The voyage of Eneas to Italy, the founding of Carthage by Dido, and the like very remote events in national ſtory, are of this kind; as no ſober author will admit them into hiſtory, and yet they appear to advantage in poetry. In like manner the origin of the Piks admits of a poetical, and an hiſtorical, diviſion. The Poetical is that which traces them from Colchis to Scandinavia: the Hiſtorical finds them in Norway, and traces them from Norway to Scotland. The reader is requeſted to attend to this diviſion, that he may not accuſe the author of lending *hiſtorical* faith to *poetical* evidence; but judge impartially and give the poetical part only poetical faith. It is fully ſufficient that we find the Piks in Norway, and trace them to Scotland. Hiſtory requires no more. But as this work may ſerve the future poetry, as well as hiſtory of Scotland, and it is pleaſing to ſearch a point of antiquity to the very bottom, no further apology ſhall be made for dwelling a little on the Poetical Origin of the Piks.

§ 1. *Poetical*

§ I. *Poetical Origin of the Piks.*

If the reader will peruſe the Diſſertation on the Origin and Progreſs of the Scythians, or Goths, to be found at the end of this work, he will ſee ſuch grounds as ſo remote an event can afford to believe that the *Peukini*, who by all accounts proceeded from the ile of *Peuké* at the mouth of the Danube, were originally the *Piki* of ancient Colchis. Theſe Piki Pliny places between the Palus Mæotis and Ceraunian mountains. The Ceraunian Mountains, as appears from Ptolemy and others, were between the river Tanais, or Don, and the Caſpian ſea, to the north-eaſt of Caucaſus, which was another chain extending from the Euxine to the Caſpian. The Piki were apparently where the map of Sarmatia and Scythia, by Cluverius, places the *Petigori* on the river Varadanus, being on the eaſt of preſent Circaſſia. Theſe Piki were remarkable in ancient fable. Nonnus[a] tells us, that they were the ſame people who were called Γρυφαι, Griffons, by the Greeks, and againſt whom the Arimaſpi fought to get the guarded gold:

> As when a gryfon thro the wilderneſs,
> With winged courſe, o'er hill or moory dale,
> Perſues the Arimaſpian, who by ſtealth
> Had from his wakeful cuſtody purloined
> The guarded gold. Milt. Par. Loſt, II. 943.

M. D'Hancarville thinks they were called Griffons, becauſe they worſhiped the ſun, whoſe emblem was a griffon, as appears from many coins of Abdera, a city of Thrace. However this be, Plautus celebrates the golden mountains of the Piki:

> Picos divitiis, qui aureos montes colunt,
> Ego ſolus ſupero. *Aulularia*, prope fin.

Upon the Argonautic expedition, 1263 years before Chriſt, a party of Colchians perſuing the

[a] Dionyſ. II. 641.

Argonauts without ſucceſs, ſettled at the mouth of the Danube. The kingdom of Colchis was anciently very large and powerful, as appears from all the ancients, who mention it, and included many nations. Of theſe it is highly probable the Piki were one; and were thoſe Colchian ſubjects who were ſent in perſuit of the Argonauts. Ovid, who lived nine years in exile at Tomi, ſouthward of the Danube's mouth, marks the Colchi as ſeparated from his reſidence by the Danube:

Solus ad egreſſus miſſus ſeptemplicis Iſtri
Parrhaſiæ gelido virginis axe premor.
Jazyges, et Colchi, Metereaque turba, Getæque,
Danubii mediis vix prohibentur aquis.
Triſt. lib. II. el. 1.

The Jazyges were a Sarmatian people on the northern banks of the Tyras: Meterea was a town on the Tyras: the Getæ were on the north of the Danube: the Colchi here mentioned were in all appearance of Peuké, a large iland in the mouth of the Danube. The original Colchians were on the oppoſite ſhore of the Euxine, and had no concern with the Danube. It is true that Apollonius Rhodius, in his admirable Poem, ſays that the Iſtrians on the Adriatic ſea were thoſe Colchians who perſued the Argonauts; but his account is an abſolute impoſſibility, for he tells that the Colchians ſailed all up the Danube, in perſuit of the Argonauts, and drew their ſhips overland to ſettle in preſent Iſtria. It ſeems apparent that there was a people at the mouth of the Danube, or Iſter, called Iſtrii, and that theſe, being expelled by the Colchians, went and ſettled on the Adriatic; while the Colchians, who held their old ſeats, were, by a confuſion inſeparable from tradition, miſtaken by ſome for the old inhabitants. Ovid, who lived on the ſpot, is a clear evidence of a Colchian colony on the north of the Danube; for the Iſtrii he could not allude to, as they were a thouſand miles

miles diſtant, and on the ſouth of the Danube, while all the other nations he mentions were near him, and on the north. If the Piki were the real anceſtors of the Peukini, and ſettled in Peuké 1263 years before Chriſt, they might eaſily in the courſe of leſs than ſeven hundred years populate the ſpace between Peuké and the Baltic; and paſſing the Baltic poſſeſs the ſouth of Scandinavia more than 500 years before Chriſt; a period about which it would appear, as mentioned in the above quoted Diſſertation, that their Scythic brethren had peopled all Germany to the Britiſh ſea. If this *poetical* hypotheſis be followed, the whole Baſternæ (Peukini, Sitones, and Atmoni) muſt be ſuppoſed to originate from Peuké; as indeed Peukini and Baſternæ are ſynonymous names with Pliny and Tacitus.

But the *poet* who chuſes to commence the Pikiſh origin only at the ile of Peuké, will approach nearer to hiſtory, tho he will not be the beſt ſkilled in his own art. The Peukini can indeed be traced with geographic certainty from Peuké into Scandinavia, as expreſſly ſhewn in the Diſſertation annexed. The reader will there ſee that part of the Peukini ſtill remained in Peuké and Thrace, in the time of Strabo; that from thence they can be traced, from Tacitus and Ptolemy, up to the ſhore of the Baltic in preſent Ruſſia. That the Sitones, another Baſternic nation, or (if we follow Pliny and Tacitus, and allow the Peukini and Baſternæ ſynonymous terms) a nation of the Peukini, were in Scandinavia in the time of Tacitus. And that if, in oppoſition to Pliny and Tacitus, we hold the Peukini to be only a nation of the Baſternæ, they lay nearer to the Baltic than the Sitones, and proceeded, as appears from Ptolemy, in a direct line; while the Sitones moved round by the weſt ſide of the Viſtula: ſo that the Peukini, as they can be traced to the ſhore of the Baltic, while a part of the Sitones held the oppoſite coaſt

of Scandinavia, had in every probability ſent a colony into Scandinavia, before the Sitones, which proceeding north-weſt was loſt to the eyes of the ancients, by whom no part of Scandinavia was known, ſave the ſouthern ſhores. It is alſo ſhewn from Strabo, that the Baſternæ held Scandinavia; and that, if we refuſe Baſternæ and Peukini to be ſynonymous, it were yet unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Peukini, the greateſt nation of the Baſternæ, and who can actually be traced to the very oppoſite ſhore, had no part in theſe ſettlements. But having dwelt ſo fully on this ſubject in that Diſſertation, and produced the proofs in order, it is unneceſſary here to recapitulate more, ſeeing that it is ſufficient for the preſent purpoſe to trace the Piks in that part of Scandinavia now called Norway; and thence to Scotland.

§ II. *Hiſtorical Origin of the Piks.*

Tacitus, the firſt writer who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks, expreſſes his opinion that they were of German origin. Beda tells us they came from Scythia, a name which Jornandes about 530 had given to Scandinavia; and which continued to be applied to that country till the eleventh century, when the ſpecial denominations of Denmark, Sweden, and Norway, became known to Europe. All the other ancient writers who mention the origin of the Piks derive them from Scandinavia, ſo that no doubt can remain, ſave with ſuch ſhallow dreamers as ſpeak of opinions when they ſhould ſpeak of facts, and prefer their own weak conceits to that poſitive evidence upon which alone all ancient hiſtory ſtands. Indeed, to judge from reaſon only, it might readily be inferred that the Piks, a people, as all the ancients ſhew, quite different from the old Scots, or Iriſh, and from the old Britons, or Welch, as poſſeſſing North Britain, could only originate from a country near to North

North Britain, as Norway is. And when reaſon and ancient authorities thus coaleſce, they conſtitute that higheſt degree of Hiſtorical Truth which even approaches to Mathematical Demonſtration. In Scandinavia therefore, that large peninſular tract, including Norway, Sweden, and a part of Denmark, we are to look for the Piks: and while we find a people of the ſame name, in the ſouth of Norway, the part next to Scotland, the evidence becomes as complete as human hiſtory can afford.

Scandinavia was by the Romans, who only knew a ſmall part of it's ſouthern coaſts, eſteemed not improperly a German iland. It is indeed more properly a vaſt iland, than a peninſula; as it's extent is ſo great, and the part that connects it with the continent ſo narrow. For all the South, Weſt, and North, quarters are ſurrounded with ſea; and on the Eaſt the lakes Ladoga and Onega are connected by large rivers, or rather outlets: and between the lake Onega and the White Sea, being the only part where there is a paſſage into Scandinavia by land, there is another lake and river rendering that ſingle paſſage not above two miles broad. The circumference of Scandinavia is about Two Thouſand Two Hundred miles; and of that whole circumference only two miles being land, it ſeems rather an impropriety to call it a peninſula, than objectionable to term it an iland. Tacitus ranks the Sitones a people of Scandinavia among the Germans; and the other ancients account it an iland of Germany, and it's inhabitants Germans.

This vaſt iland ſeems to have been firſt peopled by Fins and Laplanders, whom Ihre thinks the firſt inhabitants of the whole. But there is great reaſon to ſuppoſe, that theſe people, being from the eaſt, had not extended further weſt than their preſent bounds, when they were ſtopt by the Scythians, or Goths, from the ſouth. For there are no

no Finniſh or Laplandic names in Sweden, or in Norway, tho, had ſuch been given to rivers, or mountains, they muſt have in ſome caſes remained. The Finniſh and Laplandic names are very peculiar, and diſtinct from the Gothic: almoſt all end in *vi* or *o*; and they are generally ſoft as the Italian. Nor in the Eddas, or ancient Sagas, is there a hint of any conflicts with the Fins, or Laplanders, tho they inform that Odin conquered the Cimbri.

Mela, who wrote in the reign of Claudius about 45 years after Chriſt, ſays, book III. ch. 3. that the Cimbri and Teutones held the ilands in the *Sinus Codanus*, or Gulf between Jutland and Scandinavia. And ch. 6. he ſays there were ſeven ilands in that gulf, and that the Teutones ſtill had Codanovia, the largeſt and beſt of theſe ilands. Theſe ſeven ilands ſeem Funen, Alſen, Longland, Laland, Falſter, Mone, Femeren. Funen, called Tutofunen in the map of Cluverius, is by far the largeſt and beſt of theſe, and is perhaps that meant by Mela. As to Zeeland, an iland equal in ſize to all theſe put together, it was called Scandia by Ptolemy and other ancients; and lyes beyond theſe ſeven ilands, ſo that it ſeems to have been unknown to Mela, and by no means to have been his Codanovia, as ſome think. Tacitus, by ſome accident in his information, ſeems to have known little of Jutland; for he ſays nothing of the Cimbric Cherſoneſe, nor Sinus Codanus, nor Teutoni; and only mentions in general the nations that poſſeſſed the large Cimbric Cherſoneſe, tho without marking it by that name.

Upon the whole, the Cimbri anciently poſſeſſed Jutland; and the Teutones the ilands between it and Scandinavia. But that the Cimbri, or Teutones, ever were in Scandinavia itſelf, there is not a ſhadow of proof. Pliny, the firſt writer who mentions Scandinavia, ſays it was poſſeſſed by the Hilleviones. The Baſternæ, thoſe Germans, or Goths,

Goths, who peopled Scandinavia, entering on the ſouth-eaſt, proceeded north and weſt; and ſeem, ſome centuries after they poſſeſſed Scandinavia, to have made expeditions againſt the Cimbri and Teutones, who were on the ſouthern ſhores oppoſite to them. Theſe nations, being unable to withſtand their invaders, were forced to relinquiſh their territories to them. Being alſo ſurrounded with other Germans, or Goths, on the ſouth, they ſeem to have obtained leave to paſs thro the territories of the later, in queſt of new inhabitants, which, as Cæſar [b] ſhews, was not an unuſual practice among the nations of Gaul and Germany. This the ſouthern Goths would readily grant, as every motive of policy and intereſt muſt have induced them. The Cimbri and Teutones firſt came to the territories of the Belgæ, who, as Cæſar tells [c], repulſed them. But turning to the eaſt of the Belgæ, where lay the foreſt of Arduenna, and tracts of deſart land, the Cimbri and Teutones burſt upon Celtic Gaul. For Cæſar expreſſly ſays, the Cimbri and Teutones ſeized on ALL Gaul [d], that is, all Gaul Proper, or Celtic Gaul, as he informs us that the Belgæ repelled them: and that from thence they burſt into Provincial Gaul and Italy. This paſſage of Cæſar is of great importance, and yet has never been explained, and hardly even attended to. The Cimbri and Teutones, had they ſeized all Celtic Gaul, could not, one would imagine, want new habitations; yet theſe were all they required from the Romans, as we know from hiſtory [e]. It is impoſſible to account for the ideas of theſe barbarians. Had they wanted waſte grounds to cultivate, they might have found them in the foreſt of Arduenna. Had they wanted to poſſeſs cultivated lands, they

[b] See the example of the Helvetii. *De Bell. Gall.* lib. I. and others.

[c] Lib. II.

[d] Bell. Gall. lib I. quum OMNEM Galliam occupaſſent, ut ante Cimbri, Teutonique feciſſent: and lib. II. OMNI Gallia vexata, Teutones, &c. and again, lib. VII.

[e] Plutarch in Mario, &c.

had

had them in Celtic Gaul, and the province. Yet they abandon all to march into Italy. Plutarch alſo informs, that they invaded Spain before turning upon Italy. So far as can be judged, the Cimbri and Teutones, finding the ſweets of a roving and plundering life, preferred it to any ſettlement; and, being unuſed to agriculture in their firſt ſeats, conſidered cultivated lands only with a view of pillage. Their demand of lands from the Romans ſeems to have been a mere pretence: rapine and plunder their ſole purſuits. Like the Huns afterward, they ſettled nowhere, but followed war as a trade. Many of the German nations were agricultural, as Tacitus ſhews; and Cæſar tells that the Belgæ of Britain were diſtinguiſhed from the indigenes, or Celts, by agriculture. The Celts being indeed mere ſavages, and worſe than the ſavages of America, are remarkable even to our own times for a total neglect of agriculture themſelves, and for plundering their neighbours. The Iriſh Celts, Scotiſh Celts, and Welch Celts, have all a like claim to this character; and when it begins to paſs away, it is only a ſign that by intermarriages the Gothic blood begins to exceed the Celtic: and that the Celts are no longer Celts, tho ſo accounted. Plutarch ſays the Germans called banditti, *Cimbri*. For the Gothic agricultors naturally gave this epithet to their Celtic neighbours who preyed upon their labours: as the highlanders, and Iriſh Celts, are called *Caterens*, *Kerns*, or *thieves*.

That the ſhock which drove the Cimbri and Teutones out of the north of Germany muſt have come from the north of their poſſeſſions is clear; for, had it proceeded from the ſouth, they muſt have been driven into Scandinavia. In other words, the Scandinavians muſt have expelled the Cimbri and Teutones; and it is reaſonable to infer of courſe that they ſeized their ſeats. Hence it appears to me, that Jutland, and the Daniſh

iles,

iles, were peopled with Goths from Scandinavia, and not from Germany. This opinion ſeems confirmed by that ſureſt mark, the ſpeech of theſe parts; which is not the German dialect of the Gothic, but the Scandinavian dialect of that tongue; and this diſtinction between Germany and the Daniſh dominion has always been marked and preciſe. The nations which Tacitus finds in preſent Jutland, namely the Angli, Varini, Eudoſes, Suardones, and Nuithones, and the Suiones of Zeeland, will of courſe be originally Scandinavians. Ptolemy names the nations in preſent Jutland, Sigulones, Sabelengii, Cobandi, Chali, Phunduſii, Charudes; but his authority, compared to that of Tacitus, who lived near the ſpot, is as night to day; and not one name of his nations is to be found, ſave in his book, while the real names, as given by Tacitus, occur in many authors. But of this more fully in the Diſſertation annexed.

The labial letters, and among others the *P* and *V*, are very apt to be interchanged in oral language. Hence the ſame people were called *Pihtar*, or Piks, more anciently and properly; and laterly Vihtveriar, and by contraction, *Vihtar*, or Viks. The firſt name was the moſt ancient, tho even in Ammianus we find *Vecturiones* for Piks. Common names are indeed liable to perpetual corruption and abuſe. In Norway the real ancient name ſeems to have been Pihtar, as we find it in the Saxon Chronicle; but afterward Vihtar, as in the Sagas, all of which are later than that Chronicle. Having premiſed theſe remarks let us proceed to illuſtrate the ancient ſeats of the Piks in Norway.

Torfæus, the greateſt antiquary whom this century has produced, and deſerving of the higheſt praiſe, not only from his country, but from all Europe, has in the deſcription of Norway, which commences his large and valuable hiſtory of that country, given us many lights on *Vika* or *Vichia*, the ancient kingdom of the Piks, tho he has not dropt

dropt one hint that it produced the Piks ſo noted in Roman hiſtory. His reſearches, confined to Northern antiquities, have not ſuggeſted to him the leaſt idea of this; and i am forced to take upon myſelf the whole weight of this diſcovery. Torfæus informs that the whole of that country in the ſouth of Norway, which ſurrounds the bay of Opſlo, or Oſloa, or Chriſtiana, was anciently called VIKA, and it's ilands the VIKR iles. It comprehended the provinces of *Raumarik*, *Ringarik*, *Hadaland*, *Thotnia*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*. This country is in modern maps called *The Government of Agerhus*, being about two hundred miles long, and one hundred broad. It is remarkable that it lyes on the eaſt, and not on the weſt of Norway, where one would naturally imagine that the government of Bergen, being the whole ſouth-weſt part of Norway, and ſtretching along the weſtern ocean, would have been the natural parent of thoſe Piks, who croſſed that ſmall tract of that ocean which lyes between Norway and Scotland. But theſe affairs do not happen in ſuch formal order, elſe the Dutch, and not the Jutes, Saxons, and Angles, would have ſeized England. It may however well be inferred, that, in times preceding any Sagas, or other memorials of Norwegian hiſtory, the whole Norwegians were called Pihtar, as being Peukini, tho afterward this name only remained to a great part; as Es-Sex, and Middle Sex, or Eaſt Saxony, and Middle Saxony, remain names of counties in England, tho not exceeding a quarter of the ancient dominions of the Saxons in that country. Be this as it may, it is ſufficient that ancient Vika ſtretched along that ſea, which is to the ſouth of Norway, to the extent of about one hundred and fifty miles; for *Vik-Siden*, or the Vik Side ſpred, even in the time of Torfæus, down to Bahus on the eaſt. Here were 150 miles of ſea-coaſt open to the people of Vika, directly oppoſite to the north of Scotland, and only about 240 miles from it.

5 There

There are no Northern Sagas or Hiſtories extant which can be called older than the eleventh century. Arius Frodi, the firſt Hiſtorian, is of the twelfth century: Snorro Sturleſon of the thirteenth. Much obſcurity therefore hangs around the hiſtory of Norway till about the year 900, when Harald Harfagre, one of the petty kings of that country, conquering ten or twelve others, aroſe monarch of all Norway. Among the conquered kingdoms Vika is expreſsly mentioned by Torfæus, II. 18. But the inland parts of this large country had been ſplit into three or four kingdoms, Rauma-rik, Ringa-rik, Heidmark, &c. all of which occur often in Torfæus by theſe names, and under diſtinct kings; while the kingdom of Vika was confined to that part which lay along the ſea, as appears from many paſſages of Torfæus, and eſpecially frequent mention of invaders landing and ravaging the territories of Vika. And Olaus Magnus means this part, when he ſays, *Vichia olim regnum:* 'Vichia anciently a kingdom[f].'

Such hints as can be found concerning Vika or Vichia in the Northern writers ſhall here be thrown together. Torfæus deſcribes *Vik-Siden*, a great part of the coaſt of ancient Vika yet retaining that name, as a beautiful country ornamented with large plains, thick woods of fir, and moderate hills, that, ſwelling down to the ſhore, are interſected with large and ſmall creeks. The ancient inhabitants were of remarkable ferocity, and ſcrupled not to invade and ravage their neighbours. The river *Gautelf* runs thro this part of Vika; and forms a great cataract, under which, between the water and the rocks, banditti uſed to lurk. In this part of Vika is alſo *Konga-hilla*, or Kings-hill, central to the dominions of Denmark,

[f] Hiſtoria (ſhould be *deſcriptio*) Gent. Septen. ad fin. ubi Elenchus Regn. Sept.

Norway,

Norway, and Sweden: and where the three kings uſed to meet when a conference was appointed. This country is fertile, and remarkable for ale of peculiar ſtrength. The ſhore was anciently noted for it's herring fiſhery, but the ſhoals have now abandoned it. The ſouth-eaſt part was alſo called *Alfheim*, from Alf the king. *Fredericſhall*, where Charles XII. was ſhot, ſtands in the midſt of this country. *Dall Vik* was another diviſion of Vika, comprizing three provinces *Rauma-rik*, *Heidmarch*, and *Gudbrandzdal*.

In the Edda we find *Vitr-Gut* the grandſon, and *Pitta*, the great grandſon of Odin. Some of theſe names ſeem national, as we find *Geta*. &c. in other genealogies from Odin; and it may well be ſuſpected, that *Vitr-Gut* and *Pitta* have both reference to the *Vikr Goths* or *Pihtar*. Torfæus obſerves, in his *Series Regum Daniæ*, that this *Pitta* is called *Vitta* by the Saxon writers of England: and he generally occurs in the genealogies of their kings from Odin, along with Geta, &c. In the *Nori Regnum* of Ramus, being an hiſtory of Norway prior to Harald Harfagre, or 900, we find the following ſtory concerning a king of Vika, which Ramus dates in the year of the world 3960, or about 40 years before Chriſt. But, according to the error of laſt century, the Northern authors placed events many ages too ancient; and Torfæus and Ramus have ſhewn ſo little judgment in this point, as to ſuppoſe the events preceding our æra known, and thoſe for many centuries after unknown: of which Ramus, in this very book, affords a remarkable inſtance, for he narrates numerous matters prior to our æra, yet gravely tells us, that for the firſt 338 years after it nothing is known! Torfæus had in like manner dated the reign of Hrolf Krak king of Denmark before our æra: till upon further examination of his ſtory, finding adventures with a king of Northumberland, and the like, he was forced to date it

it 500 years after. But, in fact, there is no memory of Northern affairs preceding the year 500 [g]; and this tale may be dated about the eighth century. Here it is. 'At that time died Aſvid, ſon of Alf king of Heidmarch. Aſmund king of Vikia, the ſon of Bero, wiſhing not to ſurvive the death of his *ſworn brother*, took with him ſome meat and drink, and went down into the ſepulchre of Aſvid, which was in a deep cavern. Eric coming to the place with many Swedes, his ſoldiers expecting to find a treaſure in the tomb of Aſvid, opened a paſſage to the cavern at it's top, and let down one of their number in a baſket. Aſmund, repenting of his reſolution, ſeized the occaſion, threw out the ſoldier, and mounting the baſket himſelf, was drawn up by the Swedes. They being terrified out of meaſure at this unexpected apparition, fled with great precipitation, Aſmund in vain trying to recall them. For he was ſo torn in the face, by fighting every night with the ghoſt of Aſvid, that he reſembled a mangled corſe [h].'

Ramus alſo mentions Alf king of Alfheim, or Vikia, whoſe daughter Alfhilda Starcater, the Fingal of the North, carried off and married. Torfæus, in his hiſtory of Norway, is quite full

[g] See Diſſertation annexed.

[h] The book of Ramus being very ſcarce, the original is ſubjoined. "Illis diebus fato conceſſerat Aſvidus; cujus ſepulchrum, ob amicitiæ fœdus, adſcito potu et cibo, intraverat Aſmundus Beronis Vikiæ rex, jurati fratris neci ſupereſſe nolens. Inciderat jam forte Ericus, cum magna Sueco-rum manu, in Aſvidi tumulum: cum Sueci, theſaurum ſe inventuros rati, perfracto colle, militem ſporta in antrum dimittunt. Ea captata occaſione, militem de ſede disjecit Aſmundus, ejuſque loco corbem ipſe conſcendens a Suecis extractus eſt. Illi forma ejus inuſitata territi, in pedes ſe conjiciunt; Aſmundo timidos fruſtra revocante. Adeo enim erat facie laceratus, certamine ſcilicet cum Aſvidi manibus nocte quavis habito, ut defuncti plane ſpeciem referret.' p. 33. *Sworn brothers* is a well known term of chivalry, derived from the early cuſtoms of the Goths.

of Vika, as a country of Norway, and as bordering on the ſouth ſea, the moſt expoſed to invaſions. But of it's kings i believe few other names are known than the two above mentioned. The whole hiſtory of Norway prior to 900, when Harold Harfagre, or fair-hair, became ſo e king, is unknown, or bordering on romance. Vika being laterly but one of ten or twelve kingdoms in Norway, it's hiſtory has periſhed, as that of the others; both by reaſon of the confuſion inſeparable from the mingled events of ſuch ſmall ſtates, and becauſe that no writers aroſe till the twelfth century, long after the extinction of theſe ſtates. Eric Blodox, ſon and ſucceſſor of Harald Harfagre 933, had at firſt but half of Norway; Olaf, one of his brothers, uſurping Vika, and Sigrod, the other, Thrandia: but Eric entering Vika, engaged both his brothers, and ſlew them. In 938 Torfæus tells, that Haco king of Norway reſtored Thorſtein lord of Vika to his hereditary poſſeſſion; and in 942 Haco cleared Vika of Danes and pirates. About the year 1000, in the time of Harold Blaatand, we find ſtrong diſputes in Vika, whether the pagan or chriſtian religion ſhould prevail. King Olaf Tryggvin, about 1025, converted all Vicha to chriſtianity. After this Vika is often mentioned, till the cloſe of the Norwegian hiſtory, in the fourteenth century, when it coaleſced with that of Denmark. The Vikar were a rebellious people; and in particular the grand faction of the *Baglar*, ſo prominent in the later hiſtory of Norway, conſiſted chiefly of Vikar[i].

In the Icelandic, or old Norwegian tongue, *wik* is a *bay* or *haven*, as ſome ſay; but, according to the Icelandic lexicon of Andreas, *Vik* is a *promontory*, or *corner*. Many towns in the Northern kingdoms end in *wic* or *vic*, as *Sandwic* in

[i] Torfæi Hiſt. Norv. *paſſim*.

Norway,

Norway, &c. But this word cannot well, in either acceptation, be ſuppoſed to be the very name of VIKA, a territory 200 miles long and 100 broad; for how abſurd an appellation would *the Bay*, *the Haven*, *the Corner*, *the Promontory*, be for ſuch a country! Beſide, the whole Northern writers call this country as often *Vichia* as *Vika*, and have never dropt a ſingle hint that this name was from *vik*. There is one kingdom in Europe which takes it's name from a haven, Portugal from Portus Calle; but this name is from a ſpecial haven; and to have called it *The Haven* in general would have been ſo abſurd as never to have ſtruck the weakeſt mind; for it would have been a name that was no name, but might apply to a thouſand other places. It therefore appears that VIK or VICH, the name of this kingdom, has no more connexion with *vik* 'a haven,' &c. than any word has to do with another identically ſo ſpelled, but of a quite different import. We know what laughter Somner occaſioned when he derived *Cumberland* from people being *cumbered* in going over it's hills. Flintſhire, it is preſumed, did not take that name from it's abounding in *flint*; nor Cheſhire from it's *cheeſe*. But ſo obvious a point need not be inſiſted on; and it appears to me that the name of *Vik*, and it's people *Vikur*, are mere oral alterations of *Pik* and *Pikar*, the moſt ancient names; and theſe in all probability a ſmall variation from the name *Peukini*, as *Suitiod* or Sweden is certainly from the *Sitones*.

From *Vik*, a haven, the word *Vikingur*, a pirate, ſeems to be formed, tho Andreas derives it from *Vig*, a ſhip. Some antiquaries have lately ſuppoſed that that the name *Piks* is but a ſlight variation of *Vikingur*, or pirates; but this opinion is liable to many objections. 1. The very name *Vikingur* is too remote from the name *Pihtar*, or *Pehts*, or Piks, to be the ſame; for tho all grant P and V are labial letters eaſily commutable, yet

the *ingur* of the termination is eſſential, and incapable of omiſſion or change. 2. The Saxon Chronicle, and king Alfred, in his tranſlation of Beda, call the Piks *Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Pehtar*, *Peohtar*; and the word *Vikingur* is not to be found in writers more ancient than theſe, nor are the Runic monuments in which it is found more ancient, ſo that had Vikingur been the real indigenal name, it could not have eſcaped writers cotemporary with the Pikiſh monarchy, and of a nation bordering on the Piks. 3. The old Engliſh hiſtorians ſometimes call the Daniſh pirates who invaded England *Viccingi*, which is clearly the northern word *Vikingur*, but the Piks they always call *Picti*. 4. The words *Pihtar*, *Pyhtar*, *Pehtar*, *Vikar*, *Vicbar*, are abſolute national names; while *Vikingur*, or pirate, is a mere profeſſional denomination, and could only apply to thoſe actually engaged in it.

Before leaving this part of the ſubject, it muſt be obſerved, that the names VIK and VIKAR can be traced in Scandinavia ſo as to ſhew that it muſt have been once much ſpred. In Sweden is *Vikia*, a tract of Oſtrogothia, four miles long and one and a half broad. Nay on the ſouth-eaſt ſhore of the Baltic, in Eſthonia, is another *Vikia*, a diſtrict twelve miles long and ten broad. Tho theſe ſmall parts compared to the Vika of Norway, be as drops to the ocean, yet being in the identic progreſs by which, as is ſhewn in the Diſſertation annexed, the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia, it might not be wholly unreaſonable to infer that they derive their names from ſome of the Peukini ſettled there[k]. So the Saxons who

[k] Rudbeck, Atlant. I. 673, mentions, as on the north of Sweden, the 'Packtar, Paiktar, Pitur, Medel Paktar; Britanni Peihtar appellant:' and ſays in another place, Vol. II. 'Noſtri infimam plabam *Paik*, et pueros ſervuloſque *Peikar* appellant.' It ſeems hence that the ancient name remained in remote corners, and among the vulgar, who retain old uſages longeſt.

gave

gave their name to Saxony in Germany, have alſo imparted it to Eſ-ſex, and Middle-ſex, and Suſſex, in England.

That the nations who over-ran Europe upon the fall of the Roman empire proceeded from Scandinavia, is ſhewn, in the Diſſertation added, to be a puerile vulgar error, built ſolely on a groſs miſrepreſentation of the meaning of Jornandes, a ſilly writer of a barbarous age; who ſays the old Scythians proceeded from Scandinavia, and that it is of courſe the real ancient Scythia: but who in this wild aſſertion is flatly contradicted by Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients, who expreſsly mark the progreſs of the Scythians to have been from preſent Perſia, ſo that their courſe lay north-weſt, inſtead of ſouth-eaſt; and Scandinavia, inſtead of the firſt, was almoſt the laſt country they held. Scandinavia is one of the moſt mountainous regions in the world, and ſuch countries are always thinly inhabited, as it always has been, and is at preſent. The ſole colonies it ever ſent forth were, 1. The Piks into Scotland, the oppoſite ſhore. 2. The Jutes and Danes. And laterly, after the Eighth century, 3. The Normans into France. 4. The Waregori into Ruſſia. 5. Into Iceland and Greenland. 6. Into Ireland, the Hebudes, and Orkneys *.

* All theſe colonies are well known, except the Waregori. Muller, who publiſhed German tranſlations of the old Ruſſian chronicles, firſt brought them to light, about 40 years ago. Neſtor, the Ruſſian annaliſt, who wrote about the year 1000, mentions that they conſiſted of *Urmani*, or Normans, *Inglani*, or Angles, and *Gothi*, or Yeuts. In 862 they had ſettled on the White Sea, and were thence invited into Ruſſia. *Ruric*, or Roderic their leader, fixed his throne at Novogorod in 864. Same year Oſcold and Dir delivered Kiow from the Coſars, and reigned there. From Kiow they ſailed down the Boryſtenes, and invaded Conſtantinople. But Ruric was the founder of the Ruſſian Empire: and his houſe held the ſceptre of Ruſſia till 1598, or for ſeven centuries. *Muller, Samlung Ruſſ. Geſch. Parerga Hiſt. Dantiſci* 1782, 4to.

Now it is remarkable, that in the three firſt of theſe colonies the name of the *Vikar*, the chief people of ancient Norway, occurs. The Piks bear it expreſſly, with the mere change of a labial letter, which change was in the word *Vikar*, not in *Pikar*; for the Northern nations fond of cloſe and hard ſounds, as the cold climate renders their fibres rigid, and makes them ſpeak much thro the teeth, or with as cloſe lips as poſſible, naturally preferred the cloſe *V* to the open *P*, and thus changed the ancient Pikar to Vikar. The Jutes are by the Northern nations called *Yeuts*; and Jutland, *Yeutland*, the *Y* having here the ſame ſound as in the Italian. But this country was anciently called *Vitland*, or *Pitland*; and it's inhabitants *Vits*, or *Pits*. Verelius, a learned Northern antiquary, tells that Jutland is the mere modern name of Vitland; and Beda expreſſly calls the Jutes always *Vitæ*, or *Vits*. Nor was this appellation of *Vits* or *Pits* confined to Jutland, but extended even to the Daniſh iles; for Meurſius informs us, that in ancient times Zealand, the grand ſeat of the Daniſh monarchy, Langland and Mona were called *Vitſlett*; which the learned Stephanius, in his notes on Saxo, p. 28. col. 2. confirms, adding, that the ſame name alſo extended to Falſter and Laland, two other of theſe iles, and that it preceded that of Denmark, and that the name Vitſlett means *The field of the Vits*. Perhaps it roſe from the circumſtance of Scandinavia being hilly, and theſe iles plain and fertile. In the third colony of the Normans in France, tho later than the two former by a thouſand years, and cauſed not by an overflow of people, but merely by numbers of the Norwegians leaving their country, where Harald Harfagre exerciſed the tyranny of an univerſal conqueror, we ſtill find this eminent name. For the province of *Picardie*, the derivation of whoſe name has baffled all the French antiquaries, was the earlieſt ſettlement of the Norwegians

wegians in France, who thence advanced to beſiege Paris; and after acquired Normandie. But Picardie, being actually ſeized and poſſeſſed by them for ſome time before they gained Normandie, it was not included in the grant of Normandie, becauſe already their's by full conqueſt and poſſeſſion. Picardie is a province 48 leagues long, and 38 broad. It's rivers are la Somme, l'Oyſe, la Cauche, la Scarpe, la Lys, and l'Aa. The name of Picardie is unknown till the thirteenth century, when Guillaume de Naugis firſt uſes it, as Matthew of Paris, under the year 1229, ſpeaks of the Picards who border on Flanders. It was about 900 that Ganga Hrolf, or Rollo the Walker, (ſo called, becauſe no horſe could ſupport his weighty ſtature) a Norwegian Earl, who, as not diſhonourable in that age, practiſed piracy, landed, and ravaged a part of Vika[1]. Harald Harfagre, the new monarch of all Norway, baniſhed Rollo who firſt paſſed to the Weſtern iles of Scotland; then invaded England, but without any ſucceſs; and at laſt went to Neuſtria, or preſent Normandy, in France. After ravaging a great part of the north of France, and beſieging Paris, at length in 912 a treaty was made, by which all Normandy was yielded to Rollo and his followers. Rollo lived to a great age, and left that province ſecure to his ſucceſſors; one of whom was after to aſcend the throne of England. It was in 1205, that Normandy was reunited to France, by Philip Auguſtus: and it is remarkable that the name of Picardie begins firſt to appear at this time. This ſeems owing to the writers of Norman hiſtory being Frenchmen, and other foreigners, who uſed a general name for the whole people; but when the French had gotten poſſeſſion, and complete knowlege of the country, they found that the inhabitants of the eaſtern part called themſelves Picars, and uſed that denomination for them in courſe.

[1] See a Diſſertation on Rollo in Torf. Hiſt. Norv. tom II.

Having thus diſplayed the ſeats of the Piks in Scandinavia, it remains to trace them from thence to Scotland, which can be done with the utmoſt certainty that ancient hiſtory can bear.

Tacitus is the firſt writer who mentions the Caledonians, or Piks, in North Britain, and he gives his opinion that they came from Germany: and he includes the people of Scandinavia, the Suiones, and Sitones in Germany, ſo that Scandinavia was a part of his Germany. His words are, in deſcribing Britain, *Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint, indigenæ an advecti, ut inter Barbaros parum compertum. Habitus corporum varii, atque ex eo argumenta. Namque rutilæ Caledoniam habitantium comæ, magni artus, Germanicam originem aſſeverant. Silurum colorati vultus et torti plerumque crines, et poſitu contra Hiſpaniam Iberos veteres trajeciſſe, eaſque ſedes occupaſſe, fidem faciunt. Proximi Gallis et ſimiles ſunt: ſeu durante originis vi, ſeu, præcurrentibus in diverſa terris, poſitio cæli corporibus habitum dedit. In univerſum tamen æſtimanti Gallos vicinum ſolum occupaſſe credibile eſt*[m]. "Moreover what mortals firſt inhabited Britain, indigenal or adventitious, is, as uſual with barbarians, little known. The habits of their bodies are various, whence arguments may riſe. For the red hair and large limbs of thoſe inhabiting Caledonia aſſure us of their German origin. The tawny faces, and generally curled hair of the Silures, and their poſition oppoſite to Spain, make us believe that they are old Iberi who paſſed over, and occupied theſe ſeats. Thoſe next to the Gauls reſemble the Gauls: whether becauſe the ſtrong feature of their origin continues, or that, their lands running out in diverſe directions, the poſition of the climate gave a different habit to their bodies. Yet to one judging upon the whole it is credible that the Gauls occupied the part next them." This paſſage is

[m] Tacit. in Agricola.

entitled

entitled to a commentary. The red hair and large limbs are to this day the grand features of the Scandinavians, while the Scotiſh, Iriſh, and Welch Celts are remarkable for black hair, and a ſize rather diminutive. The Germans were equally remarkable for their red, yellow, and flaxen hair, which are all but different ſhades of the ſame complexion. If my memory ſerves, ſome of the Roman writers mention the yellow hair of the Gauls, meaning thoſe Gauls who bordered on Italy, thoſe of Gallia Bracata, Helvetia, &c. up to Belgium, all of whom were real Germans, who had expelled the old Gauls to the weſt, or Celtic Gaul; and were called Gauls, as an Engliſhman is called a Briton. The marks here given by Tacitus, however ſlight they may ſeem now, are in fact extremely ſtrong among ſavages, as the Britons then were. The olive complexion and lank hair of an Eaſt Indian; the copper colour of an American; the ſable face and wooly head of an African, are infallible badges now: and ſo were the diſtinctions of the Britons in the time of Tacitus. The word ASSEVERANT, 'aſſure,' uſed by Tacitus with regard to the Caledonians being of German extract, is firm and invincible; for he had lived long among the Germans of Belgium, and if he did not attend Agricola to this country, he had an almoſt equal advantage of intimate and continual converſation with him. As to another diviſion of the Britons, namely the Silures, Tacitus is not ſo clear. He ſays they might be of Spain, the circumſtances *fidem faciunt*, "make us believe," "make it credible." Tacitus proceeds to mention that the Britons next Gaul reſembled the Gauls. That is, the Belgæ of the ſouth and eaſt reſembled the Belgic Gauls. And it alſo ſtriking him at the ſame time, that the Celtic Gauls oppoſite to the inhabitants of the ſouth-weſt of Britain reſembled them, as in fact the Celts do at this day, in ſunburnt faces, and curled hair, he adds, that upon the

the whole it is credible that the Gauls occupied *vicinum ſolum*, the land next them. That is, it was credible that the Silures might alſo be of Gallic origin, as they lay near Gaul. A critic or two, who have kindly explained Tacitus to others, without underſtanding him themſelves, have imagined that by the words *in univerſum*, "upon the whole," that great writer meaned flatly to contradict himſelf in the courſe of two ſentences; and to infer that all Britain was peopled from Gaul. *In univerſum* is a mere phraſe of tranſition; and has perhaps been put by Tacitus with the ſame negligence, as he would have put *Sed*, or *Et*. He uſes the very identic phraſe when ſpeaking of the German armies, *In univerſum æſtimanti plus penes peditem robur*, "Upon the whole, the infantry have more force." But as this implies not that all the German armies were of infantry, ſo neither does the former imply that all the Britons were of Gaul. He expreſſly adds *vicinum ſolum* 'the neighbouring land,' which can never apply to Caledonia, a country 500 miles from Gaul; and the German origin of whoſe people he ſays is SURE, *aſſeverant*.

The weapons of war uſed by the Caledonians and Germans were alſo the ſame. Tacitus ſhews that both uſed long ſwords. In Annal. II. he gives long ſpears to the Germans, a weapon remarkable in Scotland to the lateſt times. Herodian, book III. ſays, the Caledonians had ſhort and narrow ſhields; and ſo Tacitus of the Germans, Annal. III.

The next writers who mention the Caledonians, are Dio and Herodian, who ſay nothing of their origin; but mention their cuſtom of painting themſelves, a cuſtom, as above ſhewn, unknown to the Celts, and an infallible badge of a Gothic nation: as were the Belgæ of South Britain, who alſo retained it.

Eumenius and others, who mention the Piks, drop no hint of their origin. Claudian, who wrote about 390, alludes to it:

Madue-

Maduerunt Saxone fuſo
Orcades. Incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule.
Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

The whole of this paſſage alludes to the victory obtained over the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, the ravagers of Britain, by the general Theodoſius. Claudian uſes all the privilege of poetry, and ſwells even to bombaſt, a not unuſual fault of his. The Orcades, his deceitful and poetic memory

(For, where the ſcorching beams of fancy play,
The memory's ſoft figures melt away)

has confounded with the Σαξονων νησοι, or Iles of the Saxons of Ptolemy, his countryman; which were above the mouth of the Elbe, and are now *de Strand*, and other iles, almoſt ſwallowed up at the ſouth-weſt extremity of Jutland, the real old ſeat of the Saxons, as Ptolemy marks them. Theſe iles were oppoſite to the Orkneys, according to Ptolemy; and Claudian has from ignorance, or want of memory, confounded them. His verſes evidently mean in bombaſtic praiſe to aſſert, that Theodoſius, not content with repelling the Saxons, Piks, and Scots, chaſtiſed them all in their original ſeats, the Iles of the Saxons here abſurdly called Orcades; Thule, or Scandinavia; and Ierne, Ιερνη as the Greek writers call it, or Ireland. That Scandinavia was the Thule of the later Roman writers is clear from Procopius. If with Claudian we aſſert Saxons in the Orkneys, we muſt prefer the language of fiction, to the ſober proſe truth of all the ancients. Some, to ſave his error, ſay this muſt have been a naval battle: but that this was impoſſible will appear from the narrative of the expedition of Theodoſius given us by Ammianus. But, not to found on poetry, let us leave this paſſage, *valeat quantum valere poteſt*, and attend to plain proſe.

Beda wrote in 731, and was an author of prodigious learning and judgment for the time, as his numerous

numerous works declare. His Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory of the Engliſh nation, in five books, is the beſt of theſe works. Would that it had been the Civil hiſtory; and that with fifty pages of facts, we had not three hundred of miracles! Yet have we reaſon to rejoice that the Chriſtian religion was then profeſt in Britain; as, without it, even theſe precious fifty pages of facts might never have appeared. Tacitus has his miracles as well as Beda, and without his apology. Nor is the *memorant qui interfuere*, reſpecting the miracles of Veſpaſian, much leſs riſible, than the *vidimus* of Iriſh books curing poiſon, in Beda; who in that paſſage perhaps ſilently quotes, a practice not unuſual in the middle ages, for this ſingle word *vidimus* is the moſt prominent of all Beda's book, who tells other miracles by hearſay. Livy is alſo full of miracles, tho his judgment in other points has never been queſtioned. Beda's account of the origin of the Britons, Scots, and Angli, is unqueſtionably juſt, which makes us ſecure when he treats the Pikiſh origin. The Britons, he ſays, came *de tractu Armoricano*. By the Britons, Beda always means the Welch; but the ſignification of his Armorica is not clear. The more common meaning of Armorica is Bretagne, and that the Welch did not come from that tract is certain. But the term Armorica was very lax; and ſeems to have extended in it's real meaning of *on the ſea*, or *ſea-ſhore*, along the whole coaſt of Gaul, even up to the Rhine. And that the Cimbri, or German Celts, paſſed into South Britain from Belgic Gaul, as the Belgæ did long after, is moſt probable. Beda ſays, book I. c. 21. that Germanus, biſhop of Altiſiodorum, or Auxerre in Burgundy, went to Ravenna, *pro pace Armoricanæ gentis ſupplicaturus*, 'to ſupplicate for the peace of Armorica.' Auxerre is quite remote from Bretagne, but is on the borders of Belgic Gaul. Beda's Armorica ſeems to be French Flanders. After all, Beda is here ſpeaking of the firſt

population

population of this iland, which was certainly by Gael, from Celtic Gaul, in which Armorica in it's uſual acceptation of Bretagne lyes. Beda, not knowing that the Cimbri had driven theſe Gael into Ireland, might, from the great remoteneſs of that event, confound the two colonies; and thinking the Cimbri the firſt inhabitants, and learning that the firſt inhabitants came from Celtic Gaul, might of courſe derive the Cimbri from Celtic Gaul. This origin of the Britons is the only one given by Beda, which ſeems to need defence: and the reaſon is clear. The Gael had poſſibly peopled this country two thouſand years before Chriſt, and the Cimbri one thouſand. No wonder then that, in ſo remote events, Beda might be embarraſſed. But the Piks had not come in till about 200 years before Chriſt; the Scots till 258 years after; nor the Jutes till 449 years after. The Piks had expelled the Cimbri; and even their arrival was a recent event, compared with that of the Welſh Britons. Hence, tho Beda might err with regard to the origin of theſe Britons, this would never invalidate his other origins. Indeed the origins of nations are the greateſt events in hiſtory, and leave the ſtrongeſt traces behind them. Beda's origin of the Angli has never been queſtioned. That of the Scots has, by the antiquaries of Scotland, who are the ſhalloweſt that ever diſgraced a country, and inſtead of READING facts, perſiſt in WRITING opinions. The grand points of hiſtory ſupported by all authorities, which are FACTS in all other countries, are in Scotland OPINIONS; and by a ſpecies of ignorance, which we term philoſophy, we doubt of hiſtoric truth, but greedily embrace any poetical fiction. Amid the higheſt reverence for the literature of his country, the warmeſt wiſh *eſto perpetua*: the author, ſenſible of his good intentions, heſitates not to point out its faults. But the origin of the Scots is reſerved for eſpecial conſideration in its proper place.

Beda's account of the origin of the Piks ſupports, and is ſupported by, that of Tacitus. It follows. *Et cum plurimam inſulæ partem* [Britones] *incipientes ab auſtro poſſediſſent, contigit gentem Pictarum de Scythia, ut perhibent, longis navibus non multis, oceanum ingreſſam*, &c. and then telling us they proceeded to Ireland, but not finding a ſettlement went over to the north of Britain, where they ſettled; *Itaque petentes Britanniam Picti, habitare per ſeptentrionales inſulæ partes cæperunt. Nam auſtrina Britones occupaverunt.* "And when the Britons, beginning from the ſouth, had poſſeſſed the greater part of the iland, it happened that the nation of the Piks, entering the ocean from Scythia, as is reported, in not many large ſhips," came to Ireland, where finding no ſettlement, they went over to North Britain; "Therefore the Piks going to Britain began to inhabit the northern parts of the iland. For the Britons had ſeized the ſouth."

The SCYTHIA of Beda is the GERMANY of Tacitus. The later includes the nations of Scandinavia among the Germans; and Scythia had by Jornandes, 200 years before Beda, been a name given to Scandinavia: as indeed the Greeks had, 400 years before Chriſt, called Germany Scythia, and eſpecially the north of it, as may be ſeen in the Diſſertation annexed. But to give the reader full ſatisfaction on this point, let us examine it here a little.

The error of Jornandes did not conſiſt in calling Scandinavia, Scythia; for nothing is more certain, as ſhewn in the Diſſertation, than that the Germans and Scandinavians were Scythians. But it lay in ſuppoſing Scandinavia the moſt ancient Scythia, from which all the Scythians proceeded. Jornandes tells, that the Scythians, or Goths, went from Scandinavia, his ancient Scythia, in three ſhips, under king Berig; an event which, according to him, muſt have happened four thouſand

years before Chriſt; for he after proceeds to ſtate their progreſs to little Scythia, on the Euxine, and their expedition againſt Vexores, king of Egypt. This tale of Jornandes is in flat contradiction to Herodotus, Diodorus Siculus, and other ancients; and is ſo utterly childiſh, that it confutes itſelf. The three ſhips; the one that lagged behind, whence the nation of Gepidæ, or Loiterers; their arrival at Owin, in the north of Germany, where, by the falling of a bridge, a part were left, and the noiſe of their cattle heard to this day; are all circumſtances that would diſgrace one of Mother Gooſe's Tales. Yet has this idiotic fable overturned the whole hiſtory of Europe! I beg pardon of Jornandes, it is not his tale, but a groſs miſconception of it, which has had ſo important effects! A groſs miſconception which has paſſed current among the moſt able writers, and at this hour ſtains the pages of Monteſquieu, and other famous men!

O cæcas hominum mentes! O pectora cæca!

This miſconception lies in ſuppoſing that Jornandes brings the Goths from Scandinavia, about 200 years after Chriſt, as their name appears in Roman hiſtory about 250. Jornandes, ignorant as he was, well knew that, by the conſent of all antiquity, the Scythians, Getæ, and Goths, were one and the ſame people; and he always uſes theſe words ſynonymouſly; and he never even dreamed of the Goths being a late colony from Scandinavia, as above ſhewn. Hence this groſs error lyes totally with our modern *celeberrimi*, and not with Jornandes.

But the fact is, as amply detailed in the Diſſertation annexed, that the Scythians, otherwiſe called Getæ, or Goths, proceeded from preſent Perſia upward, over the river Araxes, in Armenia, and the mountains of Caucaſus, into little, or ancient Scythia, on the Euxine. Thence they ſpread into Thrace, Greece, Illyricum, Dacia, Germany, Scandinavia.

Scandinavia. From Scandinavia they proceeded to Scotland, Jutland, and the Daniſh iles. From Germany, to Gaul, and Spain, and Italy; and form at this day almoſt the whole inhabitants of Europe, the few Celts in the Britiſh iles, the Fins of Lapland, Finland, and Hungary, and the Sarmatians of Ruſſia and Poland, being the ſole exceptions. Herodotus knew the Germans by no other name or diſtinction, but as Scythians. Timæus, and other ancient writers, quoted by Pliny, call the north of Germany, Scythia. But Jornandes, being a writer much admired in the middle ages, was followed by Iſidorus, Beda, Paulus Diaconus, &c. and it is from him that we muſt date their aſcription of the name of Scythia to Scandinavia. The old geographer of Ravenna, who, according to Gronovius, wrote in the eighth century, ſays, book V. p. 106. *edit. Gronov.* 1696, 8vo. ***In ipſo autem oceano ſeptentrionali . . . . eſt inſula quæ dicitur Scanza, quæ et Antiqua Scythia a plurimis coſmographis appellatur.*** 'In the northern ocean is an iland called Scanza,' (a name always given by Jornandes, &c. to Scandinavia) 'whic his alſo called Ancient Scythia by many coſmographers.' Even ſo late as the tenth century Audradus Modicus calls the Normans, who ravaged France in his time, SCYTHÆ: *apud Ducheſne Script. Franc.* Tom. II. p. 361. Nay our Fordun, lib. I. c. 5. deſcribes Scythia as bounded by the Baltic; and c. 30, 31, ſays the Piks came from it. And the name was generally uſed; for Anaſtaſius Sinaita, a writer of the Ninth age, ſays, Σκυθιαν δε ειωθασι καλειν οι παλαιοι το κλιμα απαν το Βορειον, ενθα οιςιν οι Γοτθοι και Δανεις: 'The ancients are accuſtomed to call all the northern region Scythia, where are the Goths and Danes.' But not to inſiſt further on a point ſo well known to the learned, let us proceed to ſtate other evidences that the Piks came from Scandinavia, tho the above be fully ſufficient, and any more proof be a work of ſupererogation.

Nennius

Nennius wrote his history of the Britons, or rather wild declamation concerning them, in 858, as appears from his work (*pref. ch.* I. and XI, &c.) and sent it to Samuel, his friend, who made many alterations on it. But as we know not whether Nennius, or Samuel, was most foolish, it is absurd to imagine with Bertram, his last editor, that Samuel was, and that the most foolish passages are his; while they seem to have been perfectly matched, so that the whole work may be taken in the lump, and quoted as written by Nennius and Samuel. The book has however it's value, as shewing the traditions and opinions of the Welch at the time it was written: and tho, compared to a Gothic Saga, it be as the dream of a madman compared to the dream of a sound mind, it has however been quoted by the most severe writers. Nennius and Samuel in their Fifth chapter, after narrating the arrival of the Britons, and before telling that of the Scots into Ireland from Spain, say, that 900 years after the time of Heli the priest, mentioned in ch. 4. and who lived 1200 years before Christ, that is, three hundred years before Christ, the Piks came to the Orkneys. Whence they seized all the north part of Britain, amounting to one third; and "hold it to this day:" that is, in 858, or just fifteen years after the Celtic dunces, who were the fathers of our history, tell that Kenneth, who in fact merely acceded to the Pikish throne, as shall be shewn after, had conquered the Piks, seven times in one day, and inviting that whole great nation to an entertainment had killed them all—and eaten them up! But take the words of Nennius and Samuel. *Post intervallum annorum multorum, non minus DCCCC, Picti venerunt, et occupaverunt insulas quæ Orcades vocantur. Et postea ex insulis affinitimis vastaverunt non modicas et multas regiones; occupaveruntque eas in sinistrali plaga Britanniæ, et manent usque in hodiernum diem. Ibi tertiam partem Britanniæ tenuerunt; et tenent usque nunc.* "After an interval of many years not less

than nine hundred" [from the time of Eli], "the Piks came, and poſſeſſed the ilands called Orkneys. And after from the neighbouring iles" [the Hebudes] "they ravaged many large regions; and ſeized on thoſe in the LEFT part of Britain, and remain to this day. There they held the third part of Britain, and hold it at preſent". The word *ſiniſtrali*, or *left*, means the north; a term which would readily occur to a prieſt who turns his face to the eaſt [o]. The whole paſſage accords with Beda. The Piks coming from Norway ſeized on the Orkneys; thence went to Ireland, the uſual courſe of the Norwegian invaders, but, finding no ſettlement, returned to the Hebudes, where they fixt the firſt ſeat of their dominion; and where Solinus, about 250, deſcribes their monarchy. Thence they invaded and ſeized all Scotland by degrees.

The Saxon Chronicle, written in the Eleventh century, ſays, that the Piks came from the ſuþan of Scyþian, *Suthan of Scitthian*, "ſouth of Scythia." That is, the ſouth of Scandinavia, where Vika lay as above ſhewn.

The whole ancient Engliſh hiſtorians, who mention the origin of the Piks, ſay they came from Scythia, or Scandinavia. It is needleſs to croud theſe pages with their expreſſions, while the reader can ſo eaſily ſatisfy himſelf, if he doubts.

Geofrey of Monmouth, tho a Celtic writer, and a moſt ſtupid fabuliſt, yet in ſo grand and known a point muſt have followed the traditional opinion of his country. He dates the Firſt arrival of the Piks in the time of Veſpaſian; and ſays, *quidam rex Pictorum vocabulo Rodric, de Scythia cum magna claſſe veniens, applicuit in aquilonarem partem Britanniæ.* Lib. IV. c. 17. A Second arrival Geofrey places in the time of Severus, when one Ful-

[o] Nennius uſes the ſame phraſe in different places, as c. 61, and c. 64. he ſays: 'Ida filius Eobbæ tenuit regiones in fininiſtrali parte Humbri.' He is ſpeaking of Ida, firſt king of Northumberland.

genius

genius paſſing to Scythia, *(transfretantem in Scythiam)* brought aſſiſtance from the Piks, and ſettled them in the north of Britain. A Third Arrival under Gratian and Valentinian is mentioned by an old author of an *Eulogium Britanniæ*, quoted by Uſher[p], who ſays, *Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres et imperii conſortes, gentem Gothicam Pictorum, in rebus bellicis fortem et ſtrenuam, beneficiis et blanditiis allectam, a Scythiæ finibus ad Britanniam direxerunt. At Britones inermes, et omni militia nudati, a Pictis ſuppeditantur, ſic quod Picti accolæ facti ſunt in parte Britanniæ aquilonari.* "Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint emperors, brought the Gothic nation of the Piks (bold and vigorous in war, and won by benefits and promiſes) from the country of Scythia into Britain. But the Britons, unarmed and deſtitute of diſcipline, are ſupplanted by the Piks, ſo that the Piks became their neighbours in the northern part of Britain." And Giraldus Cambrenſis, *de Inſtitutione Principis*, lib. I.[q] ſays, *Cum Maximus tyrannus de Britannia in Galliam, cum robore virorum et virium, necnon et armorum, inſulæ toto, ad occupandum Imperium tranſvectus fuiſſet, Gratianus et Valentinianus, fratres Imperiique conſortes, gentem Gothicam, in rebus belli cis fortem ac ſtrenuam, ſibi quoque vel confœderatam, vel ſubjectam, et imperialibus beneficiis obſtrictam, a Scythiæ finibus, in aquilonares Britanniæ partes, ad Britones infeſtandum, et tyrannum cum juventute revocandum, navigio tranſmiſerunt. Illi vero, tum quoniam pro innata Gothorum bellicoſitate prævalidi fuerunt, tum quoniam inſulam viris ac viribus vacuam*

[p] Britannicarum Eccleſiarum Antiquitates, cap. XV. p. 308. Edit. Londin. 1687, fol.

[q] Ibid. This work of Giraldus is a very ſcarce MS. One is in the Cotton Library, Julius, B. XIII. and this paſſage may be found literatim, *lib.* I. *c.* 18. *De Principum electorum tam vita laudabili quam fine*, f. v. 50: where, in giving brief lives of Roman emperors, he mentions the origin of the Piks and Scots, when they firſt appear in Roman hiſtory.

invenerunt, Boreales ejuſdem partes, ac provincias non modicas, ex prædonibus accolæ facti ſibi uſurpatas occupaverunt. "When Maximus the tyrant had paſſed from Britain into Gaul, with the whole force of men, ſtrength and arms of the iland, in order to ſeize on the Empire, Gratian and Valentinian, brothers and joint Emperors, tranſmitted in ſhips a Gothic nation, ſtrong and vigorous in war, and either confederate with, or ſubject to them, and bound by their imperial benefits, from the territory of Scythia, into the northern parts of Britain, to infeſt the Britons, and cauſe the tyrant to return with his young army. But they, as well becauſe that they were very powerful from the innate warlike ſpirit of the Goths, as by reaſon they found the iland empty of men and ſtrength, from ravagers became inhabitants; and uſurping the northern parts, and no ſmall provinces, held them to themſelves."

As we have Tacitus and Beda, writers unknown to the Welch fablers, we know that the periods above fixt are abſolutely falſe. 1. That the Piks could not come in the time of Veſpaſian, we know from Tacitus and Ptolemy. 2. That they did not come in that of Severus, from Dio and Herodian, who ſtill found the ſame Caledonii in Scotland, that Tacitus and Ptolemy had. 3. That they came not under Gratian and Valentinian, or after 375, when theſe emperors began to reign, is clear from Eumenius, who mentions Conſtantius in 306, as having pervaded *Caledonum aliorumque Pictorum ſylvas*, 'the woods of the Caledonians, and other Piks.' Indeed no one would ever think of ſetting theſe Welch fablers againſt Tacitus and Beda, or even againſt Nennius and Samuel, their countrymen, but older by three whole centuries, and which laſt aſſert the Piks to have been here 300 years before Chriſt. But not to inſiſt on a point where no difficulty occurs, it is well known to be quite another matter to know a FACT, and to know

know the *date* of it. The Northern Sagas, and earlieſt Hiſtories, are infallibly right that the Goths came from Scythia on the Tanais; but when they date this in the time of Pompey, as Snorro does, they only excite laughter; for we know that the Goths could not, as they tell, paſs thro all Germany, and go into Scandinavia by Jutland and Zeeland, while Cæſar was at that very time warring in Germany, yet knew nothing of ſo enormous an event. Chronology is always totally deficient among barbarous nations; and in traditional hiſtory it is always utterly confuſed. Nennius tells us that in his time the Welch had not one hiſtorian[r]; and how Geofrey and Giraldus, who wrote about 1150, three centuries after Nennius, could diſcover theſe pretended ſettlements of the Piks, ſave by a *ſpecial revelation*, is humbly ſubmitted to the reader's judgment. But that the Piks were Goths from Scandinavia, is clear from Tacitus and Beda; and that Geofrey and Giraldus knew this great fact, tho they erred in the date, is no wonder. Facts remain while dates periſh.

The countries neareſt Scotland, and whoſe writers had of courſe the beſt opportunity to mark the origin of the Piks, are Norway and Denmark on the eaſt, Iceland on the north: Ireland on the weſt, and England and Wales on the ſouth. The writers of Norway, Denmark, and Iceland, are ſilent as to the event of the Piks paſſing to Scotland; juſt as Saxo and the others are ſilent as to the Jutes and Angles paſſing to England. But from them we fully trace the Piks in Norway, as above ſhewn. The Engliſh and Welch writers are decided that the Piks came from Scandinavia,

[r] Sed quoniam utcunque hiſtoriographum Britannorum me malo eſſe quam *neminem*. Præf. Ego Nennius, Sancti Elbodi diſcipulus, aliqua excerpta ſcribere curavi, quæ hebetudo gentis Britanniæ dejecerat; quia nullam peritiam habuerunt, neque ullam commemorationem in libris poſuerunt, doctores illius inſulæ Britanniæ. *Init. op.*

as before ſpecified; and ſo are the Iriſh, as ſhall be ſtated. When all authorities thus agree, and every argument from reaſon ſupports them; he muſt be a mere theoriſt, who would advance the weak dreams of Camden, Lloyd, and Innes (certainly not profound writers), againſt a fact poſitive even to mathematical truth, or at leaſt to a degree which no fact whatever in ancient hiſtory can exceed: for no fact of Greek or Roman hiſtory is ſupported by numerous teſtimonies of neighbouring nations as this is.

O Flaherty, in his Ogygia, Part III. ch. 18. treats *Pictorum in Hiberniam, et inde in Britanniam, migratio.* 'The Migration of the Piks into Ireland, and thence to Britain.' His authority is nothing. It is that of the ancient writers, whom he and other Iriſh antiquaries quote, that merits regard. Theſe ſay that the Piks came from Denmark and Norway to Ireland, where finding no ſettlement, they went over to North Britain. The whole Iriſh annals that mention the Pikiſh origin, and in particular the book of Lecan, place the arrival of the Piks in the reign of Heremon, the founder of the Mileſian race; that is, as they dream, thirteen hundred years before Chriſt. This ſhews however that in Ireland, which was in the time of Beda remarkable for ſuch learning as then exiſted, it was well known that the Piks had come to Scotland at a moſt remote and ancient period.

It is unneceſſary to add any more authorities. Suffice it to ſay, that EVERY writer who mentions the origin of the Piks till 1707, when Lloyd's Archæologia appeared, derives them from Scandinavia, *excepting Camden alone.* Camden applied to ſome very ignorant Welchman, as appears from his papers in the Muſæum[s], for etymologies and hints for his Britannia. Humphrey Lluyd, tho much

[s] Cotton Lib. Julius, F. X.

too

too learned to make the Piks Welch, had yet by his *Commentariolum*, printed about 1570, introduced a ridiculous deſire among his countrymen of making eminent men, and nations, of antiquity, Welch. Brennus and his German Gauls are with him all Welch of Wales, with other ſuch anility. Hence this Cambrian counſellor of Camden, being ſo ignorant as not even to ſuſpect the blaze of evidence againſt him, thought he would alſo try his hand, and make ſome more Welch; ſo ſeized on Galgacus and the Piks, and threw them into his Welch mold. But Camden, who was himſelf far from verſed in ſuch ſubjects, ſeems to have met his Welch adjutant half way; for ſome arguments, he details, ſeem to be from his own ſtore. It appears from his work, that he clearly ſaw the Caledonians and Piks were all one, which it indeed required no penetration to diſcover; he alſo knew that the Caledonians were Britons—here was the rub! He forgot that he was himſelf a Briton; and yet was no Welchman. Had he acutely ſtudied Cæſar he might have learned that the Belgæ, who poſſeſſed half of preſent England, when Cæſar came, were Britons, and yet were not Welch, but real Goths of Germany; or, if you pleaſe, real Engliſhmen, being as much Engliſh as the Saxons. But the *arguments* that the Piks were Welch being already ſhewn in the preceding Section to be abſurd, that ground need not be trodden again. Camden is a valuable topographer, which he may well be without any pretence to learning; but with regard to the origin of nations, a ſubject requiring the moſt profound learning, his knowlege was moſt imperfect, and is the object of contempt to his learned countrymen, Uſher, Stillingfleet, Sheringham, and others.

At length this Eighteenth century, fatal to real and ſolid literature, was to ariſe. A century in which learning, the grand foundation of philoſophy among the ancients, begins to be deſpiſed;

and ignorance is called philoſophy. Now and not before, among other great diſcoveries, were the whole nations of Europe to be Celts: and the Piks to be Welch, Iriſh, or what you will. That the Piks were Welch is ſupported by the names of Lloyd, Innes, Guthrie, Hume, Whitaker, &c. and within theſe ten years that they were Gael, or Iriſh, by thoſe of that *par nobile* the Macphersons, of Henry, and i tremble to ſay Gibbon, which laſt, inſtead of beſtowing even the ſlighteſt examination on the ſubject, has been led by the Macphersons, whoſe little local deſigns his large mind could not even ſuſpect. Such is the progreſſive decline of literature! To ſuch heights will ignorance arrive! But ſince printing is invented the materials of ſcience cannot be loſt, tho ſcience itſelf may: and it may ſafely be propheſied that learning, as it ebbs in one century, may flow in another. As it is obſerved that the darkneſs of night is always thickeſt juſt before the dawn ſprings, ſuch it is to be hoped will be the caſe here.

CHAP.

CHAPTER IV.

Epoch of the Pikiſh ſettlement in Scotland.

THE time when the Piks firſt ſettled in preſent Scotland well deſerves a ſeparate conſideration. Chronology is the lateſt improvement of hiſtory; and is never to be expected among uncivilized nations. Yet of the period of the great event now conſidered there are many marks.

From the Diſſertation, at the end of this work, it will appear that the Goths had peopled Germany and Scandinavia about 500 years before our æra. Being a progeny whoſe ſole trade was war, their inroads upon their neighbours were perpetual; and their progreſs, from their ſuperiority in arms, continuous. The ſettlements of the Belgæ, and other German nations in Gaul, cannot be dated later than 400 years before Chriſt; for in Cæſar's time we find them ſpred from Belgic Gaul, over a great part of Britain; and ſo effectually fixt as to be warring among themſelves, the Cimbri their old enemies being driven to the north and weſt. Not leſs than 150 years can, in the courſe of human affairs, be allowed for ſo ample and complete a ſettlement as this of the Belgæ in Britain; and Cæſar gives no hint that it was a recent affair. So that it may ſafely be ſuppoſed that the Belgæ, the real anceſtors of three quarters of the preſent Engliſh, were ſettled in the ſouth and eaſt coaſts, at leaſt 200 years before Chriſt; and began theſe ſettlements about 300 years before Chriſt.

The

The Peukini, Peohtar, Pihtar, Vichar, or Piks, were, as would appear, alſo ſettled in Scandinavia at leaſt 500 years before our æra. From thence their only two ancient migrations were into preſent Scotland, and into preſent Denmark. It is matter of curious conſideration which of theſe colonies preceded in order of time. From the greater vicinity of Denmark, it might reaſonably be inferred that it was held by the earlieſt colony. But there are facts which weigh againſt this opinion: and human affairs by no means proceed in formal order.

The Cimbri, or Cimmerii, ancient Celtic inhabitants of Germany, and who ſpred from the Boſphorus Cimmerius on the Euxine, north to about Moſcow in Ruſſia, where was the *Promontorium Celticæ*, mentioned by Pliny; and weſt to the Cherſoneſus Cimmerius, or Jutland, and to Britain, where the Cumri, or Welch, ſtill retain their name, as the aboriginal Iriſh do that of Gael, or Gaulic Celts, theſe Cimbri proceeded into Italy 102 years before Chriſt. They had been expelled from the north weſt of Germany, not by incroachment of the Sea, as Plutarch fables, but by invaſion of that Gothic ocean of men, which overwhelmed all Europe. Tacitus found only a few remains of them at the ſouth-weſt extremity of preſent Jutland. All around were German nations, who, if we do not reject all authorities and facts, were Goths; while the Cimbri, if we follow not the ſame plan, were Celts. Theſe ſmall remains ſhew that the Cimbri were expelled; for had they left their country from exceſs of population, as the Gothic nations did, that population could not have totally failed in two centuries. That they were driven out by a nation from the north has been already ſhewn; and that this nation was the Piks, who ſeizing their poſſeſſions became the Vits of Vitland, now Jutland, and of Vitſett,

or

or the Daniſh Iles. That the Jutes and Danes came from Scandinavia has alſo been ſhewn to be clear from that infallible mark, their language, which is the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, and not the German dialect of that tongue. Now Plutarch and other ancients deſcribe the progreſs of the Cimbri into Gaul, and their attacks of Spain and Italy, as events of rapid ſucceſſion; and not more than ten years can be allowed for the whole. So that the expulſion of the Cimbri from preſent Denmark could not take place more than 112 years before Chriſt.

The Cimbri of preſent Denmark were between two fires, the Germans on the ſouth, and Scandinavians on the north; whence we may naturally conclude, that their defence of their laſt receſs on the continent was very long, and obſtinate as deſpair could make it. The Piks might alſo ſtand in awe of the Germans, who might have regarded their invaſion of the Cimbri as an attack of territories, more properly their own prey, as contiguous neighbours; while the Piks were divided from them by a wide ſea. Hence it would require the full power of the Piks, and long and deſperate conteſts, to effectuate their conqueſt of preſent Denmark: and Denmark deſerves to be conſidered as the moſt hazardous and glorious of the Pikiſh ſettlements.

Far other was the caſe with the Pikiſh population of Scotland. There was indeed a wider ſea between Scandinavia and Scotland, than between Scandinavia and Jutland. But, on the other hand, to paſs this ſea was a matter ſo eaſy, even to barbarians, that Indians in their canoes have peopled regions twice as diſtant; and to this day the ſavage Fins in their ſkiffs have come even from Finland to the Shetland and Orkney iles, a courſe of at leaſt ſix hundred miles further than that between the ſouth of Norway and Scotland, which exceeds

ceeds not two hundred and fifty miles [a]. Tacitus [b] alſo informs us that the Suiones, who were really the Piks of Vitſlet, called Suiones, or Zeewoners by their ſouthern neighbours, the Germans, becauſe they *dwelled* in the *ſea* (as ilanders) were remarkable for navigation, having FLEETS, an advantage quite unknown to the other German and Scandinavian ſtates. And theſe fleets were of SHIPS, *navium*, which Tacitus thus deſcribes. "The form of the ſhips differs from ours, becauſe that a prow at either end makes landing always eaſy. They have no ſails, nor are the oars ranged in order on the ſides. The veſſel is of free conſtruction, as uſed on ſome rivers; and may be ſteered to whatever point is neceſſary." This ſhews to a certainty, that navigation was not only known to theſe Scandinavians, but had arrived at ſuch perfection, that Tacitus talks of their SHIPS, and compares them with the Roman. A paſſage of 250 miles in open ſea was certainly no great affair to the dauntleſs courage of that people. In later times we find them in veſſels, perhaps neither larger nor more artificial, ravaging England, Ireland, and France; nay, diſcovering Iceland and Greenland, and Vinland, or a part of North America [c]. Their invaſion of Scotland had none of theſe difficulties to be found in that of Denmark. In Denmark the Cimbri were com-

[a] It is alſo probable, that there were ſundry iles between Norway and Scotland anciently, tho now ſwallowed up. The *Saxonum Inſulæ* of Ptolemy are loſt: and *Helgoland*, an iland in the ſame parts, was, a few centuries ago, reduced to one quarter of it's ancient ſize. See Bleau's Atlas, for a map of ancient and modern Helgoland. If the Piks coaſted along the ſhore of Norway northward, and then paſſed over to the Shetland Iles, the paſſage is not above 150 miles.

[b] Germania, *prope fin.*

[c] See the Vinlandia Antiqua of Torfæus, 1705, 8vo. and Northern Antiquities, Vol. I. p. 280. It was part of Canada, or of Newfoundland, and diſcovered, in the year 1001, by Heriol and Biarn, Icelanders.

preſſed,

preſſed, and crouded to a point, and very numerous. In Scotland the population was looſe, and vague, as uſual among the Celts, a paſtoral people. In Denmark the Cimbri were confined, and bold from deſpair. In Scotland they had free egreſs to their brethren in the ſouth, and to Ireland. In Scotland there were no Suevi, no northern Germans, 'to whom the gods were not equal [d],' to awe the Piks from an invaſion of territories contiguous to their own, and marked as their prey.

I have all along conſidered the paſſage of the Piks from Norway to the Orkneys as the ſole point worth conſideration in this progreſs; and every reader will, it is believed, regard it in the ſame light. For the *coaſting* voyage from the Orkneys to Ireland and the Hebudes was nothing even to an Indian canoe. The Romans thought it a ſerious affair to paſs from Gaul to Britain; yet their fleet, during Agricola's campaigns, coaſted all round Britain, and firſt diſcovered it to be an iland, as Tacitus ſhews. And they after ventured into the Zuyder Zee, and the Baltic. But *coaſting* voyages of great length are eaſily performed, even by the moſt barbaric navigation: and there is no occaſion to explain the cauſes of a matter ſo well known, and obvious. The paſſage from Norway to the Orkneys was the only difficulty; and that ceaſed to be a difficulty to people ſo ſkilled in navigation as in the time of Tacitus to have fleets of ſhips. Hence there can be no heſitation in believing that the Piks proceeded to Scotland, near two centures before they were ſo bold as to ſeize on Denmark; while indeed we have direct authorities that ſuch was the caſe. And there are alſo collateral proofs, that the Cim-

[d] Cæſar Bell. Gall. lib. IV. where the ſouthern Germans ſay: 'ſeſe unis Suevis concedere, quibus ne dii quidem immortales pares eſſe poſſint.'

bri

bri muſt have been driven out of Scotland (north of Loch Fyn, and Tay), ſooner than out of Denmark, for Tacitus found remains of the Cimbri in the ſouth of preſent Denmark; and the Daniſh hiſtories are full of the Cimbri, who, according to them, were conquered by the Goths about the time of Pompey: while in Scotland, north of the above bounds, we ſhould not have known that the Cimbri ever dwelled, ſave by a few Cumraig names of rivers, mountains, and ſtations of old Cimbric towns. But that the Piks did not poſſeſs Denmark till about 112 years before Chriſt, has been ſhewn above; and that they held Scotland at leaſt 200 years before Chriſt, will appear from the following diſcuſſion.

Tacitus is the firſt who mentions the people of Caledonia, or Piks; and tho he ſays they were certainly of Germany, he drops no hint as to the time of their paſſage. Eumenius, the Panegyriſt, ſays, that before the time of Julius Cæſar the Piks were the accuſtomed enemies of the Britons. He uſes the term Britons in the then acceptation of the word, for the Cumraig Britons, thoſe whom Cæſar thought born in the iſland. For the Piks were quite unknown to the Romans, ſave in Britain. Hence Eumenius is a witneſs that the Piks were ſettled in the north of Britain before the time of Julius Cæſar.

Beda dates the ſettlement of the Piks in Britain, as coeval with what he thought it's firſt habitation by the Cumraig Britons: and he tells us in expreſs terms, that they were the firſt inhabitants of the northern parts. The Cumri ſeem to have poſſeſſed Britain 1000 years before Chriſt; and, by Beda's account, the Piks did as anciently. But Beda, ſpeaking of the paſſage of the Britons from Armorica, ſeems rather to allude to the Belgic Britons; who were in fact coeval with the Piks in their poſſeſſions, both coming in, as would ſeem, between 300 and 200 years before our æra.

Nennius and Samuel report, from Britiſh tradition, that the Piks came to the Orkneys 900 years after Eli, who lived 1200 years before Chriſt; that is, THREE HUNDRED years before our æra. Abandoning the Orkneys, which Solinus mentions as uninhabited, even in his time, or 250 years after Chriſt, they paſſed to Ireland; then ſtood over to the Hebud iles, their firſt poſſeſſion here, and in time the early ſeat of their kingdom. Theſe are the *neighbouring iles* of Nennius, whence he tells us, the Piks ravaged and ſeized on all the northern part of Britain, amounting to one third. For this large conqueſt of a hilly country full of receſſes, and conſequent population of it, we cannot allow leſs than a century: and the Piks may be regarded as inhabitants of all the country north of Loch Fyn and Tay, about 200 years before Chriſt.

The Iriſh Annals, above quoted, date the firſt king of the Piks as early as the time of Heremon; or, as they dream, 1300 years before our æra. But their ſettlement preceded this firſt king a long time; and the Pikiſh kings, down to 400 years after Chriſt, were merely princes of the Hebud iles, as after to be mentioned.

From theſe circumſtances, and eſpecially from the direct authority of Nennius and Samuel, the ſettlement of the Piks in the Hebud iles may be dated, with as great certainty as any event in the earlieſt Greek or Roman hiſtory, at 300 years before Chriſt. And their poſſeſſion of all Scotland north of Fyn and Tay, at a century after, or 200 years before our æra. If you date this event later, you will find Eumenius, Beda, Nennius, and the Iriſh Annals, againſt you. If earlier, you will interfere with the Gothic progreſs, detailed in the Diſſertation added. While, with the date here aſſigned, all authorities and circumſtances agree.

When

When the Engliſh hiſtory becomes ſtudied by Engliſh writers, and it is univerſally perceived that the Belgæ, a Gothic people who fought in this ile with Julius Cæſar, are the real anceſtors of three quarters of the preſent Engliſh, it may prove a national queſtion, whether the Belgæ, or Piks, were the firſt Goths who took poſſeſſion of Britain. This queſtion might be agitated to all eternity, for it is abſolutely impoſſible to decide it. It may be aſſerted that the Piks preceded the Belgæ, becauſe the later were a colony of a colony, ſent into Gaul from Germany; while the former paſſed as a direct colony from Scandinavia. It may be aſſerted, that the Belgæ preceded the Piks, becauſe the later had to croſs a wide ſea, the former only the ſtraits of Dover. For my part, who as a Britiſh ſubject wiſh equally well to the glory of all the three kingdoms, i ſhall content myſelf with obſerving that the point can never be determined, ſo that controverſy on it is abſolutely uſeleſs: and that all authorities, facts, and reaſon, warrant us to believe, that the Belgæ entered the ſouth, and the Piks the north of Britain, about one and the ſame time.

CHAP-

CHAPTER V.

Province of Veſpaſiana.

THIS province reſts entirely upon the authority of Richard of Cirenceſter, a writer of the fourteenth century; not one trace of it being to be found in any other author, till after his book was publiſhed in 1757. It would ſeem from his accounts to have been founded after the victories of Lollius Urbicus, and the erection of the wall of Antoninus, about the year 140; and Richard ſpecially mentions that it was loſt in the year 170, which was in the time of Marcus Antoninus. His predeceſſor Pius, in whoſe reign it was acquired, appears to have given it the name of Veſpaſiana, from the emperor, to whoſe reign Agricola was indebted for his glory, in firſt ſubduing it.

Richard hints, p. 31 [a]. that it was called Veſpaſiana from the name of that emperor, who brought the Flavian family to the Roman throne; and received that name in Domitian's time. But that Agricola founded this province ſeems improbable; for Richard, whoſe authority is all we have for it's exiſtence, ſays expreſſly, it was loſt in 170; and Hadrian built his wall, between Solway and Tyne, about 120, and would certainly have built

[a] Hæc provincia dicta eſt in honorem familiæ Flaviæ, cui ſuam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et ſub quo expugnata, Veſpaſiana.

it between Clyde and Forth at leaſt, had Veſpaſiana been then ſubject to Rome. Richard alſo repeatedly mentions the very ſhort time that this province was ſubject to Rome. Had Agricola founded it about the year 80, it muſt have exiſted 90 years, no ſhort ſpace; whereas 30 years ſeem the moſt that can be allowed.

Tacitus is alſo a clear witneſs againſt Veſpaſiana being founded by Agricola, for he ſays *perdomita Britannia, et ſtatim miſſa*[b], that Britain was conquered, and INSTANTLY given over. For after Criſpinus, in Domitian's time, we find no hint concerning Britain, till Hadrian withdrew the boundary.

This province Veſpaſiana, according to Richard, ſtretched north from the Forth and Clyde up to Linnhe Loch and Loch Neſs, or that line upon which Forts William, Auguſtus, and George, now ſtand. In it were the nations *Horeſtii* of Fife; *Vecturones*, or Venricones, beyond the Tay, or in Perth and Angus; *Taixali* of Aberdeenſhire; *Vacomagi* of Murray, and a part of Inverneſs; *Damnii Albani* and *Attacotti* of Argyleſhire. Richard's geography has no chronology; and the times of Agricola and Theodoſius are all confounded by him; hence the Attacotti, unknown to Ptolemy, or the Roman writers, till a late period, and who actually came from Ireland, about 258, as after ſhewn, are foiſted in here.

The towns of the *Horeſtii*, by Richard's account, were *Alauna*, *Lindum*, and *Victoria*. The *Vecturones*, or *Venricones*, had *Orrea*, and two rivers *Æſica* and *Tina*. The *Taixali* had *Divana*, and the rivers *Deva* and *Ituna*. The *Vacomagi*, a large nation, had three towns, *Tueſſis*, *Tamea*, and *Banatia*, with *Ptoroton*, perhaps now Inverneſs,

[b] Hiſt. lib. I. *init.* Turbatum Illyricum: Galliæ nutantes: perdomita Britannia, et ſtatim miſſa: coortæ in nos Sarmatarum ac Suevorum gentes. *Edit. Brotier*, who remarks, *Ab Agricola perdomita, mox omiſſa et neglecta.*

the

the metropolis of the province; their rivers *Varar*, *Tueſis*, and *Celnius*. The *Attacotti* had *Theodoſia*, or Alcluith, built by Theodoſius: which laſt is a palpable error, for Alcluith, or Theodoſia, was in Valentia.

Richard alſo gives an itinerary of this province, thus: ITER IX. *A Luguballio Ptorotonim uſque, ſic:* Trimontio *m. p.* . . . Gadanica *m. p.* . . . . Corio *m. p.* . . . ad Vallum *m. p.* . . . . *Incipit Veſpaſiana.* Alauna *m. p.* XII. Lindo IX. Victoria IX. ad Hiernam IX. Orrea XIV. ad Tavum XIX. ad Æſicam XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam XXIV. ad montem Grampium, *m. p.* . . . ad Selinam *m. p.* . . . Tueſſis XIX. Ptorotone, *m. p.* . . .

ITER. X. *ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam inſulæ Iſca Damnonorum uſque*, ſic: Varis *m. p.* VIII. ad Tueſſim XVIII. Tamea XXIX. * * * *m. p.* XXI. in Medio IX. Orrea IX. Victoria XVIII. ad Vallum XXXII. Luguballia LXXX. &c.

This new province is the moſt prominent and remarkable part of Richard's book. To truſt an author of the fourteenth century, for ſo great an affair, ſeems raſh. Yet two thirds of his work we know to be true, from Ptolemy and other ancients; and the Itinerary, he ſays, is from the memorials of a Roman Dux, or Governor of Britain. Certain it is, that his accounts quadrate amazingly, and bear every mark of truth. The few names he gives of rivers, &c. not in Ptolemy, often reſemble the preſent names; yet are ſo truly latinized, that Roman mouths alone ſeem able to have formed them. This province of Veſpaſiana is repeatedly mentioned, upon many occaſions, in the courſe of his work, beſide the ſpecial deſcription he gives of it.

Had ſuch a province exiſted for 90 years, as Richard ſeems to inſinuate, many Roman inſcriptions, coins, &c. muſt at this day be found in it's

limits. But, as mentioned above, 30 years ſeem to have formed it's real duration. Yet even from that ſpace inſcriptions and coins may be expected. Ptorotone, or Inverneſs, the capital of the province, muſt in that caſe have many Roman remains. Urns of Roman coins have been found in the north of Scotland; but theſe may have been carried off in booty by the Piks. Roman inſcriptions, roads, and remains of buildings, are what we muſt look for, as confirmations of the province of Veſpaſiana.

Arthur's Oven, which Horſeley plauſibly thinks a ſepulchre, ſtood about ten miles beyond the wall of Antoninus. The author of an old map, in the Additamenta to Matthew Paris, ſays the great Roman way went to Caithneſs [c], a vague name for the northern parts of Scotland. If my memory ſerves me, one Roman inſcription was found in Stirlingſhire; tho i cannot ſay where i found this information. Chance may befriend us afterward, and a peaſant digging a ditch may diſcover a Roman province. Mr. Nimmo, in his Hiſtory of Stirlingſhire, deſcribes the great Roman way running thro that ſhire, and north to Stratherne. If it can be traced to Inverneſs, it will be an INFALLIBLE confirmation of the province of Veſpaſiana; for ſuch ways were never made, ſave in the provinces; as it would have been indeed madneſs to attempt ſuch a vaſt labour as a Roman military road, in an enemy's country, and impoſſible to accompliſh it. As the caſe ſtands, tho not willing to lend credit to Richard implicitly, yet i confeſs even this Roman Road to the Tay is with me a full and complete confirmation of Richard's account; for a Roman road was never made, ſave in a Roman province. And it was of courſe the firſt care, in order to facilitate intercourſe, and keep the province in order. A

[c] See it publiſhed in Mr. Gough's Britiſh Topography.

military

military way can be traced thro Trajan's province of Dacia, up to it's furtheſt extremity; but beyond a province, no road was ever made: and the idea would have been madneſs, as it would have been to incur great danger and expence—to ſerve the enemy: not to add, that it was utterly impracticable.

This Roman road paſſes from Caſtlecary, on the wall of Antoninus (along which wall a ſimilar road runs), north to Stirling town, about ſixteen Engliſh miles. From thence it goes north by Keir to Dunblane; and thence on to Stratherne, beyond which Mr. Nimmo ſays nothing of it's progreſs, as not being examined by him. But this courſe cannot be leſs than 30 miles. Mr. Nimmo deſcribes this great road as conſiſting of ſeveral layers of ſtone and earth, which ſeem to have been thrown upon one another as they came to hand, for the ſtones are of all dimenſions. It is generally about twelve feet in breadth; and it's foundation is ſo deep, that, in the formation of it, they ſeem firſt to have digged a ditch, which they filled up again with ſtones and earth, till they raiſed it at leaſt a foot above the ſurface. It always riſes in the middle, and ſlopes toward the edges; and on each ſide, eſpecially where the ground is marſhy, there has been a ſmall ditch, or drain, to keep the work dry: ſo that at preſent, when it is all covered with graſs, it has much the reſemblance of a ridge that has lain long unplowed. The ſtones of the uppermoſt layer are generally of ſo large a ſize, that, unleſs it was always well covered with gravel, it muſt have been very incommodious to travel on. It's direction is as ſtraight as the nature of the ground, thro which it paſſes, will permit.

Another part of this Roman way ſtill further north, and in the ſhire of Angus, is deſcribed, and illuſtrated with a map, in the *Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica*, N° XXXVI. London,

1786, 4to. This part is ſeen about three miles north-eaſt of Forfar, and there are two Roman camps on it, at about eight miles diſtance from each other. Roman Granaries were alſo found lately on the eſtate of Lundie, a few miles north-eaſt of Dundee: and granaries certainly could not be erected but in a province.

General Roy [d] ſays, the Roman way ends at Reedy; but he ſuſpects that veſtiges of it may be diſcovered further north; and he mentions that the people of the country think it extends to Aberdeen.

Till it can be ſhewn that a Roman road was ever made, ſave in a Roman province, we have therefore abſolute proof of the province of Veſpaſiana; and the hiſtorian of Scotland will do well to mark it's commencement about the year 140, and it's termination in 170. It does honour to the military proweſs of the Piks, that this province had the ſhorteſt duration of any ever held by the Romans.

[d] Roman Antiquities in North Britain, MS. in the King's Library. Other proofs of this province may be drawn from that valuable work. Roman coins, he ſays, are often found at Nairn, which is in the northern extremity of Veſpaſiana; as were alſo a Roman ſword and ſpear. Fortingal, in Glenlyon, Braidalbin, is well known to be a Roman fort, not a camp. At Ardoch is a fine Roman ſtation, which the general thinks *Lindum*. Inch Tuthill, on the Tay, is another very remarkable and beautiful, which may be *In Medio*. Gordon alſo, *Itin. Septen.* mentions an urn and Roman coins found near Glames, Strathmore; nay, ſome on the Boyne, p. 186. Maitland, *Hiſt. Scotl.* p. 149, tells us, that a Roman bath was found at Delvin, a Roman ſtation on the eaſt ſide of Tay; and mentions, p. 214, a Roman way from Fortingal toward Loch Tay. He alſo gives an inſcription found at Ardoch, and preſerved at Drummond caſtle, *Amonius Damonis coborte prime Hiſpanorum ſtipendiorum xxvii. Hæredes fieri curarunt.* Horſeley p. 206, gives an inſcription on a rock upon the north ſide of Stirling caſtle, apparently Roman, tho copied by ſome ignorant hand. Sir J. Dalrymple, *Remarks on Camden*, p. 181, mentions a fine marble veſſel, curiouſly engraven, and full of Roman coins, being found at Bean-caſtle, near Nairn, 1460. Nairn may be the *Caſtra Alata*.

Tho

Tho this province was ſo ſoon abandoned, yet the Romans repeatedly viſited this part of Britain. Our antiquiſts fondly aſcribe all Roman remains in it to Agricola, tho this be nearly as ridiculous as it would be to impute thoſe in Valentia to him. He was rather the firſt diſcoveror of Veſpaſiana, than the conquerer. In Valentia appeared Agricola, Bolanus, Lucullus, Hadrian, Lollius Urbicus, Marcellus[*], Pertinax, Severus, Geta, Caracalla, Conſtantius Chlorus, Conſtantine I. Conſtans, Theodoſius, Gallio: and, except diſtinguiſhed by inſcriptions, no ſober antiquary will ſay to which of theſe muſt be aſcribed the Roman remains found in Valentia. In Veſpaſiana Tacitus ſufficiently marks the actions of AGRICOLA. The battle with Galgacus, General Roy thinks, was fought near Stonehaven; and as he has travelled over Scotland with a military, as well as an antiquarian eye, great reſpect is due to his opinion. Agricola appears to have been little further north; and, as he was inſtantly ordered home by Domitian, there is no poſſibility of his having left many works behind him. BOLANUS, as we learn from Statius, erected many works in Britain, and apparently in the north. But after this Britain was *ſtatim miſſa*, as Tacitus ſays in his Hiſtory written about the year 110. About the year 120, Hadrian, far from keeping Veſpaſiana, could hardly retain Valentia; but built his wall from Solway to Tine. Yet about 150, when Ptolemy wrote, we find Veſpaſiana full of Roman towns. For theſe we are ſurely indebted to LOLLIUS URBICUS only, who, about the year 140, carried the Roman arms in Britain to a greater extent than ever; as the wall of Antoninus, and work of Ptolemy, remain laſting proofs. To him therefore ought chiefly to be aſcribed the Roman remains in Veſ-

[*] Xiphilinus *in Commodo* ſays, Commodus ſent Marcellus Ulpius to repreſs the Britons who had paſſed the wall.

paſiana. This province was quite loſt about the year 170, in ſpite of the efforts of CALPHURNIUS under Marcus Antoninus. After this, Commodus thought it ſufficient to keep the Mæatæ in ſubjection: but SEVERUS, in the years 207 and 208, advanced even to the extremity of Britain, as we learn from Dio, who ſays he loſt 50,000 men upon this occaſion [f]. After this, CONSTANTIUS

[f] The Excerpta of Theodoſius, taken from Dion, and publiſhed in the edition of the later by Leunclavius, p. 851, ſay, before mentioning the battle between Severus and Albinus; 'Then likewiſe in Britain, becauſe the Caledonians did not keep their promiſe, being prepared to defend the Mæatæ, and becauſe Severus was at that time intent upon a neighbouring war, Lupus was obliged to purchaſe a peace of the Mæatæ at a great price, ſome few captives being delivered up to him.' This happened nine years before Severus came into Britain. He paſſed two years warring in Caledonia; made peace in 209. In 210 he was ſtill in York, as appears from his famous reſcript dated at York, *Fauſtino et Rufo Coſſ.* Cod. lib. III. tit. 32. l. 1. He died at York in the beginning of February 211, as appears from Xiphilin, after a long illneſs. See Horſley's Brit. Rom.—Khell, in his *Supp. ad Num. Imp.* p. 101, gives a coin of Severus, IMP. XIII. on his Caledonian conqueſt, and he bears BRIT. on others.

Euſeb. *Vita Conſt.* I. 25. ſays, Conſtantine defeated the Caledonians about 310. Fulgentius was aſſiſted by the Caledonii. *Dion, et Exlog. Theodoſ.* For Conſtantius, in 306, ſee alſo *Gelas. Cizicen. lib.* I. *Acta Concilii Nicen. cap.* 3. In the time of Honorius, Victorinus reſtrained the Piks, as D'Anville ſays in his *Etats formés apres la chute de l'Emp. R.* p. 198; but I know not upon what authority. Camden gives this inſcription, *Aſterius Comes Pictorum, et Syra, cum ſuis votum ſolvere.* Blondus, a reſpectable author about the year 1500, who had MSS. now loſt, but, according to the cuſtom of that age, quotes no authorities, tells us, that a body of Piks was incorporated into the Roman army, under Honorius, and were called *Honoriaci*; a name occurring more than once in the *Notitia*, as do *Honoriani Attecotti Juniores.* The words of Blondus are, in deſcribing the actions of Conſtantine the Uſurper, in the time of Honorius; 'Armavit vero, immiſitque in iſtos, (Hiſpanos) barbaros Pictos, qui ab Honorio, quietis ubique rebus, in fœdus recepti, et in militiam Britannicam adlecti, Honoriaci vocabantur.' This was in 406: and theſe Piks, ſeizing the Pyrenees, ſoon after invited the Vandali, Suevi, and Alani, into Spain, and ſhared the booty, as Blondus ſays. *Hiſtor. ab inclinatione Romani Imperii*, Decad. I. lib. I. p. 12. *edit. Froben.* 1531, fol.

CHLORUS,

CHLORUS, in 306, advanced to the woods of the Caledonians, according to the Panegyriſt above quoted. But there is no reaſon to believe that Conſtans 342, Theodoſius 367, or any Roman General after, advanced further than the Northern Wall. Which of the above was author of any particular camp, or fort, no true antiquary can venture to ſay. But the roads, ſtations, and other durable marks of a province, certainly belong to Lollius Urbicus, and his ſucceſſors, founder and defenders of Veſpaſiana. Some of the Roman camps in Veſpaſiana are even croſſed with others, ſo that they muſt have been held twice at diſtant times; as a large one at Ardoch in particular [s].

[s] Gen. Roy's MS.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VI.

Pictish Tribes.

TACITUS is the earlieſt writer from whom any knowlege of this ſubject can be drawn. The ſeven years of Agricola's command in this iland, were, from the accurate ſtatement of Tacitus, thus filled. They extended, as Horſley ſhews, from the year of Chriſt 78 to 84, incluſive.

1. A. D. 78. In the autumn Agricola, tho the ſoldiers had preſumed on reſting that year, *(præſumpta apud militem illius anni quies)* quaſhes an inſurrection of the *Ordovices* (Denbigh and Carnarvon); and ſubdues *Monæ* (Angleſey).

2. A. D. 79. By his ſudden incurſions many ſtates yielded to the terror of his arms, and gave hoſtages. Theſe ſtates were clearly thoſe ſouth of Forth, the *Ottadeni* and *Damnii*. Agricola tried the friths and woods; and prepared all for invading Caledonia. The winter was paſt in conciliating the minds of the new ſubjects; and teaching them the manners of Rome, as the chains of luxury are ever the ſtrongeſt.

3. A. D. 80. This third year Agricola paſſing the Forth, laid open new nations *(novas gentes)*; and ravaged all the country to the frith of Tay. Forts were built on the progreſs.

4. A. D. 81. To ſecure the new poſſeſſions, a line of forts was built between Forth and Clyde[a].

5. A.

[a] Statius, Sylva 2. lib. V. has a ſingular paſſage concerning theſe forts. He is addreſſing Criſpinus on the actions of his father.

"Quanta

5. A. D. 82. Paſſing with his fleets along the weſtern ſhore, he ſubdued nations till then unknown; and fortified that part of Britain which regards Ireland. The army muſt have wintered at the new line of forts, between Forth and Clyde: and it appears, from the tenor of the context, that Agricola, finding there was a large tract unviſited on the weſt (Galloway), thought it indiſpenſable to ſubdue it, ere he made further attempts on Caledonia, in order that he might leave no enemies behind him. It was natural indeed the fleet ſhould be ordered up to the frith of Clyde, to ſupply the army and forts with proviſions; and in this new progreſs they would neceſſarily diſcover preſent Gallowav; which would hitherto have eſcaped Agricola; who, in his third year, had kept to the eaſt, and paſſing between Forth and Clyde had ravaged to the Tay. Theſe unknown ſtates therefore were the *Selgovæ*, and *Novantæ*, who lay oppoſite to Ireland, and whoſe ſhores Agricola fortified *.

6. A. D. 83. The fleet was ordered round to the eaſt, where it muſt have lain when the Uſipii ſailed round Britain. The Caledonians riſing in arms, ſurpriſed an advanced camp: but were defeated.

7. A. D. 84. The grand campaign in which Galgacus was defeated at the Grampian mountains,

'Quanta Calydonios attollet gloria campos!
'Cum tibi longævus referet trucis incola terræ:
'Hic ſuetus dare jura parens: hoc ceſpite turmas
'Affari. Nitidas ſpeculas, caſtellaque, longe
'Aſpicis? Ille dedit: cinxitque hæc mœnia foſſa.
'Belligeris hæc dona deis, hæc tela dicavit;
'Cernis adhuc titulos; hunc ipſe vaca tibus armis
'Induit, hunc regi rapuit thoraca Britanno.'

It would hence ſeem that Vectius Bolanus, father of Criſpinus, warred in North Britain; and improved the forts of Agricola.

* Since writing the above, i have ſeen General Roy's MS. and find he agrees with me in this point. He juſtly obſerves that Argyle and Cantire are ſo mountainous and rocky, that no army could march, and that they have no Roman remains.

The fleet attended Agricola along the eaſtern ſhore, as Tacitus ſhews. In the ſpeech of Agricola, in our editions of Tacitus, he calls this *annus octavus*, the Eighth year; but this, as Horſley obſerves, is a mere error in tranſcribing; the numbers in old MSS. being always in numerals, ſo that VIII*us* had crept in for VII*us*. For Agricola ſays that the foe had ſurpriſed his camp the year before, *proximo anno*; and Tacitus expreſsly calls that the Sixth (*ſextum officii annum*), as indeed his whole narrative ſhews. Agricola returning to the country of the Horeſti (Fife) orders his fleet to ſail round Britain: but it ſeems only to have viſited the north-eaſt ſhore, when it returned to the *Portus Trutulenſis*, a place i can find in no geographer. Agricola is commanded home by Domitian.

From Tacitus, and Ptolemy, it is clear that the Caledonians, or Piks, held then all preſent Scotland, north of Loch Fyn and Tay. The proper name of the people, or that which they gave themſelves, was *Pibtar*, or Piks. The name of *Caledonians* was apparently given them by their Cumraig neighbours; but its meaning it is impoſſible to determine, and the moſt plauſible derivation may be the moſt falſe. *Kelydhon* is the Cumraig for *woods*; and it would ſeem that the name Caledonians means Woodlanders, as their territories were then covered with woods, and eſpecially the vaſt Silva Caledonia. Tacitus and Ptolemy ſhew, that the name *Caledonians* was peculiar and appropriated to theſe Northern Britons. In vain does Mr. Whitaker [b] attempt to prove it an indiſtinct term, becauſe Richard of Cirenceſter, a writer of the Fourteenth century, ignorantly plants a Silva Caledonia in Kent, and another in Lincolnſhire, as he gives us alſo the true one in Scotland; and becauſe Lucan ſays

[b] Genuine Hiſt. of the Britons, p. 123.

Aut

Aut vaga cum Tethys, Rutupinaque littora fervent,
Unda Caledonios fallit turbata Britannos.

and Valerius Flaccus to Veſpaſian,

Tuque, O pelagi, cui major aperti
Fama, Caledonius poſtquam tua carbaſa vexit
Oceanus, Phrygios prius indignatus Iulos.

Richard tells us[c] he altered his authorities; and, when he differs from Ptolemy, deſerves no credit. The paſſage of Lucan only ſhews that even in his time the Caledonians were the moſt warlike and famous of the Britons; whence he ignorantly and improperly applies their name to the whole. Flaccus refers not to the ſtorm that damaged the fleet of Julius Cæſar; but only ſays that the Caledonian ocean *diſdained* him, for he never proceeded ſo far. But to oppoſe Lucan a poet who lived before any Roman had ſeen Caledonia, and Richard of Cirenceſter, a monk of the Fourteenth century, to Tacitus and Ptolemy, who ſo clearly teſtify that the name of Caledonians was peculiar to the Northern Britons, or Piks, were too abſurd to deſerve an anſwer. Large friths, and great fear, had ſeparated the Piks from the Cumri, ſo that the later ſeem to have called them Caledonians, or Woodlanders, as we ſpeak of Highlanders, not having any intercourſe with them, ſo as to know their proper name. But when the Romans and

[c] Lib. I. c. 7. ex Ptolemæo et aliunde nonnullis ordinem quoque, ſed quod ſpero in melius, mutatum hinc inde deprehendes. The term *Kelydhon*, or *Woodlands*, might indeed be given by the Cumraig Britons to all the foreſts in Britain: and thence different *Silvæ Caledoniæ*, the Romans taking *Kelydon* for a proper name. But no region in Britain was called *Caledonia*; or it's people *Caledonii*; except in the north. Ptolemy knew only of one *Silva Caledonia*, that among the Caledonii. Richard quotes Lucan for his *ſilva Caledonia* in Kent; and Florus III. 10. for that in Lincoln-ſhire! But it may be judged from theſe writers, that the Caledonians, and their foreſt, were famous among the Southern Britons; and of courſe vaguely ſpoken of by the Romans, till Tacitus and Ptolemy diſcloſed their real ſituation.

Cumri

Cumri in time diſcovered this proper name, they adopted it, and called them *Picti*, and *Phichtiaid*, as they modelled to their own tongues the word *Pihtar*.

Nothing more puzzles a common reader than the multitude of *nations*, which he finds in the ancient barbaric countries. He is apt to conclude them all nations, in the modern acceptation; of different manners and origins. But theſe nations were only tribes, or, as we might ſay, people of different ſhires. The nations of ſavages in America are living images of theſe ancient nations.

Let us now proceed to ſtate the Caledonian or Pikiſh Tribes, as given by Ptolemy. This geographer wrote in the reign of Antoninus Pius, as appears from his works. It ſeems alſo certain that he wrote after the province of Veſpaſiana was eſtabliſhed; for the Roman towns Ουικτορια *Victoria*, and Πτερωτον Στρατοπεδον, *Caſtra Alata*, could in no other caſe have appeared in the preſent ſhires of Perth and Inverneſs. It has been ſhewn that the province Veſpaſiana could not be erected before Hadrian's time; nor till Lollius Urbicus by his victories obtained to Antoninus Pius the ſtyle of Britannicus, which appears on ſome of his coins: and by his great progreſs to the north occaſioned the foundation of the wall of Antoninus. The very name of *Caſtra Alata*, as given by Ptolemy, is an invincible proof that the Roman light troops were ſtationed there, to protect this military and frontier province. Had not this part of Scotland been ſubject to Rome, the names of towns would have been barbarous, as thoſe of Ireland given by Ptolemy, and could not have borne theſe irrefragable marks of Roman power. Agricola, to whom our infantine Scotiſh antiquiſts impute all the Roman remains in Scotland, had no time to build towns; as he was commanded home the very year he defeated Galgacus. Had he built them, the Piks, who ravaging all the north

caused Hadrian to retract the frontier to Solway and Tine, would have utterly demolished their name and existence. LOLLIUS URBICUS[d] had unfortunately no Tacitus to narrate his actions; but he seems to have performed actions as much more glorious than those of Agricola, as the wall of Antoninus was superior to Agricola's line of forts. This wall could not have been built in the face of an enemy; and a considerable territory beyond it must have been subject to the Romans, as we know to have been the case with that of Hadrian. Ptolemy seems to have written his geography about the year 150: and the Pikish tribes, as he describes them, going up the east shore, and down the west, were as follow.

1. The ΟΥΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, *Venicontes*, between Tay and Dee, or in present Angus and Mearns. The rivers of the Venicontes were the Ταουα, *Tava*, *Tay*, Τιννα, *Tinna*, or North Esk, and Διουα, *Diva*, or Dee. Richard says, p. 30, the Venricones, *or* Vecturones; but the *Vecturones*, as he well marks in his own map, was a great name including the Venicontes and Taixali, or all the east of Scotland. Nay from Ammianus Marcellinus it appears to have included all the Piks, save the *Dicaledonæ* on the *Oceanus Deucalidonius*, or Northern sea; that is the name of Vecturiones spred over the whole province of Vespasiana up to Lochs Linnhe and Ness.

[d] Nam et Britannos per Lollium Urbicum legatum vicit; alio muro cespititio, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Capitol. in Pio*, Britannos per Lollium Urbicum proprætorem, et Saturninum præfectum classis vicit; alio muro, submotis barbaris, ducto. *Ricard. Corin.* Richard seems to have seen, and copied, most writers concerning Britain: and had perhaps found occasion to consult many in his journey to Italy. Yet Roger of Chester, a writer of the same period, shews still greater learning; and quotes with much accuracy and care. Good authors and MSS. must have been common in England in the 14th century; the invention of common paper, at the beginning of that century, multiplying copies prodigiously.

2. Next

2. Next were the ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ, *Texali*, of Aberdeenſhire, who had the town Δεουανα, *Devana*, or old Aberdeen; the promontory Ταιξαλον ακρον, or Buchan-neſs; and rivers Κελνιος, *Celnius*, or Devon, and Τουαισις, *Tueſis*, or Spey.

3. The ΟΥΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ, *Vacomagi*, of Murray, and a part of Inverneſs and Perthſhires, being at the extremity of the Roman power in this province, had no leſs than four towns, Βανατια, *Banatia*, about preſent Fort William, and ΠΤΕΡΩΤΟΝ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΠΕΔΟΝ, *Caſtra Alata*, Inverneſs, or Fort George. Theſe two were the grand frontier ſtations againſt the enemy; and the fortified line of Veſpaſiana was that drawn in laſt reign againſt the highlanders, except that the Romans had no town at Fort Auguſtus in the middle, tho they may have had a fixt camp and forts. The other two towns of the Vacomagi were Τουαισις, *Tueſis*, on the Spey, and Ταμεια, *Tamia*.

4. The only other people [e] in Veſpaſiana were the ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ, *Epidii*, of Argyleſhire, who held all the weſt of the province. Among them was the Λελαμονιος κολπος, *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn; and the Επιδιον ακρον, *Epidium promontorium*, or Mull of Cantire *. As to the Damnii Albani and Attacotti, whom Richard places in Argyle, they were not there in Ptolemy's time; but arrived about 258, being the firſt Scots from Ireland, as ſhall be after ſhewn. So much for the nations in

[e] The Γαδηνοι, *Gadeni*, of Ptolemy were in preſent Dunbartonſhire. But they were not Piks but Cumri. 1. Becauſe Ptolemy marks the *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the ſouth-weſt boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks. 2. Becauſe the Cumraig kingdom of Stratclyde included the ſouth part of Dunbarton-ſhire; and Dunbarton was it's capital.

* Hector Boethius mentions *Berigonium caſtellum in Lequhabria, Hebridum proſpectu, Dounſtafage, id eſt, munitioni Stephani proximum.* This nonſenſe proceeded from Hector's ſuppoſing that Ptolemy's *Berigonium* in Galloway ſtood here, as he alſo thought *Camulodunum* was in Scotland! Hence our tales of *Berigon* and *Camelon*, for fables eaſily paſs into tradition.

Veſpaſiana

Veſpaſiana, where only Ptolemy knew towns, and two of them as above ſhewn infallibly Roman. The other nations, beginning on the eaſt, and going down the weſt ſhore, were as follow.

5. The KANTAI, *Cantæ*, on the Eaſt of Roſs-ſhire, who had the Ουαρα εισχυσις *Varar Æſtuarium*, or Murray Frith, into which runs the river Beaulie, anciently called Farar, as it's vale is yet ſtiled Strath Farar, as Mr. Shaw[f] tells: the Λοξα ποταμος, *Loxa fluvius*, or Loſſe frith, now Cromarty frith; and a place called by Ptolemy Οχθη Τψηλη, *Ripa Alta*, which was infallibly a promontory; and was that called *Penoxullum promontorium* by Richard, who in like manner gives the Varar, Loxa, and this promontory, to the Cantæ. In Richard the name is Cumraig, *Pen-ochel*, the *high head*; and has the ſame meaning with Ptolemy's term. It is now Tarbat Neſs.

6. The MEPTAI, *Mertæ*, were in the middle of preſent Roſs ſhire, and having of courſe no large rivers, &c. Ptolemy only gives the name.

7. The ΛΟΓΟΙ, *Logi*, in the ſouth-eaſt of Sutherland, had Ιλα ποταμος, *Ila fluvius*, Brora, or Vynes; and Βερουβιουμ ακρον, *Verubium promontorium*, or Ord of Caithneſs.

8. The KOPNAΥΙΟΙ, *Cornavii*, who had all the northern extremity of Scotland. Theſe people Richard calls *Carnabii*; and ſays they and the Cantæ came from South Britain, where were alſo Cantæ in *Kent*, and Carnabii in *Lancaſhire!* Nothing more childiſh could be imagined; for the Cantæ of Kent were a Belgic people; and the Carnabii of Lancaſhire a Cumraig, 200 miles diſtant from them, on the oppoſite ſhore of Britain. The Cantæ of Caledonia had the ſame name as thoſe of Kent, another Gothic tribe; and from the ſame circumſtances of their territories jutting out as a

[f] Hiſt. of Moray, p. 5.

promontory [g]. The name of *Carnabii*, ſuppoſing it the ſame in Lancaſhire and Caithneſs, could never originate from both being of one nation. The Carnabii of Lancaſhire were Cumraig, and the Cumri had it is likely held the Cornabia in Scotland, and left a name to it, when the Piks drove them out. We find two other *Cars* among theſe Pikiſh tribes, the *Careni* and *Carnonacæ*. *Caer* is now Welch for a town, but how came the Welch by it? Is it not Gothic *Kior*, *Lucus* [h], a grove, becauſe, as Cæſar tells, the Belgic fortified towns were made in groves? Is not what we idly term the Celtic a mere repoſitory of old Gothic words, which the Celts adopted like caſt cloaths, and retain becauſe they make no progreſs in ideas, or in ſociety? If *Car* be Celtic, how came ſo many *Cars* among the Scythic nations? We find the *Carini*, a people bearing the identic name of a Pikiſh tribe, in that part of ancient Germany which is now Pomerania, as Cluverius ſhews: or cloſe adjoining to the tract marked in the Diſſertation annexed, as that by which the Peukini proceeded into Scandinavia. There was a *Carrodunum* on the Tyras; and another on the Viſtula. A *Caravacium* in Ciſalpine Gaul. *Carbileſi* and *Carbiletæ*, two nations of Thrace. *Cardia*, a town of Thrace. *Carelia* is now a province of Livonia. *Carentia* a town of Pomerania. The *Carians* were of Scythic origin. *Carinianum*, a town of Ciſalpine Gaul. *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*, provinces of Pannonia. *Carmania* was a country of the Aſiatic Scythians. The *Carni*, a people of Noricum. The *Carpiani*, a Scythic people, between the rivers Tyras and Hypanis. *Carrhabia*, a town of Pieria. *Cartemund*, a town on the north of Zeeland in Denmark. A hundred other inſtances might be

[g] *Kant*, old German, *a promontory*, or *head-land*. See Wachter. *Kanton*, *a ſhore*, *a region*, *a province*. Id.

[h] Gloſſar. ad Orkneyinga Saga.

given;

given; but theſe ſuffice: and of theſe the Carini, Carbileſi, Carbiletæ, Carians, Carmani, Carni, Carpiani, were nations of Scythic origin. Richard ſays that as *traditions* bore, the Cantæ and Carnabii formed an alliance in the time of Oſtorius, and fled to Caledonia from the Roman yoke. What traditions could reach Richard's time concerning this event, it is impoſſible to conceive; and I will venture to ſay there could be none; but that the ſimilarity of names led him to this conjecture; and he pretended traditions, forſooth, to ſtrengthen it. Oſtorius was here in the time of Claudius, when the Roman arms had not reached ſo far north as the Carnabii; nor, if ſo remarkable an event had taken place, could it have eſcaped the notice of Tacitus, who, in the twelfth book of his Annals, relates the actions of Oſtorius, and his conqueſt of Caractacus, at due length. This tale therefore wants all probability; and even wants poſſibility, when we conſider that the Cantæ were 200 miles from the Carnabii, the former in preſent Kent, and the later in Lancaſhire; the former a Belgic people, the later a Cumraig; that is as different as Welch from Engliſh. Each of theſe nations muſt have had a fleet to tranſport themſelves; while we find no mention in the ancient writers of any Britiſh nation having a fleet. But it is needleſs to inſiſt longer in confuting this dream of a writer of the Fourteenth century, who pretends traditions of matters that happened in the Firſt! What the real traditions concerning Britiſh affairs were, we may judge from the frantic pages of Nennius and Geofrey of Monmouth.

This large nation of the Cornavii had Ουιρουεδρον ακρον, *Verveđrum promontorium*, Dunſbay Head: Ταρουιδουμ, η δε Ορκας ακρα, *Tarvidum* vel *Orcas promontorium*, Dunnet head; and the river Ναυαος, *Navæus*, or Navern, from which the name Cornavii

navii in all likelihood ſprung[i]. The north-weſt extremity of Scotland, or Cape Wrath and it's neighbourhood, ſeems to have been unknown to the Romans.

9. The KAPHNOI, *Careni*, falſely called *Catini* by Richard, were on the weſt of preſent Roſsſhire. Among them was that fine bay Ουολσας κολπος, *Volſas Sinus*, now Loch Broom.

10. The KAPNONAKAI, *Carnonacæ*, were in the ſouth-weſt of Roſs-ſhire; and the mouth of the river Ιτυς, *Itys*, was in their country.

11. The KPEONEΣ, *Creones*, were on the weſt of Inverneſs ſhire.

12. The KEPΩNEΣ, *Kerones*, were on the north of Argyleſhire; and in their country was the mouth of the river Λογγος, *Longus*, now Loch Linnhe, or Linny. Such are the Pikiſh tribes, as given by Ptolemy.

It is well known that this geographer commits a prodigious miſtake with regard to the poſition of preſent Scotland, making[k] it tend quite to the eaſt, inſtead of running ſtrait to the north, as it does: ſo that the Mull of Galloway is, by his deſcription, the moſt northern point of Scotland; and Dunnet head, oppoſite to the Orkneys, the moſt eaſtern. This miſtake is radical, and runs thro his whole deſcription of Caledonia, affecting all the longitudes and latitudes he lays down. Mr. Whitaker dreams of an aſtronomical obſervation, taken at Inverneſs, for which he, in his uſual way, quotes Ptolemy, who ſays nothing of the matter. Had ſuch an obſervation been taken, it would have rectified this part of Ptolemy's work at once. But, as before obſerved, it is wonderful that we have any ancient geography at all; but not ſo that what we have is full of errors. Ptolemy's geography of Germany and Gaul has great miſtakes; tho not ſo abſolutely

[i] So Sir James Dalrymple thinks in his remarks on Camden's account of Scotland, p. 195.

[k] The famous Roger Bacon in his geography long ſince blamed Ptolemy for this prodigious error.

radical

radical as that respecting Scotland. To Ptolemy these remote regions were Japans, and Americas; and, as we are daily rectifying errors in our geography of distant regions, it would be a miracle indeed if the ancients, who wanted all our instruments and skill, had not fallen into errors. Ptolemy's descriptions of Scotland and Ireland were certainly like our descriptions of Japan, China, Kamchatka, &c. derived from merchants and travellers; and the countries being seldom visited, many mistakes would of course creep in.

In Ptolemy's geography of Scotland, the Ωκεανος Γερμανικος, German Ocean, washes it's east side, in which opposite *Taixalium promontorium*, lye the Σαξονων Νησοι τρεις, or Three Iles of the Saxons; which Claudian, as above mentioned, confounded with the Orkneys, tho they were on the coast of present Jutland. The Ορκαδες, or Orkneys, are rightly placed to the north of Scotland, in the Ωκεανος Δευκαληδονιος, or Deucaledonian ocean, which Ptolemy tells us elsewhere was the same with the Sarmatic, or Baltic, the east part of which lay on the north of the Sarmatæ. In this Ocean above the Orkneys, Ptolemy places Thule, a mere visionary country, which vanished and withdrew to the north, as discovery advanced. Ireland, Shetland, Scandinavia, and perhaps Iceland, were respectively called Thule at different times. To the west of Scotland Ptolemy rightly places the Hebud Iles; Εβουδα, *Ebuda*, or Lewis; Εβουδα μεσαλη, *Ebuda major*, or Skey; Μαλεος, *Maleus*, or Mull; and Επιδιον, *Epidium*, or Jura and Ila, which Ptolemy, not knowing the narrow strait between them, thought but one ile: and Ρικινα, *Ricina*, or Rachlin, on the north of Ireland. To the south of these he places Μοναιδα, Monæda, or the Ile of Maun. All these lye in the Ωκεανος Ιουερνικος, *Oceanus Hibernicus*, or Irish Ocean. Richard in one of his dreams has ignorantly placed the Oceanus Deucaledonius on the west of Scot-

land, not knowing that Ptolemy, lib. VII. had expreſſly called it the ſame with the *Oceanus Sarmaticus*, or Baltic; which lyes to the north, and not to the weſt of Scotland: and no one will prefer the error of a blundering monk of the Fourteenth century, to Ptolemy's poſitive authority. The ſeas and iles around Caledonia are all right in Ptolemy's account: his ſole error lyes in the poſition of the country itſelf.

CHAP-

CHAPTER VII.

Pikiſh kingdom.

ONE of the greateſt philoſophers, and wiſeſt men, whom modern times have produced, has enquired into the reaſon why mankind are ſo fond of falſehood, as generally to prefer it to truth. He juſtly obſerves that this is owing to the greater decoration, the meretricious ornaments, which falſehood ever bears; while truth, ſimple and plain, has no charms for the general eye. Truth, he ſays, is like open day-light, which does not ſhow the maſques and mummeries of the world, in ſo gaudy a trim as the candle-light of falſehood *. In another place he moſt juſtly remarks that, 'there is in human nature generally more of the fool, than of the wiſe: and therefore thoſe faculties, by which the fooliſh part of mens minds is taken, is the moſt potent.' Indeed this weakneſs is common to the wiſeſt of us: and thence it is, that owing to our natural love of falſehood, all human hiſtory is juſtly thought, by many thinking men, to contain an infinitely greater number of fables, than of truth. *L'Hiſtoire n'eſt qu'une fable convenue*, ſays Fontenelle. Men are hard as marble to truth; but ſoft as wax to every impreſſion of falſehood.

Now, in all philoſophy, there cannot be a more infallible axiom, than this, that WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR

* Lord Bacon, Eſſays, I. *On Truth.*

FALSEHOOD. / Thus the ſpherical figure of the earth; the Copernican ſyſtem; the plurality of worlds; were all regarded as quite falſe, till certified beyond a doubt; and then the oppoſite opinions became quite falſe. And, in hiſtory, ſo long as the voyage of Francus into France, and that of Brutus into Britain, were received as truths, the real truth was eſteemed complete falſehood.

What France was two centuries ago, in regard to it's antiquities; and England was one century ago; ſuch is Scotland now: loſt in fable; and regarding the truth as falſehood. No childiſh fiction can be more abſolutely ſhewn to be falſe, than the ſucceſſion of kings of the Scots, from Fergus I. more than 400 years before Chriſt, to Fergus II. 503 after him. It will afterward be demonſtrated, as far as hiſtoric demonſtration can go, that the Old Scots, or Dalriads, far from being conquerors of the Piks in 843, were themſelves ſubdued by the Piks in 739, according to the Annals of Tighernac and Ulſter, the moſt authentic Iriſh documents; and which certainly favour the Dalriads more than the Piks, as the former were from Ireland. That the kingdom of Dalriada, upon it's conqueſt by the Piks, in 739, vaniſhes from hiſtory, and dwindles into nullity; which could never have been the caſe, had it grown in power, ſo as in 843 to vanquiſh the Piks. That Kenneth, noted in our fables, as conqueror of the Piks, was real and immediate king of thoſe very Piks, whom we dream that he conquered. That the modern names of Scots, and Scotland, unknown for the people and country of North Britain, till the year 1010, or 1020, did not ariſe at all from the Dalriads, or Old Britiſh Scots of Beda; who, on the contrary, had loſt the name of Scots, for ſome centuries before; and were called *Gatheli*, and *Hibernenſes*, as terms of ſpecial diſtinction, from the modern SCOTI, a name given to the

Piks

Piks by later Celtic writers, as being *Scythæ*, or *Goths*, as were alſo the *Old Scoti* of Ireland. That the cauſe of all this confuſion in our hiſtory ariſes from Iriſh churchmen, being our only literati, and hiſtorians, in the Eleventh and Twelfth centuries, when this confuſion begins to appear; and from other reaſons after explained. That till Kenneth mounted the Pikiſh throne, the Dalriads were confined to Argyleſhire; and did not reach over the other Highlands of Inverneſs and Roſs-ſhires till centuries after; nor into Sutherland, till the Norwegians left that country. That they never, from their arrival, till this hour, exceeded 300,000; while the Piks, the real people of preſent Scotland, now amount to 1,000,000, and always were to the Dalriads as three to one. And that the line of Dalriadic princes, or Scotiſh Kings, as we dream, even from 503, to the time Kenneth came to the Pikiſh crown, in 843, is totally vague, and unſatisfactory, as might be expected in ſuch a petty monarchy, or rather dukedom.

Yet ſo great is the propenſion of the generality to falſehood, that the people of Scotland plume and pique themſelves upon childiſh fables concerning the Old Scots, or Dalriads, while the Pikiſh kingdom, ſo remarkable in the pages of Beda, almoſt paſſes for a dream! It was not till this century that the Engliſh, ſo ſuperior to us in antiquaries, diſcovered that they had no concern with Brutus, and the Welch fables. The Welch are to the Engliſh what the Dalriads, or Highlanders, are to the people of North Britain: but with this prodigious difference, that the Welch were in poſſeſſion of England before the anceſtors of the preſent Engliſh; while the Dalriads did not arrive in North Britain till many centuries after the Piks, the real anceſtors of the people. The change of the name Piks into that of Scots has occaſioned deplorable confuſion in our hiſtory. Yet it is in detecting and

ſettling

ſettling ſuch ſingular events that the abilities of an antiquary are chiefly to be exerted. Theſe two words *Scots* and *Scotland* have hitherto totally ruined our hiſtory; but in time truth and good ſenſe will prevail. To theſe terms is it owing that we of Scotland are to this day enemies of the Piks; and that our whole antiquiſts are propagating falſehood, in order to deſtroy the hiſtory of our anceſtors!

I muſt confeſs with ſhame that theſe prejudices clung around me at firſt; and that it was ſome time before i could throw a candid eye upon the Pikiſh hiſtory. After i clearly ſaw that the Piks were the real anceſtors of the preſent Scots, i looked upon the catalogues of Pikiſh kings given by Fordun, Winton, Lynch, and Innes, with a ſuſpicious eye; and thought the account of Old Scotiſh kings better authenticated. As i went deeper into the ſubject, i ſaw more and more uncertainty attending the liſt of Old Scotiſh kings, even from 503 to 843; and new circumſtances to certify the ſeries of Pikiſh monarchs. Upon a careful peruſal of many ancient hiſtorians of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, i ſaw no better evidences of their old monarchs preceding the Tenth century than of our Pikiſh kings. At laſt i began to aſk myſelf ſeriouſly by what unaccountable prejudice it came to paſs that i looked upon the Pikiſh ſeries with quite another eye, than upon thoſe of Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, which are no better authenticated? If any inſtance had occurred, or could poſſibly occur, of four different liſts of kings being all forged, and yet agreeing with Beda, the Iriſh and Welch Annals, nay in one inſtance with a German annaliſt? If Scaliger, Petavius, or other chronologiſts, had better authority for many liſts of kings, given by them from one ſingle writer, and univerſally received by the learned, than we for the ſeries of Pikiſh monarchs? How it could come to paſs that the liſt of petty kings

kings of Dalriada could be preſerved, and that of the monarchs of all North Britain periſh, while the Old Scots were not Chriſtians, even in Ireland, till 432, and the Southern Piks were converted, as Beda ſhews, about 412; ſo that the advantage of the light of Chriſtianity was on the Pikiſh ſide? What four forgers could ariſe, ſo ſkilful as to follow exactly Beda's account of the Pikiſh elective ſucceſſion, that it was in the female, and not in the male line? To anſwer theſe queſtions, and others of the ſame tendency, was to me utterly impoſſible, ſo i willingly diſmiſſed my prejudices; and repoſed my mind on the truth, that we have as complete evidence of our Pikiſh kings, of the kings of all Scotland, from the Fifth to the Ninth century, as human hiſtory affords in ſuch caſes: and that the ſeries from the Firſt century to the Fifth is equal, as that from the Fifth to the Ninth is ſuperior, to thoſe of Denmark, Sweden, or Norway, during that whole period of the eight firſt centuries. In ſhort it was diſcovered that the only cauſe why the Pikiſh ſeries has been neglected by our hiſtorians, falſely ſo called; and, of courſe, by our people in general; was the grand axiom above mentioned, WHENEVER ANY FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD. The Old Scotiſh ſeries, and the whole puerile hiſtory of the Old Scots, are as arrant falſehoods as ever folly propagated, and ignorance believed; and when theſe were received as truth, the Pikiſh ſeries, and the real and ſolid hiſtory of the Piks, to be found in the Roman and other grave writers, of abſolute neceſſity paſſed for falſehoods.

The reaſons why the Scotiſh fables prevailed over the Pikiſh hiſtory it is eaſy to offer. Innes has ſhewn that, down to the year 1301, the Pikiſh ſeries was carefully preſerved, and given by our chroniclers; who rightly commenced the Dalriadic ſeries only at 503; and reſtrained their power to

Dalriada, or Argyle, till 843, when, by their accounts, they aſcended the Pikiſh throne. In 1301 the grand diſpute with Edward I. of England aroſe; and the Highland bards and genealogiſts having, with their uſual ignorance and venality, flattered their chiefs and diſtrict ſo far at the expence of all truth, as to begin, in the dark period of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, to aſſert that their own Dalriadic race had come to the Pikiſh throne by conqueſt; nay that the Dalriads had vanquiſhed the Piks ſeven times in a day, and afterward devoured the whole nation at an entertainment[b]; incidents certainly not true, and beginning now to be diſcredited, even in Scotland; the nominal Scots were, by the deluſion of theſe poor ſenachies, brought to a ſad dilemma. For the Engliſh having no idea what the extirpation of a people could mean, and being ſtrangers to the ſanguinary romances of Highland bards, had, inſtead of extirpating the Britons in a dream, with their uſual good ſenſe, availed themſelves of theſe very Britons to advance their claim of great antiquity, in their poſſeſſion of this iland. Edward commenced with Brutus; and claimed by ſucceſſion of the Engliſh to the Welch line. This was ſenſe, and policy, for that age: but there is a quality called folly, which is thought to be directly oppoſite to ſenſe. The fables of the Highland bards had annihilated the Piks, ſo that the nominal Scots had no claim of ſucceſſion. Their only claim was that of extirpation; a claim ſo truly Celtic, that it could not have entered a cool

[b] Convocatos itaque, tanquam ad convivium, magnates Pictorum, captata crapulæ opportunitate, clavorum extractione quos tenebant tabulata in bancorum concavitate, mira decipula, poplitenus comiter et improviſe lapſos, ſtatim trucidaverunt. Sicque de duobus populis gens bellicoſior totaliter evanuit.—So Giraldus Camb. the father of the l-e, founded on a ſimilar tale of Hengiſt and the Britons. 'Septies una die congreditur,' ſays Fordun. Lyars are often detected by falling into the *impoſſible*, for a knave is always a fool.

Gothic

Gothic head. 'Extirpation!' would the Pope and Cardinals have ſaid, 'there is no ſuch word 'in human hiſtory ancient or modern. To ex-'tirpate the people, among whom an idea of ſuch 'brutal vengeance could ariſe, would be an office of 'humanity.' To veil therefore this unheard-of claim, the hiſtory of the Piks was totally ſunk; and the Scots were aſſerted to have been poſſeſſors of the country, by their name of Scots, from the fifth century before Chriſt. Hence ſprung the utter ruin of the hiſtory of Scotland. And to the wild imagination of the Highland bards and ſenachies are we indebted for it. Had the ſmalleſt ray of common ſenſe glanced acroſs their dark minds, they muſt have ſeen that on the Pikiſh hiſtory alone did the whole honour of their line ſtand: and that their ſilly antiquities were but as ivy round the Pikiſh column, which, if the column fell, would fall with it. The manifeſto of the Scotiſh lords to the Pope, in 1301, is well known to be the ſole baſis of our fabulous hiſtory: and from 1301 to this hour, being Five Centuries, has our ancient hiſtory remained a Celtic dream, to the laughter and aſtoniſhment of all Europe. For every foreigner of the leaſt learning, knowing that the Caledonians and Piks are all one people[c]; and that the Scots were unknown to the Romans till the fourth century, and even then only known in Ireland[d]; the whole ancient hiſtory of Scotland, as it ſtands, being directly oppoſite to the Roman accounts, juſtly paſſes for a childiſh and ignorant fiction. Such are the fruits of folly and falſehood; while, had the Highland bards and ſenachies preſerved, and ſedulouſly cultivated, the Pikiſh hiſtory, and been even content with aſſerting that

[c] 'Les Caledoniens ne ſont point à diſtinguer des Picts,' ſays D'Anville Geogr. Anc. Abr. Tome I. p. 110. So alſo Cellarius Geogr. Ant. nay, Buchanan *Caledonii . . . planiſſime Picti fuerunt.* lib. I.

[d] D'Anville, Schœpflin, &c. &c. See Part V. ch. 4.

the Dalriadic, or Old Scottiſh line came by inheritance to the Pikiſh kingdom; theſe Scotiſh lords themſelves, in fact all Piks, as three quarters of the people were and are, would have plumed themſelves upon the Pikiſh hiſtory; and might, from the Iriſh annals, have ſhewn, if they pleaſed, that the monarchy was older than Brutus; and from Beda, that the Piks poſſeſſed their part of Britain, as early as the Welch did theirs. If the Scotiſh line came to the ſucceſſion ſo late as 843, the line then on the throne of England came in ſo late as 1154, for the houſe of Plantagenet then aſcended the Engliſh throne, by the ſame right as ſome writers ſay the Scotiſh race aſcended the Pikiſh, namely, female inheritance. But the falſehoods of the Scotiſh manifeſto ſerved not one purpoſe that the truth would not have ſerved in a far higher degree. Indeed, it was only one word which cauſed all this falſehood and deluſion. Had the old name of the country, Pikland, been retained, the fables of the Highland bards would never have been infectious. If William the Conqueror had changed the name of England to Normandy, not all the ſuperior clearneſs of Engliſh hiſtory could have prevented ſhocking miſtakes.

Setting this weakneſs entirely aſide, it is certain that three quarters of the preſent Scots are Piks; and that the only hiſtory of Scotland is that of Pikland. The ſlighteſt enquiry into the ſubject convinced me, that to write our hiſtory, as done for theſe five centuries, by arranging it under the line of Scotiſh princes, falſely ſo called, is as abſurd, as it would be to write that of England under the ſucceſſion of kings of Wales. Winton indeed ſaw this ſo early as 1410; and has given our hiſtory under the Pikiſh ſovereigns. The Pikiſh kings were the kings of North Britain. The Old Scotiſh kings were the princes of Argyle, till 843, when Kenneth aſcended the

Pikiſh

Pikiſh throne. Such being the caſe, the plan of conſtructing our hiſtory, which firſt occurred to me, was to give no ſeries of monarchs whatever till 843, but from the Roman writers, Beda, Iriſh Annals, &c. to give every circumſtance that could be recovered. As i have no particular affection for kings, the want of a ſeries of them gave me no concern; tho the hiſtory would, in this caſe, have had an aſpect not ſo complete, as that of other European kingdoms. But upon full examination of the ſubject it was clearly ſeen that the ſeries of Pikiſh kings was better authenticated, than thoſe of the Daniſh, Norwegian, and Swediſh ſovereigns of the time; as might naturally be expected in a country which became Chriſtian in the fifth and ſixth centuries, while Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were not ſo till the tenth; and had no writers till the Eleventh, while Scotland had Iriſh writers, Cuminius and Adomnan, in the ſeventh, beſide it's conſtant intercourſe with the learned countries of England and Ireland. It was alſo ſeen that the ſeries of Daniſh kings was contained in old catalogues exactly ſimilar to thoſe of our Pikiſh monarchs; and which it was uſual to keep in old calendars, and maſs-books. Had the Pikiſh ſeries periſhed, it would have been indeed a miracle; but that it is preſerved and is confirmed by the collateral evidences of Cuminius, Adomnan, Beda, the Iriſh annaliſts, and others, is no matter of wonder. Soon after Fordun's book appeared in print, 1684, Sir George Mackenzie's mad viſions, about the antiquity of the Scotiſh line, raiſed a ſingular party heat in Scotland, that, like a furnace, burned the moſt ſolid proofs of truth to aſhes. At the time of the Union, ſome hot Engliſh writers moved queſtions concerning the independency of Scotland; and tho all men of ſenſe and ſcience in the later country began to open their eyes to the falſehood of our hiſtory, ſo clearly evinced by Uſher, Biſhop Lloyd,

Lloyd, and Stillingfleet, yet that the country had always been independent, was a certain truth, (now univerſally allowed by Engliſh hiſtorians): but this point being of ſupreme delicacy and importance, there was great hazard in changing the grounds of our hiſtory at that time. And as Atwood, and other writers againſt the independency of Scotland, had availed themſelves of charters, ſince demonſtrated by Rymer and others to be palpable forgeries; the Scotiſh writers had a political right, in a political queſtion, to uſe their own old forgeries on the other extreme. This ferment was not forgotten, when Innes's valuable Eſſay on our old hiſtory appeared in 1729. That work contained ſuch proofs, as ought inſtantly to have turned the current of our hiſtory: but his own groſs errors, concerning the Piks, whom with Camden and Lloyd he thought Welch Britons, rendered the accuracy of his other reaſons ſuſpicious to men of reading, who knew this to be a new and futile opinion, directly oppoſite to all ancient accounts. Innes being alſo a papiſt and violent Jacobite, his work became on theſe accounts little acceptable, and almoſt neglected. Our old hiſtory ſince that time has only fallen into the weak and ignorant diſcuſſion of a Maitland, and a Guthrie; but even they begin to ſhew faint gleams of common ſenſe. So late indeed as 1759, Goodal, a hot-brained bigot, wiſhed to reduce all our hiſtory to it's old barbariſm and ignorance, by his ſuperficial introduction to Fordun; a piece which would have diſgraced a crazy monk of the twelfth century, and in which all hiſtoric evidence is attempted to be melted down in the aquafortis of diſtempered zeal. The two Macphersons, conſidering themſelves of the old Highland race, have opened their mouths, and, like ſenachies as they are, ſwallowed up the Piks, and their hiſtory at one mouthful: not by annihilating the nation, for that would not do in

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the preſent century, but (what is far worſe, and yet more cruel) by converting the Piks into Celts, and denying all the Pikiſh hiſtory; as it is indeed the grand characteriſtic of the Celts to put falſehood as truth, and truth as falſehood[e].

But, ever ſince Innes publiſhed the two old Pikiſh Chronicles, all men of ſenſe and ſcience in Scotland have ſeen that upon them, and their collateral proofs, the whole ſeries of the kings of North Britain preceding 843 ſtands. The people of Scotland, ſeeing the groſs folly and falſehood of our antiquiſts, have been content to ſtand aloof, and laugh, being ſick of the old nonſenſe; while no writer has ariſen willing to undergo the vaſt toil of fixing our antiquities upon a firm baſis. Our men of talents have never been antiquaries; and ſuch a line of dunces have diſcuſſed our anti-

[e] Dr. Macpherſon attempts to ſhew the names of Pikiſh kings Celtic; and inſtances the following; *Cineoch*, or *Kennetb*; *Oengus*, or *Angus*; *Ennegus*, or *Hungus*; *Elpin*, or *Alpin*; *Urgus*, or *Fergus*; *Canaul*, or *Conal*; *Donel*, or *Donald*: that is from 100 names, he can only pitch on ſeven or eight, and theſe he is forced to grant are after Chriſtianity appeared in Pikland. But his error lyes in ſuppoſing the Dalriadic line Celtic, whereas it was Gothic; and the names are Gothic, as the reader will ſee after. Sir Robert Sibbald, in his Hiſtory of Fife, has long ago obſerved that the names of Pikiſh kings are Gothic, not Iriſh; and Dr. Macpherſon's ſad ſhift of mangling ſeven names, even to make that number Iriſh, ſhews the truth; tho Dr. M. did not know it. Dr. M. alſo p. 42, 43, fights againſt the Pikiſh liſt preceding Brudi, 557; and ſays why receive it, when the ſame fragments, which preſerve it, may alſo ſerve to eſtabliſh the Scotiſh kings before Fergus, ſon of Erc? *The very reverſe of this is the truth*; for thoſe fragments, which preſerve the Pikiſh liſt, have not one of theſe Scotiſh kings, but begin every one with Fergus, ſon of Erc, as the firſt Scotiſh king. This man was a doctor of divinity; and yet, if he had uſed the ſame freedom in a private buſineſs, which he has in hiſtory, he would have been ſet in the pillory. He alſo ſays, p. 16, that the Chronicles, publiſhed by Innes, only reconcile us to the loſs of the reſt: and it is no wonder that a true highlander ſhould eagerly wiſh for the deſtruction of all our hiſtoric remains, in order to make Oſſian and falſehood triumphant.

quities, that it is no wonder the ſtudy of them is diſeſteemed; and that a country, productive of able writers, is remarkable for that moſt contemptible of all kinds of ignorance, the ignorance of it's own hiſtory. The want of public libraries in Scotland is one great cauſe of this; and the inſtitution of ſuch would contribute more to the real learning of the country, than the foundation of univerſities: for thoſe who have the uſe of libraries generally want inclination; and the grand point is to open up to inclination, which alone carries a man thro the toils of learning, eaſy means of indulgence.

Let us now proceed to a particular conſideration of the catalogues we have of our Pikiſh monarchs. If the reader be accuſtomed to the Scotiſh hiſtory, as it ſtands preceding 843, he may, it is likely, receive the plain truths here preſented with a prejudiced and reluctant ear. Nothing is ſo mad as prejudice: and national prejudices, received for Five Centuries, form ſuch a confirmed frenzy, as perhaps other five centuries might, in ſome countries, be required to remove. But much may be truſted to that good ſenſe which is ſhewn by my countrymen in other affairs; and it is to that good ſenſe i appeal: and have ſo high an opinion of its general operation, even in ſo obſtinate a caſe as this, that i ſhould not be ſurprized to ſee even our ſhalloweſt writers following the true path, in a very few years. If the reader does not drop old prejudices, the caſe is deſperate; for God knows that, after all prejudices are put aſide, human reaſon is but a weak affair, and the love of truth no ſtrong motive with mankind. All that is requeſted of the reader is to follow Lord Bacon's counſel in ſearching after truth, 'to keep his mind in ſuſpence, till he reſolve:' and to take up this examination, as the author has done, as a queſtion concerning an ancient ſeries of kings of Macedon, Egypt, Aſſyria, or of Norway, Sweden,

Sweden, or Denmark. The Catalogues we have of our Pikiſh kings amount to no leſs than Five; and are as follow.

I. One given by Fordun, who wrote about 1385; and who does not mention whence he had it. This however agrees ſo well with Adomnan and Beda, that it would, if ſolitary, ſatisfy every unprejudiced mind: and Langbaine[f] has thought this alone a ſufficient foundation.

II. Winton's account of the Pikiſh kings, woven into his Chronicle, written about 1410.

III. A catalogue of the Pikiſh kings from Brudi, 557, publiſhed by Lynch, in his *Cambrenſis Everſus*, from an ancient Iriſh tranſlation of Nennius.

IV. A catalogue publiſhed by Innes, from the *Regiſtrum Sancti Andreæ*, written 1251.

V. The moſt complete, important, and authentic, is the CHRONICON REGUM PICTORUM, publiſhed by Innes, from a MS. in the Colbertine, and now in the king of France's library, written in the Fourteenth century; but perhaps this part tranſcribed from one of the Ninth. This MS. was formerly in the collection of Cecil Lord Burleigh; is now in the French king's library, N° 4126; and the reader will find it's contents in the Appendix.

All theſe catalogues differ in ſome few points; a clear proof that not one of them was tranſcribed from any of the others. Theſe variations will be marked in the next chapter. The moſt remarkable is that I, II, and IV, cut off no leſs than FOURTEEN kings, between *Cruthen* the firſt, and *Gilgidi* the ſixteenth, but whom they make the ſecond. For this the Scotiſh tranſcribers had two reaſons. 1. By thus reducing the number of Pikiſh kings, they abridged the date of the Pikiſh

[f] Chron. Reg. Pict. in his *Elenchus Ant. Albion. una cum brevi Regum Pictorum Chronico.* Londini, 1673, 8vo.

monarchy, and made it poſterior to the imaginary æra of the Scotiſh. 2. *Brudi Bout*, the 15th king, is ſaid in the genuine Chronicle to have been the progenitor of thirty ſovereigns of Ireland, which could only be by conqueſt; and the Iriſh origin of the Old Scots, being anciently as certain, and well known, as the light of day, the Scotiſh tranſcribers could not hear of this aſſertion, ſo daſhed out this monarch and his predeceſſors, all ſave Cruthen, who was ſo well known as the firſt Pikiſh ſovereign, that the Iriſh called the Piks *Cruthenich*, after his name; as they called the Dalreudini from Reuda, and applied many other names of kings to different tribes and nations. But that Number V. as it is the moſt full and complete in all reſpects, ſo is alſo the moſt authentic, Innes has ſhewn by theſe arguments.

I. The number of kings from Cruthen to Conſtantin, is by the moſt ancient Iriſh annals ſaid to amount to Seventy. This is exactly the number in this invaluable record; while, by the liſt given by Fordun, they are but Fifty-eight; by Winton's account, which is quite imperfect, ſtill fewer; and by the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, only Fifty-two.

II. This Catalogue alone perfectly coincides with other authentic writers, while the others differ widely. Beda informs us, that the year of Chriſt 565 concurred with the Ninth year of Brudi, ſon of Meilochon, king of the Piks. Thence it follows that Brudi began his reign in the year 557; and this is a fixt and important epoch, to which all the other reigns may be referred.

1. All writers agree with Beda, that, in 685, Egfrid, king of Northumberland, was ſlain in battle by the Piks; and the ancient additions to Nennius ſay it was by Brudi, king of the Piks, that Egfrid was killed. Now by this Chronicle, the reign of Brudi, ſon of Bili, began 676, and ended 697. While, by Fordun's liſt, this king began

began to reign in 660, and reigned only eleven years, or till 671.

2. Ceolfrid, abbot of Wiremouth, wrote his famous letter about Eaſter, and the Tonſure, to Naitan, king of the Piks in 715. *Beda.* And this agrees perfectly with the chronology of this chronicle, according to which Naitan, ſon of Derili, or Nethan III. reigned from 712 till 727. While, by Fordun's catalogue, Naitan ended his reign in 703; and by the Regiſter of St. Andrew's did not begin to reign till 747. So that they muſt be both wrong, and the Chronicle alone exact.

3. The death of Unguſt, ſon of Verguſt, king of the Piks, is fixt to the year 761, by a ſhort Chronicle at the end of Beda, and by Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. Now this agrees exactly with this Pikiſh Chronicle; according to the ſupputation of which the death of Unguſt happened juſt that year 761. While by Fordun's catalogue, it would have been 737; and by the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, about the year 800.

4. Kineod, king of the Piks, gave a retreat in his kingdoms to Alcred, king of Northumberland, expelled from his throne in 774, according to Roger Hoveden, and Simeon of Durham. The very name of this Kineod is not to be found in any of the catalogues, ſave this, and the one given by Lynch. And in this Chronicle the death of Kineod is placed in 775, in which Roger and Simeon alſo agree.

Theſe arguments, invincible as truth, muſt eſtabliſh the great fidelity and authenticity of this Chronicle beyond all poſſibility of doubt, even with the moſt ignorant and prejudiced. Upon this Chronicle alone then muſt our ſeries of Pikiſh kings be given; and all the reſt be referred to it, as an infallible ſtandard. This ſhall be done in the next chapter: but, before proceeding further, as, in ſo eſſential a point as the ſeries of Pikiſh monarchs, the kings of North Britain, no ſhadow of doubt ſhould be left, a few arguments ſhall be

offered for the authenticity of this ſeries. No one, whoſe mind is not blinded by prejudice, can indeed queſtion a ſeries of monarchs eſtabliſhed in general by no leſs than Five Chronicles, all bearing intrinſic marks that they are not copied from each other; nor from any forged archetype; but the following conſiderations are offered, which, it is hoped, may remove all prejudice. For to him, who looks into theſe monuments with the ſame freedom of mind that is applied to a liſt of Macedonian or Aſſyrian kings, the only wonder will be what diſtempered fancy could ſuggeſt a doubt on the occaſion. That he who believes in the Scotiſh ſeries will not credit the Pikiſh, that a believer in Oſſian will not credit authentic records, is indeed a natural conſequence. For to weak minds, by a perverſion of mental viſion, truth ſeems falſehood, and falſehood truth: and it is ever found that WHEN FALSEHOOD IS RECEIVED AS TRUTH, THE OPPOSITE TRUTH MUST OF ABSOLUTE NECESSITY PASS FOR FALSEHOOD.

1, The reaſon why the Pikiſh ſeries has been neglected, is the change of the name of Piks for that of Scots in the eleventh century; and the fables which our Iriſh Chroniclers built upon that change. No Pik, or Lowlander, can be diſcovered as a writer, till two centuries after this, when the very name of Pik and Pikland was loſt in the profound gloom of that period; and in 1291 we find the name of Scots had ſo far operated, that the Piks, or Lowlanders, were fighting like bedlamites for the name of Old Scots, and gravely inplying their own extirpation! Now to truſt theſe Celtic ſenachies with the real hiſtory of a country, would be as abſurd as to ſearch for the hiſtory of England in Geofrey of Monmouth. Truth and falſehood are totally heterogeneous; and as, in Geofrey of Monmouth, the real and ſolid hiſtory of Britain is quite ſunk, and a ſeries of Celtic lyes given in place of it, that, by utterly extinguiſhing the hiſtory

hiſtory of the Engliſh, exalt the Welch, who were ever confined to a corner of Britain, to the greateſt glory, ſuch was exactly the caſe with our hiſtory. Alas, ſuch actually it is! For let the reader ſuppoſe for a moment that Beda, and the Saxon Chronicle, (only two little books), had periſhed, as no other Engliſh hiſtorians aroſe till the Twelfth century, Geofrey of Monmouth would infallibly have been followed in all things, as he really was in moſt till this very century; and the hiſtory of England, had it not been for Beda alone, from whom the early part of the Saxon Chronicle is taken, would at this hour have been like the hiſtory of Scotland, a mere Celtic dream. Pikland produced no Beda; and of ſo vaſt importance is literature to a country, that one literary man may, like a petty deity, give a whole nation fame, and it's conſtant attendants, power and dignity. And the want of one literary man may ſink a country in the eyes of all other nations; and reduce it to almoſt a non-exiſtence. What the Engliſh are to the Welch, ſuch are the people of North Britain to the Highlanders. And as the real hiſtory of England has quite periſhed, if regarded only in the Welch accounts; ſo has our hiſtory in the Highland viſions.

2. Beda tells us, that the Pikiſh elective ſucceſſion of kings was in the female line, from all antiquity, and retained to his time. This ſucceſſion ſhall be further conſidered afterward; but it ſuffices here to remark, that by this mode no ſon was ſucceſſor to his father; but the ſiſter's ſon, daughter's ſon, or next heir choſen on the female ſide. Now the ſeries of Pikiſh kings fully accords with this account. To Druſt, ſon of Erp, ſucceeds Talorc, ſon of Aniel, &c. to Brudi, ſon of Bili, ſucceeds Tharan, ſon of Entifidich; and to him Brudi, ſon of Derili, &c. To a free mind this minute, but important, coincidence muſt afford an infallible proof of veracity.

3. The Catalogue of Pikiſh monarchs, given by Lynch, from an old Iriſh MS. of Nennius, perfectly agrees with the moſt important Pikiſh Chronicle, Number V, ſave that in one or two places the number of years aſſigned to a reign vary. The other Catalogues all differ ſo much among themſelves, as to prove beyond a doubt that they could not be copied from each other; nor from one archetype: and yet all agree ſo far as fully to confirm the veracity of the whole ſeries. Were any forgery in the caſe, this could never have happened but by ſpecial miracle; which it is humbly preſumed no one will ſuppoſe to have been wrought on this occaſion.

4. The *Pſaltair Caſhail*; a Metrical Chronicle of the kings of Dalriada, compoſed by the bard, or ſenachy of Malcolm III. 1056, as the concluſion bears; the *Leabhair Dromnaſnacta*; book of Lecan; and other Iriſh monuments; ALL agree that there were Seventy kings of the Piks preceding Conſtantin. The invaluable catalogue, Number V, gives juſt this number: and it alſo agrees in four grand epochs with Beda, Hoveden, Simeon of Durham, and other early Engliſh writers; proofs of authenticity, which, in any other caſe, would be held infallible: and which could not have happened in a forgery, ſave by a ſucceſſion of miracles. This piece muſt, if a forgery, have been compoſed either before, or after, the Twelfth century; when the greater number of the above authors appeared. If before, then they copied it; if after, the forger, who, as appears from his production, could hardly ſpell a Latin word, was converſant in all the Iriſh and Engliſh hiſtorians; and ſo ſkilful as to accommodate his whole production to them. That the Iriſh Annaliſts, and Hoveden, and Simeon, followed this catalogue, and accommodated their narration and dates to it, in events of which no veſtige is to be found in it, the moſt overheated imagina-

tion will never conceive. And that a forger ſhould ariſe in the Fourteenth century, who had carefully ſtudied unique Iriſh MSS, Beda, Simeon of Durham, and Hoveden, and with an art, which has all the ſimplicity of truth, had adapted his whole ſeries to theſe writers; nay to Four other Pikiſh catalogues; is yet more impoſſible than the former. But no man, whoſe prejudices have not quite extinguiſhed his rationality, can ſuppoſe either of theſe caſes. And the point comes at once to this iſſue. Either this Pikiſh Chronicle is a forgery, and it's coincidences with the beſt and moſt authentic writers, are miracles: or it is moſt true and authentic; and it's coincidences with ſuch writers are natural, neceſſary, and unavoidable. Let the reader chuſe; after taking this certain truth along with him, that all hiſtoric forgeries, yet diſcovered, have violated chronology, and claſhed with authentic authors; and that if this forgery alone had none of theſe marks, it would be a miracle; but that it alone confirms, and is confirmed by all authentic authors, whoſe ſubject interferes, is ſomething more miraculous than a miracle. If a foreigner happens to look into this work, he may with reaſon think meanly of the author's judgement, for inſiſting on a matter which would appear ſo clear at firſt in the hiſtory of Denmark, Germany, Italy, Spain, France, or any country where ancient hiſtory is cultivated: but he will pleaſe to reflect, that in Scotland ancient hiſtory is loſt by the prejudices, falſehood, ignorance, and indolent ſuperficiality, of our writers. And that with us the whole power of reaſoning muſt be employed to eſtabliſh truth, which, in learned and unprejudiced countries, eſtabliſhes itſelf.

5. We have FIVE Catalogues of Pikiſh kings, ALL, tho different, confirming each other. Scaliger, Petavius, and others of the greateſt learning and moſt ſevere judgement, have, in many caſes, given a ſeries of ancient kings, from only *one* liſt; and

and that ſeries has yet been univerſally received, and paſſes every where current as undoubted Hiſtoric Truth. In the name of common ſenſe, is one ſingle liſt, given by one ſingle author, who in ſome inſtances wrote a thouſand, or fifteen hundred years, after the ſeries cloſed, to be preferred to Five ſeveral liſts, all confirming each other, and confirmed by authentic ancient authors; and written within four and five hundred years after the ſeries cloſed, nay according to all appearance tranſcribed from originals, written when the ſeries exiſted? For tho the Piks uſed no letters, yet they had Welch and Iriſh churchmen among them, from the Fifth century, who did uſe letters.

6. We muſt deny all hiſtoric evidence, if we deny the Piks to be Goths from Scandinavia. Now many of the names of Pikiſh kings are the very ſame found in Runic monuments, and may be all traced in the Gothic, as i have eſpecially traced all their epithets in that language; for which ſee next chapter. This adds great authenticity to the CHRONICON PICTORUM.

7. Tho the Danes and Swedes had no letters till the Tenth century, for the ridiculous antiquity aſſigned to the Runic monuments with inſcriptions is now diſpelled [g], yet all allow the liſt of Daniſh and Swediſh kings to be authentic from the Sixth century. How were they preſerved? By ſongs and tales; by hiſtoric bards, and genealogiſts. That hiſtoric ſongs were common among the German Goths, is clear from Tacitus [h]. From ſuch ſongs did Saxo Grammaticus compoſe his

[g] Differt de orig. Run. in Collect. Diſſ. de Ant. Sueciæ in Bibl. Regia. Runic letters were in common uſe in Scandinavia, ſo late as the 15th century. Venantius Fortunatus, about 530, knew them in Gaul, whence they paſſed to Germany, but apparently did not reach Scandinavia till the Ninth century, at the ſooneſt.

[h] Celebrant carminibus antiquis, quod unum apud illos memoriæ et annalium genus eſt &c. Tacit. Germ.

hiſtory;

hiſtory; and he produces them conſtantly as vouchers. But they are mingled with fiction, and Saxo's hiſtory of Hamlet immortaliſed by Shakſpere, and which by Saxo's account happened before our æra, is palpably taken from a ballad, written not above fifty years before Saxo; for it mentions a wood between Scotland and England; and there was a ſea till after 1010, when the name of Scotland was firſt given to North Britain. Saxo indeed, in another place, following a real old ballad, calls preſent Scotland *Petia*, or Petland [i]. The danger therefore was that hiſtoric ſongs were liable to be confounded with romantic ballads, as Saxo has done always. The true ſeries of kings was that preſerved by the genealogiſts, who at coronations, and other ſolemn events, repeated the ſeries in barren verſe, which only bore the names and years of the reign. Theſe hiſtoric liſts are eaſily known from this peculiarity, and their having no ornaments nor incidents whatever, as ſhall be more fully mentioned preſently. They were in the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, when learning appeared in the northern kingdoms, as it then began to revive in others, tranſlated into Latin; or Latin catalogues made from them. Theſe Latin catalogues, which in the Daniſh hiſtory exactly reſemble the Scotiſh, have been carefully collected, and eſteemed, as they are, the ſole foundations of the real hiſtory of the kingdoms. The lateſt hiſtorians follow them only; and reject the romances of Saxo, and others. Pikland was a kingdom at leaſt as powerful as ancient Denmark; and inhabited by the very ſame people. The ſame manners muſt have prevailed; and the liſt of kings muſt have been conſtantly repeated and preſerved. But the Dalriadic bards came in time to be preferred by our princes, as their ſpeech was

[i] Lib. IX. p. 171, edit. Steph. 'Scotiæ ac Petiæ,' that is Ireland and Pikland. He is ſpeaking of Regnar Lodbrog, about 830,

a written

a written one, and more poliſhed than the Pikiſh, an unwritten tongue: but theſe bards, accuſtomed only to the Dalriadic ſeries, would continue to repeat it; as we find the bard of Malcolm III. do in the poem of this very kind, which is extant. And this bard contents himſelf with barely mentioning that Seventy Pikiſh kings had reigned over Pikland, from Cathluan, an epithetic name which the Iriſh writers give to Cruthen[k], the founder of the Pikiſh monarchy, to Conſtantin. At the coronation of Alexander III. 1249, we find all mention of the Pikiſh kings dropt; for a highlander on that occaſion repeated the famous genealogy of that monarch in proſe, which is preſerved by Diceto, Fordun, and others: in which he is traced in the Dalriadic line of kings. Thus were the highland ſenachies, a ſet of the moſt ignorant and crazy ſtrollers that ever diſgraced a country, totally to bury our genuine hiſtory; and lay the foundation of that Celtic edifice of falſehood and nonſenſe, which we call the ancient hiſtory of Scotland. Utter falſehood was received as truth; and the truth of conſequence began to paſs for falſehood. But as the Danes in laſt century believed in Saxo, whom they had credited for Five Centuries, but now univerſally allow five or ſix ſhort liſts of their old monarchs, exactly reſembling thoſe of our Pikiſh kings, and but lately recovered, like theſe, from old manuſcripts, to be the ſole foundation of their genuine hiſtory, ſuch will be our caſe. And if a few Goodals in Scotland, and Lyſchanders in Denmark, riſe to oppoſe forgery to truth, they will ſoon ſink into utter contempt; for tho mankind are prone to falſehood, yet in all hiſtory truth has always prevailed in the end. Nor is it to be ſuppoſed that Scotland alone

[k] So the Greeks, as Herodotus ſays, called the Candaules of the Lydians Myrſilus.

will

will ever deny to found it's real hiſtory upon that broad and ſolid baſis of Gothic ſenſe, and ſobriety of mind, upon which that of other European kingdoms ſtands; or be content along with the Welch and old Iriſh, inſtead of real antiquities, to hold out to the laughter and deriſion of Europe a romance of Celtic nonſenſe. Men who foſter ſuch prejudices, are the bittereſt enemies of their country; for they keep it's hiſtory out of that of Europe: and no foreigner has meddled with our ancient hiſtory, or ever introduced it into univerſal hiſtory, or indeed ever mentioned it but with ſcorn. Hence the reſpect due to the nation is violated; and it's fame and honour deſtroyed in the eyes of other nations.

8. The importance of the Pikiſh monarchy, whoſe kings are never mentioned by Beda, a cotemporary writer, but with ſome epithet of great power [1], and which was the largeſt in Britain, for it exiſted during the Heptarchic Times, may warrant us to conclude that it would have been indeed miraculous, if we had not even a liſt of it's kings. We have liſts of thoſe of every heptarchic kingdom, nay of the petty kingdom of Dalriada: we have liſts of the kings of Ireland, of Denmark, of Norway, nay of the judges of Iceland, and of the Orkney, and Ferroe iles. Was Pikland alone, a kingdom in the heart of theſe countries, ſpecially marked for oblivion by nature? What lunacy of prejudice can infer that liſts of the petty kings of the old Scots in Dalriada, are infallibly true; and thoſe of the monarchs of North Britain, found in the very ſame MSS, and ſupported by Engliſh and Iriſh authorities (which the former contradict), are falſe? What amulet, what magic charm, is there in the names of Scot and

[1] Regnante Pictis Bridio filio Meilochon Rege potentiſſimo. III. 4. Domino excellentiſſimo, et glorioſiſſimo regi, Naitano. V. 22.

Scotland,

Scotland, that ſhould lead ignorant and ſuperficial minds to take truth for falſehood, and falſehood for truth? Becauſe falſehood has remained for five centuries, is it leſs falſe than at firſt?

9. The beſt catalogue of our Pikiſh kings was found in a manuſcript which had belonged to Lord Burghley, and which, as it chiefly relates to Scotiſh affairs, had in all appearance been brought from Scotland. As it was written about the year 1350 [m], after the expeditions of Edward I. it ſeems uncertain how it paſſed into England. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's, in which another catalogue was found, ends 1251. Fordun's catalogue of Pikiſh kings differs from both theſe, and could not be copied from either. Winton's differs from all the three; and is not copied from the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, as Innes ſays, but was apparently taken from a MS. of the monaſtery in Lochleven, of which Winton was Prior; for Maul of Melgum, in his inaccurate hiſtory of the Piks, ſays he had his account of the Pikiſh kings, from MSS. formerly belonging to St. Andrews, and Lochleven. Theſe MSS. like ſome others which totally aboliſhed the Scotiſh antiquity, and eſtabliſhed that of the Piks, are ſuſpected to have been wilfully deſtroyed by frantic zeal for the Scotiſh *name*. Now all theſe Chronicles muſt have been neceſſarily tranſcribed from ancient liſts; for after the name of Scotland was given to the country, about 1010, the Pikiſh name gradually vaniſhed. In 1138, at the War of the Standard, we find the laſt mention of the Piks in hiſtory; and the name was then confined to the people of Galloway, who, till that century, had been independant Piks under their own princes, the lords of Galloway, and thus had eſcaped the denomination of Scots then given to the other Piks. After 1291 no nominal

[m] See it's contents in the Appendix.

Scotiſhman would have ſought to honour the Piks, tho his real anceſtors, at the expence of the Scots his name-fathers: far leſs have forged chronicles for that purpoſe. If theſe catalogues were forged, it muſt have been in the Eleventh or Twelfth century, before the Pikiſh name was loſt in the Scotiſh. And they could only be forged by Piks, who gloried in the name. Now let the reader conceive, if he can, four ſuch ſkilful forgers to ariſe among the Piks, an illiterate people, as to compoſe theſe four catalogues, differing in themſelves, and yet agreeing ſo far, as, with all the ſimplicity of truth, to eſtabliſh each other: and the beſt of them wholly confirmed by the Engliſh and Iriſh ancient authors. St. Andrew's and Lochleven were founded and protected by Pikiſh kings; it was therefore moſt natural that they ſhould cheriſh the memory of their benefactors; and the finding catalogues of theſe kings, at theſe places, is a confirmation of their truth, at the ſame time that the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, being written after the name of Scots had prevailed, we find the catalogue mutilated, and the victory of the Scots over the Piks aſſerted; a further confirmation of it's truth to every unprejudiced mind. The book in which the real ancient Chronicle of the Piks, confirmed by the old Engliſh and Iriſh writers, as above ſhewn, is preſerved, i ſuſpect to have belonged to ſome religious houſe in Galloway, where the Pikiſh name remained in full vigour in 1138, and to all appearance long after. And that this chronicle in particular is no forgery, has been fully ſhewn above; not to mention that the intrinſic evidence is very ſtrong, it's ſimplicity being extreme. Nay this very catalogue muſt have been tranſcribed by ſome nominal Scotiſhman, for in another place of the MS. he aſſerts the extermination of the Piks, by the Scots, and has a declamation againſt the ſins of the Pikiſh nation, which brought them to this utter deſtruction.

tion. Hence it is clear that it was not written by a nominal Pik; but tranſcribed from an older copy, like the other pieces in that collection, by ſome nominal Scotiſhman: and no Scotiſhman would forge a ſeries of kings in which a Pikiſh conqueſt of Ireland was aſſerted; and ſuch great antiquity given to the Piks above the Scots.

10. The Southern Piks between the Forth and the Grampian hills, or of preſent Fife, Stirling, Dumbarton, Perth, Angus, and Mearns, by far the moſt populous tract of Pikland, were converted to Chriſtianity, by St. Ninian, about 412, as Beda ſhews. In 565 the Northern Piks were converted, as the ſame writer, Cuminius, Adomnan, and others, teſtify. The Chriſtianity of the Piks ſeems indeed to have been dubious, and precarious; as that of the Scandinavians was for centuries after their converſion, tho ſo late as the Tenth century. For there is not one Pikiſh ſaint, or churchman of any kind, on record, while Dalriada, Ireland, Wales, and England, were ſwarming with them. The ſaints of England were indeed chiefly Welch and Iriſh, a race to whoſe underſtandings the corrupt Chriſtianity of the dark ages was peculiarly adapted, and who carried fanaticiſm to ſuch extravagance as to paſs for the moſt holy and learned men that ever exiſted. Nor is it matter of wonder that when frenzy was religion, and folly was learning, the Celts were the moſt religious and learned people in the world. A conſideration which eſcapes thoſe who reflect not that the learning then in vogue was abſolute nonſenſe; and affect to wonder that the aboriginal Iriſh, then ſo famous for learning, have not produced one learned man ſince real learning revived. But tho we have innumerable lives of Iriſh and Welch ſaints, who lived in England; yet we have none of any who lived in Pikland, for Ninian and Columba were only viſitors. And tho we have Engliſh ſaints; yet not one Pikiſh ſaint is known.

Had

Had any ſuch ariſen, they would never have wanted fame; for the Iriſh, Welch, or Engliſh, writers would certainly have preſerved it. Had Chriſtianity flouriſhed in Pikland, it would certainly have introduced letters, as it did into every other country. Yet, while the Saxons, Welch, and Iriſh, wrote their own language, there ſeems every reaſon to doubt if the Pikiſh was ever a written language till the Thirteenth and Fourteenth centuries, when the name of Piks had vaniſhed. However there were certainly Iriſh and Welch churchmen allowed to ſettle in Pikland, from the Fifth century downward. The church of Abernethy was founded about the year 600, by Garnat IV. or by Nethan II. kings of the Piks. Abernethy is ſouth of the Grampian hills; and of courſe among theſe Piks, who were converted by Ninian. To the north of theſe hills there is no evidence of any religious foundation whatever, till after the Ninth century. About 700, Brudi, ſon of Derili, founded religious houſes at Culroſs; and in Saint Serf's ile Lochleven, if we believe Winton. Dunkeld was founded by Conſtantin, about 800. The ſtory of St. Regulus is fabulous; and St. Andrew's was founded by Unguſt, about 825. In ſhort, the Four places of religion, *Abernethy*, which Innes rightly puts as the moſt ancient, *Lochleven*, *Dunkeld*, and *St. Andrew's*, were the only places in Pikland where any chronicle, or catalogue of the kings could be kept. For till after the Pikiſh line is ſaid to have failed, 843, there was not another religious houſe in the whole kingdom. There was a Chronicle of Abernethy [n], which is unfortunately loſt. But Winton has copied his liſt from a catalogue kept at Lochleven; and the Regiſter of St. Andrew's has preſerved another. Tho Lochleven being near St. Andrew's,

[n] Fordun IV. 12. quotes it once for the foundation of Abernethy, by Garnat IV. ſon of Domelch.

and the monaſtery there immediately ſubject to the canons of that ſee, theſe two laſt liſts have been mutilated by mutual connivance, in order to bring down the commencement of the Pikiſh monarchy to a later period than the viſionary date of the Scotiſh. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's quotes the ancient books of the ſee, which related to the Pikiſh period, by the title of LIBRI PICTORUM; and produces a Latin charter of Unguſt II. from theſe *libri Pictorum* [o]. An old deſcription of Scotland, written, it is ſuppoſed, by Giraldus Cambrenſis, in the twelfth century, alſo refers to PIKISH ANNALS [p]. From theſe conſiderations it follows, that as the Piks had religious houſes among them, from the Seventh century, and books concerning their affairs were extant in the Twelfth, the memory of reigns and events muſt have been kept among them; and the poor preſervation of the names of their kings is ſo much a matter of courſe, that it would have been truly extraordinary, if it had not happened, while the liſts of Daniſh Norwegian and Swediſh kings from the Sixth century are admitted; tho theſe nations had not Chriſtianity, nor religious houſes, till the Tenth century.

11. For the kings of the Saxon heptarchies we have only one authority older than the Twelfth and Thirteenth centuries, the Saxon Chronicle; and, as it is by no means full, we freely truſt authors of the Twelfth, Thirteenth, and Fourteenth centuries, in any further intelligence they give. Our lateſt Pikiſh Chronicle is from a manuſcript of the beginning of the Fourteenth century; and ſuppoſing, what will appear an impoſſibility to any one who looks into it, that it was compoſed at the time of the Manuſcript's being written, it

[o] Sibbald's Hiſt. of Fife: 'in veteribus Pictorum libris ſcripta reperimus.'

[p] Apud Innes: 'in geſtis et annalibus antiquis Scotorum et Pictorum.'

is

is impoſſible, for any cold and candid mind, to conceive why leſs credit ſhould be given to it concerning early tranſactions, than is given to other monuments of that age concerning ſuch tranſactions.

12. To conclude theſe conſiderations, it may be ſafely ſaid that he, who denies the authority of our Five liſts of Pikiſh kings, may, with equal reaſon, deny all hiſtoric authority; or believe, and reject, at pleaſure, as his own caprice ſhall dictate. For it will to every free mind appear much more rational to credit Five different pieces, containing barely events, ſo univerſally marked and known, as the names of a ſucceſſion of kings, with the number of years they reigned; and all written in the country in which they reigned, probably from more ancient monuments compoſed during their reigns, but at any rate drawn up within four centuries after this ſeries cloſed; than to lend faith to the early hiſtory of Greece, or Rome. For in the laſt inſtances we credit writers, who lived five or ſix centuries after the events they relate, for minute relations of theſe events; tho they happened in a period when there were none to record them. In the former we only credit the univerſally known and marked circumſtances of the names of kings, and years of their reign, the ſureſt and moſt infallible features of hiſtory: and the greater part of the ſeries belongs to a period when Chriſtianity prevailed in the country, and there were men who uſed letters to record it. In the early hiſtory of Greece and Rome we have no collateral authorities. In the Pikiſh ſeries we have the ſtrongeſt collateral authorities, of authentic writers, of ſurrounding nations. In the former we generally truſt to one writer for minute events. In the later we truſt Five, for the moſt notorious events in hiſtory.

13. This volume was written, and the Pikiſh chronology digeſted, before i happened to peruſe

a tranſlation of the Annals of Ulſter; which, with thoſe of Tighernac and Innisfallen, form the real ancient hiſtory of Ireland after St. Patrick's time 432; and are as free from fable as the Saxon Chronicle, or any genuine annals digeſted in the drieſt manner can be. The reader may believe that it was with great pleaſure i obſerved not only the names and dates, but many actions of the Pikiſh kings preſerved in theſe Annals, from the time of Brudi 557, to that of Kenneth 843, in as exact correſpondence with the Pikiſh Chronicle as poſſible: and that not even the ſlighteſt incoherence, or contradiction, occurred thro the whole. In theſe Annals the ancient matters, as appears from repeated quotations, are from Tighernac who wrote in the year 1088; and Ware's account of Iriſh hiſtory is derived almoſt wholly from them. They are alſo conſonant with the Saxon Chronicle, and old Engliſh hiſtories, as well as laterly with the Icelandic, and Daniſh, as to Scandinavian affairs in Ireland. This additional and ultimate proof regards the names, dates, and actions, of about thirty Pikiſh monarchs: and being written in a neighbouring country, and interwoven with the hiſtory of that country, muſt convince even the moſt prejudiced of the veracity, and authenticity, of our Pikiſh hiſtory.

Having thus far combated the irrational prejudices, entertained by the ſuperficial ignorance of ſome of my countrymen, againſt authentic monuments of our real anceſtors, let us proceed briefly to conſider: I. The Nature of the Pikiſh ſucceſſion. II. The manner in which hiſtoric liſts of kings have been preſerved by tradition. III. The plan upon which the chronology of our Pikiſh monarchs is to be adjuſted.

§ I. *The Nature of the Pikiſh ſucceſſion.* It is a ſtriking peculiarity, in the Pikiſh ſeries, that the ſon of a king never appears as king; ſo that in the whole liſt, till juſt at the cloſe, not one king is

is ſeen, whoſe father ever held the ſceptre. The kingdom, like thoſe of Sweden and Denmark, was elective; but the kings were choſen out of a peculiar and numerous race of nobles; who all deriving their genealogy from ancient monarchs, were called REGALIS PROSAPIA, or THE ROYAL RACE. Jornandes informs us of ſimilar races among the Oſtrogoths, or Eaſtern Getæ; and Viſogoths, or Weſtern Getæ. The election, as in other Gothic kingdoms, muſt have reſted with the people who in Caledonia had ſuch ſway that Dio [q] ſays, the government was chiefly democratic. As for men being delivered over, like ſheep on an eſtate, from one lord to his heir, tho uſeful in great and refined monarchies, ſuch an idea does not even occur to a warlike people. Among the Piks he of the royal race, who was ſtrong, valiant, and wiſe, would be choſen; but when two candidates of equal worth appeared, and the balance was doubtful, he was choſen who, deſcending of the royal race, by the female line, was thought to have a ſurer claim to royal blood, than him who deſcended by the male line. Of this rule of elective ſucceſſion, Beda thus inſtructs us: *ut, ubi res veniret in dubium, magis de fœminea regnum proſapia, quam de maſculina, regem ſibi* ELIGERENT: *quod uſque hodie apud Pictos conſtat eſſe ſervatum* [r]. Of the number of the Royal Race we may judge from the charter of Unguſt II. publiſhed by Sibbald in his account of Fife, where no leſs than Twelve Witneſſes are given; all ſons of different fathers; with this addition, *Iſti teſtes ex* REGALI PROSAPIA *geniti ſunt*, 'All theſe witneſſes are born of the ROYAL RACE.'

[q] Δημοκρατουνται τε ως αληθως. Dio lib. 76. de Caledoniis loquens.

[r] The Saxon tranſlation by Alfred is, *Mid thy Peohtar wif wæfdon bædon him fram Scottum. Tha gewæfdon hi thære aredneſſe, ant him wif ſealdon, that th er ſeo wiſe on tweon cyme, that hi thone ma of tham wif cynne him cyning* CURAN, *thonne of tham wæpned cynne.*

Among the the Marcomanni and Quadi the royal races were the Marobodui and Tudri: *Tac.* Among the Lombards Paulus Diaconus mentions two dynaſties, or races, the Gunginci, and Lithingi. Jornandes mentions the Aſdingi among the Vandals. The Perſians, ſays Strabo, were ruled by a race[s]: and the royal race, or relations of the king, were very numerous[t]. Pontanus ſays the ancient Danes elected their kings from the royal family; and the ſucceſſion of ſon to father, given by Snorro, is a romantic error founded on the ideas of the later ſcalds.

Till the Fifth Century the Pikiſh Monarchy was confined to the Hebudes, where Solinus found it in the Third, as after ſtated. From that paſſage of Solinus it is eaſy to account for the number of the Royal Race; for the king was not allowed to marry, but took any woman he choſe, and diſmiſſed her when he choſe. Tho this cuſtom muſt have fallen when Chriſtianity was introduced, yet the rights of the Royal Race were, as appears from Beda, ſedulouſly preſerved. This plurality of wives was merely an indulgence of the great, and did not extend to the people.

Arioviſtus, according to Cæſar[u], had two wives. Saxo repreſents Hamlet (king of Jutland, and not of Denmark, as he ſays) as having ſeveral[v]. Harald Harfagre had ſo many that, when he married Ragnhildis, he put away nine[w]. Tacitus[x] obſerves that the nobles, among the Germans,

[s] Βασιλευονται δε υπο των απο γενους. Lib. XV.

[t] Curtius, lib. III, 'Exiguo intervallo quos Cognatos Regis appellant, Decem et Quinque Millia Hominum' Vide etiam Juſtin. lib. X. Diodor. Sic. lib. XVII. Arrian. lib. III. But it appears to have been laterly granted as a title of honour. Eſdras III. c. 3. 4. Joſeph. XI. 4. Arrian. VI.

[u] De Bell. Gall. I. 59. [v] Saxo IV. p. 59.

[w] Snorro, Harfagre's Saga, c. 21.

[x] Singulis uxoribus contenti ſunt, exceptis admodum paucis, qui, non libidine, ſed ob nobilitatem, plurimis nuptiis ambiuntur. Germ. c. 18.

were

were diſtinguiſhed by having many wives. Juſtin and others ſay that before Cecrops marriage was unknown in Greece. Herodotus diſcribes the Maſſagetæ, as Cæſar does the Britons. So late as the year 770 Charlemagne, tho already married, wedded Deſiderata. Gregory of Tours obſerves, that kings Gontram, Caribert, Sigebert, Chilperic, had ſeveral wives. Herodotus ſays, that the Agathyrſi had wives in common. Walſingham, in his Ypodigma Neuſtriæ, tells us that the Danes had many wives; and uſed to turn out their ſons to ſhift for themſelves.

The above mode of elective ſucceſſion muſt appear very ſingular to modern ideas. Yet in ſome ancient kingdoms, it is believed, ſimilar inſtitutes may be found. Monteſquieu [y] tells us from Du Halde, that it was regulated in ſome of the Chineſe dynaſties, that the brothers of the emperor might ſucceed; but that his ſons ſhould never ſucceed. This was to prevent the danger of minorities. According to the cuſtoms of Numidia, Delſacius, brother of Gela, ſucceeded to the kingdom; and not Maſiniſſa his ſon. And, at this day, among the Arabians in Barbary, where every village has it's chief, according to that ancient cuſtom, the uncle, or ſome other relation, is CHOSEN, but never the ſon. There are, ſays Monteſquieu, ſtates where the princely maintenance of the king's ſons would be impoſſible to the people; and it may there be ordered that the ſons of the king ſhall not ſucceed him, but thoſe of his ſiſter. There are alſo nations, adds he, where reaſons of ſtate, or ſome maxim of religion, demand that a certain family ſhould always reign. Such is in India the jealouſy of it's blood, and the fear of a defect in it's ſucceſſion, that, to have always princes of the blood royal, the ſons of the king's eldeſt ſiſter are preferred. Some tribes of

[y] Eſprit des Loix, XXVI. 6.

North American ſavages alſo follow this plan; and give for reaſon, that *the female is the ſureſt ſide.*

Let me add a few more inſtances of this practice. Polybius, lib. XII. tells us that the Locrians eſtimated nobility, not by the male, but by the female line. Nicolaus Damaſcenus[z] ſays, that among the Lycians the daughters and not the ſons inherited[a]. A late author[b] obſerves that, among the Natches on Miſſiſippi, who believe their royal race children of the ſun, the ſiſter's ſon always ſucceeds: and that in Fouli, a negro kingdom of Africa, the female line always inherit the crown, there being no ſecurity in the male line, as the women are prone to gallantry. Voltaire[c] remarks that in Cochin the king's ſon is not heir, but the ſiſter's ſon; a practice alſo found in Guinea.

That the Pikiſh kingdom was ELECTIVE is clear from the above deciſive paſſage of Beda, who was cotemporary with it, and lived on it's borders. That this was the plan of the other Gothic kingdoms is alſo well known. Tacitus ſays of the Germans, that they choſe their kings from the nobility of their race[d]: and the higheſt race, that of royal progeny, muſt have been the moſt noble. M. Mallet informs us, that, in ancient Denmark and Sweden, the very ſame cuſtom prevailed; the kingdom was elective, but the people always choſe one of the royal blood, which they revered as ſprung from the gods. But about the year 900, we find the kings of Denmark, by a gradual increaſe of power, had influence enough to paſs the

[z] In excerpt. Vales. p. 516.

[a] Sueno obſerves, p. 73, that among the old Danes daughters and ſons were equal heirs; but he gives a fabulous origin of the cuſtom.

[b] Lord Kames, in his Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man.

[c] Eſſai ſur l' Hiſt. Univ.

[d] Reges ex nobilitate, duces ex virtute, ſumunt. Tacit. Germ.

kingdom to their own ſons; for Gormo the Old then ſucceeded his father Horda-Cnut; as Harald Blatang ſucceeded his father Gormo: and this mode generally happened afterward. In Sweden alſo hereditary ſucceſſion ſeems to have been as early allowed. Yet theſe kingdoms continued elective to laſt century, as is well known. The Runic characters were, it is thought, unknown in the Northern kingdoms till Chriſtianity appeared there; and at any rate all allow that they were only uſed in inſcriptions till that event; ſo that we have not one written monument of any kind till the eleventh century. Hence their hiſtory being confined to the ſong of the bard, and the old ſongs being conſtantly ſupplanted by new ones, the authors of which often accommodated old times to their own ideas, we know nothing certain concerning the old mode of elective ſucceſſion to the throne. The names of the kings are preſerved; but that they were ſometimes ſons of their prædeceſſors we have no authority, except that of ignorant bards, who knew no manners, ſave thoſe of their own times. Saxo's work, which is built on the ſongs of the bards, is now juſtly regarded as quite fabulous down to the Tenth century, when the real hiſtory of Denmark begins, as Mallet has juſtly obſerved.

The power of the Gothic ſovereigns depended wholly on the will of the people in every clime. In Thrace, as in Pikland, we have examples of kings depoſed [e]: and in Scandinavia, tho the king was alſo chief prieſt, it was not uncommon that he ſhould be ſacrificed to the gods, as an atonement for the people [f]. Even ſo late as the time of Canute the Great, kings were ſubject to public penance, if they offended; and that not impoſed by ambitious prieſts, but eſtabliſhed by equal

[e] See the example of Scyles, Herodot. IV.

[f] Loccen. Antiq. Sueo Goth. p. 15. and Snorro, paſſim.

laws.

laws [g]. Schoening juſtly obſerves that the government, among the ancient Scandinavians, was at firſt Monarchico-democratic; but degenerated into Monarchico-ariſtocratic [h]. The Scandinavian hiſtory abounds with examples of kings dethroned; and the Swedes at a late period told king Olaf Skotkonung, in the national council, that their anceſtors in the council of Mul had ordered five tyrannic kings to be thrown into a well; and that they were ready to follow the precedent, if he gave occaſion [i]. Rembert, in the life of St. Amſgar, one of the oldeſt pieces of Scandinavian hiſtory, ſays that, among the Swedes, every public buſineſs depended upon the voice of the people, more than on the power of the king. In the aſſemblies the meaneſt peaſant either ſat, or was repreſented; and the king followed their inſtructions. Among the northern Germans, the Lugii, Suiones, Sitones, the kings had indeed more power, than among the ſouthern, as we learn from Tacitus: a circumſtance apparently owing to the wealth of individuals, and conſequent ariſtocracy in the ſouthern ſtates, which circumſcribed the regal power with perpetual rivalſhip; while in the northern the king had no rivals in wealth, or power, but, if a good monarch, was abſolute in the united affection of his ſubjects; while, if bad, his power was annulled by univerſal hatred and contempt.

In Pikland, it is clear from the Chronicles, that there muſt have been a law, as in other countries above-mentioned, that the ſon ſhould never ſucceed the father in the kingdom. We find brothers choſen to ſucceed brothers; but never ſons to ſucceed fathers. A grand reaſon for this was, the ſuperior eſtimation of the female line;

[g] Kanuti Magni, Daniæ et Angliæ Regis, Leges Caſtrenſes cap. X. apud Suenon. Stephanii, Soræ, 1642, 8vo.

[h] Orat. Soræ, 1756, 4to. [i] Ibid.

for

for uterine brothers were of all heirs the ſureſt, as both ſprang of one mother. Any other heir in the female line was more diſtant from the fountain of royal blood. Another reaſon was, that, for a ſon to ſucceed his father, would have been an uſurpation of the rights of the other families of the Royal Race, who were all intitled to their turn of ſovereignty, when next it by merit and by the female line. And another reaſon was, that the Piks living in conſtant war, and invaſion of the Britons, they required to have always a ſovereign leader of mature prudence, as well as valour; whereas, in almoſt every caſe, the ſon of a deceaſt king would be young and inexperienced.

Fordun [k] has, with the conſummate ignorance to be expected in a monk of the end of the fourteenth century, aſſerted, that the mode of *ſucceſſion* among the old Scots and Piks was ſimilar; namely, as he ſtates, that if the ſon of the deceaſt king was young, his uncle or couſin ſucceeded; and the ſon came in on the death of ſuch heir. He totally miſtakes the caſe, for *election*, and not ſucceſſion, was uſed in both nations. But the fact is, that the *ſucceſſion*, as he calls it, among the old Scots, was wholly in the male line, as every one, the leaſt verſed in their hiſtory, muſt perceive at once: and tho, as Fordun ſtates,

[k] IV. 1. 'Quoniam et eis [*Scotis*] et Pictis, pleriſque regnorum regibus etiam, et imperii quibuſdam principibus, eadem ſuccedendi lex erat; ut regis ſcilicet cujuſque decedentis frater, aut filius fratris, ſi filio regis ætate fuerat ac habilitate regendi potior, quamvisgradu remotior, ipſum præcederet ad regendum.' But Mr. O'Flaherty and Mr. O'Conor ſhew, that the kings and chiefs of Ireland were elected by the people out of particular races. The difference between them and the Piks lay chiefly in this, that the former preferred the male, the later the female line. When the former was preferred, the election carries appearance of ſucceſſion; for nothing but ſome defect, which might not occur in many ages, could ſet aſide the male heir. So in Denmark and Sweden, tho elective kingdoms, down to laſt century, the ſon almoſt conſtantly ſucceeds the father.

if

if the ſon was too young, his uncle, or couſin, was called to the throne, yet the ſon was never wholly ſet aſide, as with the Piks, but ſucceeded in his turn. Thus when Fergus I. died, 530, Domangard his ſon ſucceeded; whom followed Congal, ſon of Domangard, then Gauran, brother of Congal, then Conal, ſon of Congal, &c. &c. &c. In Ireland this was alſo the exact caſe. And, ſo far was the female line from being preferred, that it was wholly cut out from the regal ſucceſſion; as in other ſucceſſions the law of gavelkind was univerſal, by which the ſons ſhared equally, but the daughters were altogether thrown out [l]. This was a natural conſequence of the contempt which the Celts had for the fair ſex [m], and ſtill have. For being mere ſavages, but one degree above brutes, they remain ſtill in much the ſame ſtate of ſociety as in the days of Julius Cæſar; and he who travels among the Scotiſh highlanders, the old Welch, or Wild Iriſh, may ſee at once the ancient and modern ſtate of women among the Celts, when he beholds theſe ſavages ſtretched at their eaſe in their huts, and their poor women toiling, like beaſts of burden, for their unmanly huſbands.

Very different was the ſtate of women among all the Gothic nations. The Goths, a wiſe, valiant, and generous race, almoſt adored their women; and endeavoured to compenſate the delicate weakneſs, and numerous pains and infirmities of the ſex, by tender attentions and cordial reſpect. Even among the Scythæ, or ear-

[l] Davis, O'Conor, &c.

[m] Ariſtot. Polit. II. 2. The Samoieds are remarkable for the ſame contempt of their women, whom they even regard as impure; and treat their wives with the utmoſt tyranny and brutality. Tooke's Ruſſia, III. 25. They are alſo, like the Celts, remarkable for attention to clans, or breeds, *ibid.* And ſo are the Greenlanders, according to Crantz, who repreſents them as being as full of genealogies, as the Celts of Wales, Ireland, or Scotland.

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lieſt Goths, we find this original fountain of modern galantry. In Herodotus, Idanthyrſus, a king of the Scythæ, anſwers Darius, that he knows of no ſuperiors, ſave Jove, his progenitor, and Hiſtia, the queen of the Scythæ, his own wife[n]. The Veſigoths made daughters equal heirs with the ſons. The Germans, as Tacitus[o] informs us, regarded women even with adoration, and admitted them to ſovereignty equally with the other ſex. The Sitones, anceſtors of the preſent Swedes, were in his time ruled by a woman. Mr. Mallet obſerves[p], 'the northern nations did not ſo much conſider the other ſex, as made for pleaſure, as to be their equals and companions, whoſe eſteem, as valuable as their other favours, could only be obtained by conſtant attentions, by generous ſervices, and by a proper exertion of virtue and courage.' In the early ſtate of ſociety courage was a virtue of as great importance in the fair ſex, as in the men; tho in refined ſociety an extreme delicacy and modeſty are moſt eſteemed, and every thing manly or forward juſtly regarded as blameworthy. Objects of our tender reſpect, they muſt not violate their own modeſt character by any manly office; for, when they deſcend to ſuch, we ſee them become our equals, and drop our adoration; a female ceaſing to be a goddeſs as ſoon as ſhe ſteps from the ſanctuary of timid and retired modeſty. Such was alſo the opinion of the Greeks and Romans, nations of Scythic or Gothic origin, as fully diſplayed in the diſſertation annexed. In their early hiſtory we find the women bold as the men; but in their advanced ſociety, a timid modeſty was all in all. Yet their women were ever free as nature made them; and not ſlaves, as our ſuperficial theoriſts dream. Among the early Goths,

[n] Herodot. IV. 127.
[o] Germania.
[p] Northern Ant. I. 314.

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the women ſhared in the ſuperlative courage of the men. Ancient writers teſtify, that the Scythian women uſed often to proceed to battle, with their huſbands and brothers. Scandinavian tradition preſerves the names of Vegbiorga, Hetha, Viſna, Ladgertha, Hervora, and other warlike ladies[q]. In Britain the name of Boadicea is illuſtrious. She was queen of the Iceni, of the Belgic or Gothic part of Britain.

Dr. Stuart obſerves that, among the Franks, as well as the Anglo-Saxons, the queens ſhared in the government; and, among the former, there is the example of a queen who received a national homage. *Greg. Tur.* lib. IV. Werburgh, queen of king Wightred, aſſiſted at the Wittenagemot, or national council, held at Berghamſted. *Chr. Sax.* p. 48. Malmſbury, *lib.* II. mentions a parliament held by king Edgar, in which he was aſſiſted by his mother Alfgina: and Canute is ſaid, in a national aſſembly, to have acted by the advice of queen Emma, and the biſhops and nobility of England. *Mat. Weſt.* p. 423. When the crown fell to a prince in his minority, the queen-mother had the guardianſhip. Thus Fredegund, of Clotarius II. Brunehild, of Theodebert, and Theoderic; and Balthildis, of Clotarius III. Let me add, that the Sarmatæ[r] were remarkable for devotion

[q] Olaus Magnus. Herwarar Saga, &c. &c.

[r] Nicol. Damaſcen. in Valeſii Excerp. p. 516. Damaſcen. de morib. gent. The Amazons are ſhewn to have been Sarmatæ by M. Freret, *Mem. des Inſcr.* tome xxi. but Herodotus ſays they married Scythæ; and learned the Scythic tongue, tho they ſpoke it ill. Mela I. 21. mentions the *Mæotici γυναικοκρατουμενοι*, or ruled by women. The Lycians were governed by women; *Heraclid. de Polit. Nicol. Damaſc. ubi ſupra.* At Sparta women interfered much in the government. The Hurons, the moſt warlike of the Americans, are ruled by women: *Charlevoix*, Let. 18. It may move the reader's wonder that the moſt warlike nations ſhould have this cuſtom. Perhaps it may ſpring from their men diſdaining all inferiority to each other; tho they find it neceſſary to have a ruler. We

devotion to their women; and it is likely that the Peukini and Baſternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, might partly derive this practice from them, as they were the extreme Goths who bordered on the Sarmatæ.

This reſpectful attention of the Goths to their women muſt be regarded as one great cauſe of the attachment of the Piks, a Gothic people, to the female line. The ſucceſſion however did not run in this line: for, according to Beda, it was only preferred, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, when the matter was in doubt. But this *matter* was not the ſucceſſion, but the election: as is clear from the context, and word, *eligerent*, 'ſhould ELECT,' as above explained. They who dream of hereditary ſucceſſion of ſon to father among the Piks, only ſhew groſs ignorance of the barbarous Gothic governments. The Goths in Italy, France, Spain, nay England, ſoon adopted the refined idea of modern ſucceſſion. But it is in Germany and Scandinavia, and among the Eaſtern and Weſtern *Getæ*, the ancient and rude ſettlements of the Goths, as was alſo Pikland, that we muſt look for the model of the Pikiſh monarchy; and we will find it elective, as ſhewn by Beda, and the Pikiſh Chronicles. They elected the ableſt of the royal race; but when doubt aroſe, from the equal abilities of the candidates, the moſt noble was choſen; and this nobility was calculated by the female line. Some may incline to think that the above words of Beda, *ubi res veniret in dubium*, 'when the matter was in doubt,' are ſuperfluous, and that the ſucceſſion was direct in the female line. But had this been the caſe, a child might have been king by indiſputable right; and Beda is not ſpeaking of a ſucceſſion, but of an election,

We may therefore laugh at Tacitus, who affects to deſpiſe the Sitones, becauſe ruled by a woman. Theſe barbarians would have ſcorned the Romans, the ſlaves of an emperor.

as is palpable from the context: and it is impoſſible, without wreſting the paſſage, to give it any other interpretation than what is here ſhewn.

Before cloſing this conſideration of the reſpect of the Piks for the female line, the following hints, collected by an ingenious writer[1], may be produced. Tacitus tells us that, among the Germans, 'the ſons of ſiſters were equally regarded by the uncle as by the father.' Hence it is, ſays Monteſquieu, that our earlieſt hiſtorians ſpeak in ſuch ſtrong terms of the love of the kings of the Franks for the children of their ſiſters. John de Laet remarks of the Braſilians, that they call their uncles and aunts, *fathers* and *mothers*: and the ſame cuſtom prevails among the North American Indians. Among the Hurons, ſays Charlevoix, with whom the dignity of chief is hereditary, the ſucceſſion is continued thro the women: ſo that, at the death of a prince, it is not his own but his ſiſter's ſon who ſucceeds; and, in default of him, the neareſt relation in the female line. The Ethiopians, ſays Damaſcenus, exhibit the greateſt honour to their ſiſters; and the kings deliver the ſucceſſion not to their own ſons, but thoſe of their ſiſters. Theſe facts ſhew the early importance of the ſex; and confirm the remark of Ariſtotle, that the Celts alone of all nations held their women in contempt. They, at the ſame time, evince that the preference given by the Piks to the female ſucceſſion was not derived from a compact, entered into between them and the Scots, as Beda fables, but was a cuſtom not unknown to other barbaric nations.

§ II. *The manner in which hiſtoric liſts of kings have been preſerved by tradition.* The names of the whole Daniſh, Swediſh, and Norwegian, kings preceding the Eleventh century, have been preſerved by tradition only. This muſt alſo have been

[1] Dr. Stuart, View of Society.

the caſe with the Pikiſh till the Fifth century, when Chriſtianity was received in the ſouth of Pikland; and perhaps later. A ſhort diſquiſition into the method of this tradition may not therefore be unneceſſary.

The ſcalds, or bards of the Scandinavian nations, are well known. Theſe ſcalds were not only the poets, but the hiſtorians and genealogiſts of the time. Having judgment enough to perceive that, in matters of ſucceſſion and genealogy, the plain truth was the only object, they compoſed hiſtoric and genealogic ſongs, devoid of all ornament, and only valuable from their veracity. Containing barely names, and years, a very ſhort ſong commemorated the genealogy, or hiſtory, of many ages. The Chronicle of St Olaf[t] ſays of a ſcald, *Oc taldi han longfedga till Semingh*, 'And he computed the generations up to Seming.' And again, *I tui kvedi ero uptalde XXX langfedga Rognwalls*, 'In this ſong are enumerated the thirty generations of Rognwall.' Much about the hiſtoric poets may be found in the firſt volume of the Hiſtory of Norway, by Torfæus, which for the ſake of brevity ſhall not be here repeated. Snorro Sturleſon tells us, in his preface, that Thiodolf, ſcald of Harald Harfagre, king of Norway in the Tenth century, wrote hiſtoric ſongs to a petty monarch, Rognvald, in which the names, actions, and ſepulchres, of thirty of his anceſtors were declared. And that Eyvind, in his ſongs to Earl Haquin, gave a ſeries of his anceſtors. Snorro chiefly follows Thiodolf; and ſays, "Therefore we, in compoſing our hiſtory, generally follow the thread of thoſe things which are commemorated in theſe ſongs; becauſe the poets themſelves uſed to repeat them in preſence of the kings, and of their ſons." The ſcald was one of the king's chief officers, and always of his council; and his great

[t] Apud. Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 90.

employment was to compoſe the lives of kings, and hiſtories of the kingdom. Mr. Mallet has juſtly obſerved that the preſervation of genealogies was one great part of the ſcald's office. This method of compoſing hiſtory in verſe was continued to late times. The moſt ancient work extant in the Swediſh language, is an anonymous metrical chronicle written 1319. And our Winton wrote in the ſame manner about 1420.

But it was from the ſhort hiſtoric ſong, repeated by the King's ſcald at coronations, that the moſt ſolemn and authentic evidence was derived. This ſong conſiſted merely of the names of the king's anteceſſors, woven into barren verſe: and the grandeur of the occaſion, and number of witneſſes, made an high regard to veracity requiſite. The King's ſcald was an envied office; and, had he made any ſlip, many of his brethren would have been happy to expoſe it, in hopes of ſupplanting him by ſuperior ſkill. It may eaſily be conceived that the uncommon mode of determining the nobility of the kings among the Piks, would render the preſervation of genealogies abſolutely neceſſary.

The computation by generations is in fact the very baſis of all barbaric hiſtory. Even the early hiſtory of Greece and Rome depended on them. Sir Iſaac Newton has, in his Chronology, remarked that 'Pherecydes the Athenian, in the reign of Darius Hyſtaſpes, or ſoon after, wrote of the antiquities, and ancient genealogies, of the Athenians, in Ten Books; and was one of the firſt European writers of this kind, and one of the beſt; whence he had the name of *Genealogus*; and by Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus is ſaid to be ſecond to none of the genealogers. Epimenides, not the philoſopher but an hiſtorian, wrote alſo of the ancient genealogies.'

And as in the moſt early ſociety genealogies are carefully preſerved, ſo alſo the ſucceſſion of kings.

For,

For, tho elective kings cannot be given in a genealogic ſeries, yet their names are commemorated with equal eaſe. And the importance of the liſt, and it's ſolemn repetition upon great occaſions, would naturally cauſe it to be preſerved with the moſt ſedulous attention.

§ III. *The Plan upon which the Chronology of our Pikiſh monarchs is to be adjuſted.* This is eaſily done from a noted paſſage of Beda, who informs us that the year of Chriſt, 565, was the Ninth year of the reign of Brudi, ſon of Meilochon. His reign of courſe commenced in the year of Chriſt 557; and to this grand epoch all the other reigns can eaſily be referred, by means of their duration being marked in the catalogues. As for inſtance: Brudi began to reign 557 years before Chriſt; his prædeceſſor Galan reigned two years, and of courſe began 555: and Brudi reigning Thirty years, his ſucceſſor Garnat began to reign in 587: and ſo on. The acceſſion of Kenneth to the Pikiſh throne in 843; the death of Unguſt in 761, the year of Druſt in which St. Patrick went to Ireland, &c. are alſo epochs of the ſame uſe, had Beda lent no aſſiſtance.

By this calculation the year 412, about which time Ninian converted the Southern Piks, as appears alſo from Beda, juſt precedes the reign of Druſt, the Thirty-ſeventh of the Pikiſh kings. Of courſe with his reign commences a new and luminous period, as the Iriſh and Welch churchmen who ſettled in Pikland uſed letters, and tradition is exchanged for hiſtoric authority. Now it is moſt remarkable, and muſt alone of itſelf afford conviction to every free mind of the veracity of our Pikiſh chronicles, that with this very Druſt, under whom the light of Chriſtianity appeared, ceaſes a fabulous circumſtance of theſe chronicles, namely, the immoderate length of many of the reigns. For this Druſt is ſaid to have lived a

hundred years, and fought a hundred battles; which is only a barbaric phraſe for living very long, and fighting a prodigious number of battles: but AFTER him no reign exceeds Thirty years. Whereas BEFORE him many of the reigns are fabulouſly long; owing to the natural uncertainty of tradition, and the wiſh of the ſcalds to increaſe the antiquity of the royalty. Thus Talorc, the immediate predeceſſor of this Druſt, is marked to have reigned 75 years; and Garnat, predeceſſor of Talorc, 60. Nay, five of the others are put at 100 years each. But this fabulous length of the reigns totally vaniſhes when Chriſtianity began.

In like manner the moſt ancient Perſian kings have reigns of 800, or 1000 years [u]. Nay Torfæus [v], in *reforming* the hiſtory of Denmark, is ſo fooliſh as to make Annius Grandævus live 210 and reign 190 years!

This grand and leading circumſtance ſerves to divide the Pikiſh Series into two parts. The FIRST of which contains the kings prior to Druſt, and Chriſtianity: the SECOND, thoſe of the following period.

The FIRST part of the Pikiſh ſeries cannot be admitted to direct hiſtoric faith. For tho the epithets of the kings, and other minute, but important, marks, ſerve to eſtabliſh it's general authenticity; yet, as it ſtands on ſcaldic tradition alone, it would be raſh to give this part as hiſtoric truth. The length of the reigns is palpably fabulous; and hiſtory is ſo averſe from fable, that it dreads the leaſt connexion with it. But this part of the ſeries ſtands on the ſame ſcaldic ground, and is equally authentic with the accounts of Daniſh, Norwegian, or Swediſh monarchs, preceding the Tenth century. Of courſe it deſerves attention; and if not fit for hiſtoric, is at

[u] Richardſon on Eaſt. Lit. [v] Series Reg. Dan. p. 233.

leaſt

leaſt proper for poetical authority. When our hiſtory becomes ſtudied and underſtood, many future poets may uſe theſe old kings with good effect. It will preſently be ſhewn that the Pikiſh kingdom was confined to the Hebud Iles till about the reign of Druſt; if he indeed was not the monarch ſome of whoſe many battles eſtabliſhed his authority over all the Piks. This part of the ſeries therefore contains more properly the kings of the Hebud Iſles, than of the Piks in general: but as the other Piks lived in democracy, as Dio ſhews, and this line of monarchs afterward extended it's power over them, it has alſo a claim to be regarded as belonging to the ſeries of kings of Pikland. As the fabulous length of the reigns renders this part even unfit for the purpoſes of poetry, which loves veriſimilitude, this may be eaſily amended in a veracious and mathematical manner. Sir Iſaac Newton has juſtly obſerved that the number of years aſſigned to the Roman kings from Romulus to Tarquin, the laſt of them is moſt abſurd; and finds, from the ſucceſſion of all ancient and modern monarchies, that no ſeries of princes reign at a medium above Eighteen years each. Hence he takes 125 years from the antiquity of Rome; and ſuppoſes it founded 625 years before Chriſt. Nothing is more juſt than this; and the calculation is as infallible as any in arithmetic, or geometry. But Sir Iſaac calculates from civilized monarchies, as the Roman alſo was, when he allows ſo much as Eighteen years for a medium: and Mr. Richardſon juſtly obſerves, that he aſſigns too great a length to reigns of kings for his rule to be univerſal. For the Caliphs, from the death of Mahomet to the ſack of Bagdat, reign little more than ten years each: and, even in a ſettled and civilized kingdom, the Greek emperors, from Zeno to the taking of Conſtantinople, have only fifteen years each. Sir Iſaac indeed obſerves him-

ſelf that the ſucceſſors of Alexander have but 15½; and eighteen kings of Babylon only 11⅔ years each. The longeſt is that of the kings of Judah, who have 22: but 16 is at any rate the medium, even in poliſhed and ſettled kingdoms; and not 18, as Sir Iſaac makes it. But in barbaric kingdoms the reigns are far more tumultuous and ſhort. From 430 to 778, were no leſs than thirty kings of Ireland in ſucceſſion reigning at a medium but Eleven years each. The heptarchic kings of England have little more; thoſe of Northumbria in particular almoſt the ſame. And among the Piks, a yet more ferocious people, it is evident, from the part of the ſeries after Druſt, that the kings hardly reigned Eleven years each at a medium. There being alſo no reaſon to ſuppoſe that the early Pikiſh kings reigned longer than the others, it is matter of plain arithmetical calculation, to reduce the fabulous length of theſe reigns to veriſimilitude. For if the laſt Forty kings fill 429 years, the firſt Thirty-ſix muſt fill 386. Theſe 386 years, calculated back from 414, the beginning of Druſt's reign, fix the reign of Cruthen, and commencement of the Pikiſh monarchy, to the Twenty-eighth year after Chriſt's birth. And, as the years of theſe firſt Thirty-ſix kings, as they ſtand, amount to no leſs than 1548, of which 386, the juſt ſpace, is almoſt exactly a quarter, if we put down the reign of each king at one quarter of it's pretended duration, we ſhall attain every degree of veriſimilitude neceſſary for poetry, or perhaps attainable in ſuch kind of hiſtory. This plan is accordingly followed in digeſting the FIRST part of this ſeries.

The SECOND part requires no aſſiſtance; being quite uniform, complete, and hiſtoric. The years of the reigns are taken ONLY from the invaluable Pikiſh Chronicle, No. V. which alſo agree with the Iriſh Nennius, ſave in one or two

inſtances. Winton gives no years of reigns; but only the names. The years in the two other monuments, Fordun, and the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, are almoſt perpetually erroneous; and contradicting cotemporary Iriſh and Engliſh authors, deſerve no credit whatever. Theſe two chronicles, being alſo mutilated, and perverted, by Scotiſh tranſcribers, only merit attention as collateral proofs of the Pikiſh ſeries. The SOLE error in the number of years given by the Pikiſh Chronicle, No. V. belongs to Kiniod, ſon of Luthrin; who, in the publication by Innes in his Appendix, has but xi years, while the Iriſh Nennius gives him xix. Innes alſo gives him 19 in his Series of Pikiſh kings, Vol. I. p. 134, without even hinting that the Chronicle bore xi; tho he be moſt exact in all the others: which leads to a concluſion that xi. is a mere error of the preſs in Innes's Appendix, the laſt x of xix being omitted. That xix is the juſt number is undoubted from the whole chronicle, and it's collateral proofs; but whether the x. be omitted by Innes's printer, by a tranſcriber, or in the original MS. it muſt equally be a bare omiſſion, and a moſt pardonable one. For numbers, as all know, are very apt to be corrupted in old MSS. and that in ſo many numbers but one little x ſhould ſlip out, is rather a miracle of accuracy, than matter of blame.

In ſpelling[w] the names i have compared the Five catalogues, and taken that which ſeemed moſt uniform, and proper, ſparing no pains to render the ſpelling, i have followed, the moſt neat, and fit, ſo that it might ever remain, and be generally followed, as it is humbly hoped it will be approved. Theſe names being abſolute Gothic, the genius of that language has been fol-

[w] The names of Engliſh heptarchic kings are as variouſly ſpelled as the Pikiſh, hardly two old authors agreeing in orthography of names.

lowed: but the various old ſpellings carefully given, with the following initials for the ſake of brevity, A. is the Pikiſh Chronicle, No. V; B. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's; C. Winton; D. Fordun; E. The Iriſh Nennius; of which the part publiſhed by Lynch only begins with Brudi 557.

CHAP.

CHAPTER VIII.

Catalogue of the Pikiſh kings.

THE Piks, proceeding from Scandinavia about 300 years before Chriſt, as above ſhewn, would, in their voyage toward North Britain, firſt arrive at the Orkneys, a barren and deſert tract, which they would deſpiſe. That theſe iles were uninhabited about the year 240 after Chriſt, is mentioned by Solinus. And it ſeems that the Piks left no ſettlement there; but proceeded along the northern coaſt of Scotland; which finding bleak, mountainous, and forbidding, and probably at that time a continued foreſt of black pines, echoing to the northern breeze, they coaſted along till they diſcovered the green vales of Ireland. Theſe tempted their approach; but perceiving that fine iland too large and populous for their armament, and the people prepared to withſtand them, they ſtood over for the Hebud Iles, which from their comparative ſmallneſs gave room to hope for better ſucceſs. Here they accordingly effected a ſettlement, that was in the courſe of a century or two to ſpread all over North Britain; the Cumri being driven before their arms, firſt from the Hebud iles, where names of places ſhew their ancient poſſeſſions: then from the northern and weſtern parts, ſo lyable to attacks from theſe iles; and laſtly from the eaſt and ſouth.

That

That this was the Pikiſh progreſs is clear from Beda and Nennius. The firſt of whom mentions their going firſt to Ireland, whence they ſtood over to the oppoſite tracts of Britain. Nennius ſays they firſt ſeized on the Orkneys; but Solinus ſhews that, if they did ſo, they ſoon abandoned them; and Nennius himſelf adds, that it was not from the Orkneys, but the neighbouring iles, *ex inſulis affinitimis*, that they invaded and ſubdued the north of Britain. Theſe neighbouring iles could only be the Hebud Iles; and Beda's relation of their paſſing from Ireland over to Britain fully confirms this. The uſual tract of the Norwegians afterward was quite ſimilar. They paſſed the Orkneys, and north of Scotland; and proceeded to Ireland, or the weſt of Scotland. The Orkneys were inhabited in the reign of Brudi, 565; for Adomnan mentions a regulus, or prince of the Orkneys, at the Court of Brudi. The Piks had, to all appearance, thought proper to ſeize and poſſeſs them about the fourth century; when the Roman arms confined them on the ſouth: and that the Norwegians, when they ſeized theſe iles in the Ninth century, found them poſſeſſed by the Piks, ſhall be afterward ſhewn. But Solinus mentions them as deſert when he wrote, or about the year 240, while he deſcribes a kingdom in the Hebud Iles. All theſe circumſtances ſo exactly correſpond, that there is no room left to doubt, but that the Hebud Iles were the firſt poſſeſſions of the Piks, and thoſe from whence they ſubdued North Britain.

The Piks, like other colonies, and early ſocieties, would long be ſtrangers to kings. Divided into ſmall communities, as circumſtances ordered, they would only chuſe one leader in times of common danger. But in ſuch ſocieties, as not refined enough for regular and permanent republics, which depend on intricate laws and regulations, the kingly power always creeps in by degrees. And

And it was moſt natural that this power ſhould firſt be known to the firſt ſettlement, where the ſociety would have firſt paſt thro the previous ſtages. Accordingly there is reaſon to believe, that the kingly name and power were known to the Piks of the Hebud Iles, four centuries before they extended over the reſt. This appears from the ſeries of Pikiſh monarchs, which goes back to Twenty-eight years after Chriſt; and from Solinus, who deſcribes the Hebudian monarchy about 240; while it is clear from Tacitus, Dion, and Ammianus, that this monarchy extended not over the other Piks of Caledonia. Tacitus gives no hint of Caledonia's being under one monarch, tho ſo ſingular a circumſtance could not have eſcaped him. Nay, he ſhews that it was not; for he mentions that it's ſtates had formed an alliance for the common defence, and Galgacus was only the moſt noble, and able, of the leaders. Dion mentions that the ſtates of Caledonia were chiefly democratical. Ammianus Marcellinus tells that ſo late as the year of Chriſt 368, the Piks were divided into two nations, the Dicaledones and Vecturiones; ſo that it ſeems reaſonable to infer that theſe two nations had different governments. The former, or Dicaledones, were the Northern Piks, beyond the Grampian hills; who, having intimate and immediate connexion with the Hebud Iles, had, it is likely, before this acknowleged the authority of the ancient Hebudian Royal Race. The Vecturiones were ſtill in all probability under democratic government. If conjecture may for once be allowed, where proof muſt ever be wanting, Druſt who ſucceeded in 414 was the firſt ſovereign of all the Piks. Certain it is, that in 565 we find Brudi king of all the Piks, without any hint of the monarchy being new: while in 368 it ſeems certain that the Piks had no univerſal king; ſo that the fifth century forms the medium. And Druſt is mentioned as ſo great and warlike a prince,

prince, that he ſeems the moſt likely to have accompliſhed this extenſion of power. The Pikiſh Monarchy therefore commenced in the Hebud Iles, about 28 years after Chriſt. The Dicaledones, or Northern Piks, ſeem to have been wearied out with democratic diſſention; and to have acknowleged the ſovereignty of this ancient Royal Race, about 300 years after Chriſt. This acceſſion of power ſeems to have enabled the monarch, after many conflicts, to extend his dominion over the Southern Piks about 430. And as this account alone can reconcile all authorities, it ſeems as true, as it is natural and eaſy.

Solinus, who wrote about the year 240, has given us curious information concerning the Hebudian monarchy. He ſays; 'There are five Hebudes; their inhabitants are ignorant of grain. They live ſolely on fiſh, and milk. One king commands all; for theſe iles are divided from each other, only by narrow channels. The king has nothing of his own; but all his effects belong to all. He is bound to equity by certain laws. And, leſt avarice ſhould turn him from the truth, he learns juſtice from poverty; having nothing of his own, but being nouriſhed by the public. No wife is given to him, but he takes any woman he likes in her turn; whence neither the wiſh nor hope of children is allowed to him. Next are the Orkneys, in number thirty-three, deſert of men, and having no woods. A few reedy plants are found; the reſt is rock, and barren ſand [a].'

[a] Solin. Polyh. c. 25. Inde excipiunt Hebudes inſulæ, quinque numero: quarum incolæ neſciunt fruges, piſcibus tantum et lacte vivunt. Rex unus eſt univerſis: nam quotquot ſunt omnes anguſta interluvie dividuntur. Rex nihil ſuum habet; omnia univerſorum. Ad æquitatem certis legibus ſtringitur: ac, ne avaritia divertat a vero, diſcit paupertate juſtitiam; utpote cui nihil ſit rei familiaris, verum alitur e publico. Nulla illi datur fœmina propria: ſed per viciſſitudines, in quamcunque commotus fuerit, uſurariam ſumit. Unde ei nec votum, nec ſpes conceditur liberorum.

The

The five Hebudes here mentioned are doubtleſs the five Ebudæ of Richard, namely, *Lewis*, *Skey*, *North Viſt*, *South Viſt*, and *Col with Tiray*. Ptolemy alſo calls them Εβουδαι, *Ebudæ*. That this very curious deſcription belongs to the Pikiſh monarchy in the Hebudes, there is little room to doubt. The Old Scots, or Iriſh, had no ſettlement in theſe iles till four or five centuries after this; and in 565 we find Hyona, or Icolmhill, belonged to the Piks, for the Pikiſh king gave it to Columba. If an ile ſo far ſouth, and ſo near Ireland, was then in the Pikiſh poſſeſſion, much more muſt the Ebudæ have been. That the Piks ſeized on the Hebud Iles, at the very firſt, is clear from Beda and Nennius, as above ſtated. The deſcription indeed is quite foreign to the manners of the Welch, or the Iriſh; and can only quadrate with the Pikiſh monarchy. The part concerning the king's want of peculiar children, is moſt ſingular; and quite coincides with the Pikiſh ſucceſſion, in which no ſon of a king ever aſcends the throne.

It may not be improper to give ſome hints concerning the Pikiſh names. Many end in *uſt*; and if the reader peruſes the Diſſertation annexed he will find that the Perſians were the oldeſt Scythæ, or Goths, from whom the reſt ſprung, and it is remarkable that different Perſian names have the ſame cloſe, as *Zerduſt*, the Perſian name of Zoroaſter. Nay *Druſt*, a common Pikiſh name, is alſo Perſian, and implies *Sincerus*, 'Sincere:' according to Hyde, *Religio Vet. Perſ.* p. 383. edit. 1760. where the reader will find many inſtances of Teutonic words in the Perſian, p. 439. *Ke* or *Key*, a Pikiſh king's name, is alſo Perſian; *Key Guſtaſp*, Hyſtaſpes the Illuſtrious. *Ibid.* and Jones's Nadir Schah. Many begin in *Ver*, as the Scandinavian Gothic reads; or *Wer*, as the German and Perſian (for the Perſians have W, which the Turks and Tartars have not, but pronounce it V.).

This

This is alſo Gothic. *Vergobret*, the name of a magiſtrate among the German Gauls, as Cæſar tells, is pure German. *Verg*, or *Vergen*, to render juſtice. *Obret*, or *Obreſt*, firſt, or chief. Pelloutier. Junii Batavia, p. 669. *Wer*, a man, Franc. & Anglo-Belg. whence *Weregild*, ſatisfaction for killing a man. Vercingetorix, a German Gaul, in Cæſar. Veremund, a Gothic king of Spain. Vermund, of Denmark. *Brudi* may be from *brudeln*, Old Germ. *æſtuare*, to rage; Wachter. In Scandinavia the name was ſometimes ſpelt *Prudi*, and ſometimes *Brudi*, Worm. Mon. Dan. where p. 198, *Brudu* is the genitive. Scandinavian names in *i* are common, Frothi, Helghi, Frokni, Uffi, &c. *Sueno* Hiſt. Dan. Vali Sterki, *Iſlands Landnama*, p. 71. *Bili* is ſometimes ſpelt *Vile*, as Edda fab. 3. ſometimes *Bele*, as a king's name in Diſſert. de Ant. Sueciæ (De Vikingis). In Scandinavian, are alſo *Tungu* (or *Tenegus*). Torf. Norv. *Hængus* ib. and *Ungu*, a Daniſh king, Langebek I. 15. (Unguſt.). *Galgacus* is apparently from *Galagian*, collocare, ponere, or *Galiſan*, colligere, congregare, Lye Dict. Gothico Sax. both alluding to generalſhip. *Uven*, or *Owen*, one of the laſt Pikiſh kings, is alſo Gothic. *Owen* a Swediſh name, Stiernhelm. Anti-Cluver. p. 44. *Owen*, inimicus, Rudbeck. Atl. Vol. I. *Owen Giedde*, Daniſh, Pontopp. Geſta Dan. Vol. I. Old Pikiſh names are alſo found in Scotland at a late æra. Fordun mentions a *Cruthe*, or Cruthen, *de Angus: Gartnach Comes*, or Earl Garnat, is witneſs to a charter of Alex. I. Spottiſwood Monaſt. Scot. MS. Vol. I.

Add from the dictionaries of Wachter, Ihre, Lye, the following hints. *Kineoch*, or *Kenneth*, may be from *Kene*, *acer*, and *od*, *præſtans*. W. *Garnat* from *Gare*, Old Engliſh *Yare*, *promptus*. L. or *Gard*, *regnum*: I. *Alpin* from *Alp*, dæmon: the Scandinavian is *Alfwin: Olafi cum Alfvinio vel Alpino athleta duellum*: Gunlaug's Saga, p. 92. *Cruthen* from *Cruth*, a croud. *Tharan* from *Thor*, *fortis*.

fortis. Domel, or *Domnel*, or *Donel*, from *Doma*, *judicare. Bliki* from *Blia*, *intentis oculis aſpicere. Uſcombuts* from *Uſkott*, *ſelectus. Brudi* from *Brod*, pronounce *Bruid*, *cuſpis*, *aculeus. Unguſt* from *Ung*, juvenis; *gunſt*, *gratia*, *favor*. Some ending in *buſt*, from *buſa*, *cum impetu ferri*, *irruere. Talorc* from *Tall*, *pinus*. In Gothic, as in Latin, C is always pronounced K, whatever vowel follows; and the E at the end is always ſounded, as in all languages but the Engliſh, which, like the Attic, is fond of abbreviation: thus Brude is ſounded Brudé; except only where many conſonants meet, when the final *e* is ſometimes ſounded *euphoniæ cauſa*, before the laſt conſonant, as *Cruthne*, *Cruthen*; *hafne*, *hafen*, &c. To aſſiſt the pronunciation K is generally uſed for C, as it is in the Scandinavian: and *i* for *e* at the end, according to the ſame idiom.

Let us now proceed to the Catalogue of Pikiſh monarchs digeſted in chronological ſucceſſion.

Part I. POETICAL. *From the foundation of the monarchy, about the year of Chriſt* 28, *till the reign of Druſt the Great*, 414.

1. CRUTHEN ſon of Kinni, A. C. 28. (*Cruidne fil. Cinge*, A. *Crutheus fil. Kinne*, B. *Cruthne*, C. *Cruythne*, *D.* the *n* and *ne* in Gothic are, after a conſonant, pronounced *en* as *rafn*, *rafen*, &c. ſo in Engliſh *le*; *able*, *abel*, &c.) firſt king of the Piks, reigned 25 years. From him the Iriſh, who delighted in patronymics, called the Piks Cruitnich. So the Romans call the Parthians Arſacidæ from Arſaces. Kinni if redd as in the Pikiſh Chronicle Cinge (pronounce Kinghé) aſſimulates with Cinge-torix a Belgic, or German name in Cæſar, lib. V.

2. KIRCU, A. C. 53. This king, and the thirteen following, are only found in the Pikiſh Chronicle, No. V. the others being caſtrated by Scotiſh tranſcribers, in order to reduce the period

period of the Pikiſh monarchy, as before mentioned. Kircu, and his ſix ſucceſſors, are called SONS of Cruthen in the Pikiſh Chronicle, becauſe they were his immediate deſcendants. He reigned 15 years.

3. FIDAICH, A. C. 68, reigned 10 years.

4. FORTREIM, A. C. 78, reigned 18 years.

5. FLOCLAID, A. C. 96, reigned 8 years.

6. GOT, A. C. 104, reigned 3 years. *Guta*, a man's name, Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 264. *Guth, bethum*: Lye. *Got*, good.

7. KE, A. C. 107, reigned 3 years. Theſe ſhort names are peculiarly ancient Gothic. *Ve* was the name of a brother of Odin. Edda. Fab. 3.

8. FIVAID, A. C. 110, reigned 6 years.

9. GEDEOL, *Gudach*, A. C. 116, reigned 20 years. *Gudach* is *godlike* from the Gothic *Guda, Dii*, the gods. See Lye Dict. Sax. Goth.

10. DENBACAN, A. C. 136, reigned 25 years [b].

11. OLFINECTA, A. C. 161, reigned 15 years.

12. GUIDID, *Gaed-brecah*, A. C. 176, reigned 12 years. *Gaed* is *ſocius*; *brækan, frangere*; Lye. *Brækka, frangere*; Ihre: whence the epithet means either a breaker of friendſhips, or of conſpiracies.

13. GESTGURTICH, A. C. 188, reigned 10 years.

14. WURGEST, A. C. 198, reigned 10 years. *Nornageſt*, a man's name in Thorlac. Spec. Ant. Bor. *Gaſt* or *Geſt*, *Sapiens*, Junii Bat. p. 182.

15. BRUDI I. *Bout*, A. C. 208, reigned 12 years. This is the firſt of the Brudis, variouſly ſpelled *Brudeus, Bridius*, &c. but Brudi is the real Gothic name, as appears from a Runic monument given by Wormius, Mon. Dan. p. 198. *Bout* is *the*

[b] If we believe Iriſh hiſtory, the Pikiſh king about 137 aſſiſted Tuathal Techtmur to recover his throne, which was uſurped by Elim. Wynne's Hiſt. of Irel. p. 62. Vol. I.

wcandel,

wounded, (*Bott, ictus,* Wachter.) Under this king the Pikiſh Chronicle tells us that his deſcendants ruled in Ireland for the ſpace of a hundred and fifty years. It mentions *thirty,* but gives the names of only *twenty-eight* in a moſt ſingular manner, the name of every ſecond prince being barely that of his predeceſſor, with UR prefixed; thus, *Pant, Urpant; Mund, Urmund;* &c. If the author was a forger, he was certainly the moſt fooliſh that ever tried the trade; for this muſt, at firſt glance, appear to every eye an impoſſible abſurdity. But the fact is, that this very part offers a very ſimple, but moſt ſtrong, proof of the veracity of this Chronicle. *Ur,* in the Perſian, Old Scythian, Gothic [c], implies *Illuſtrious, Chief,* &c. and was an epithet naturally given to kings. Our ignorant tranſcriber finding this epithet formally repeated to each name, by ſome ſolemnity uſed in the coronation ſong, or from ſome ſingular reſpect paid to this ſucceſſion of kings, as poſſeſſors of a daring conqueſt in the midſt of foes, was miſled by it. Thus ſuppoſe an old liſt of theſe kings thus written: *Pant v. Urpant; Leo v. Urleo; Gant v. Urgant,* &c. &c. that is, *Pant vocatus Urpant, Leo vocatus Urleo,* &c. Pant called Urpant, or Pant called the Illuſtrious Pant; Leo called the Illuſtrious Leo; Gant the Illuſtrious Gant, &c. a liſt, from ſome ſpecial reſpect or ſolemnity, ſo ordered, might eaſily miſlead an ignorant tranſcriber, who did not known that the *Ur* was only an epithet ſolemnly repeated with the name of each king. This idea

[c] *Ur:* Gothi, Franci, et Alemanni, habent *Ur;* Saxones *Or,* ſignificatus ſuos accepit partim ab *ar,* principium, &c. . . . . *Ur,* Adverb. ordinis, ſignificans principatum in exiſtendo et ſperando: inde *Urweſen, eſſentia primitiva; Urbild, archetypus,* &c. *Ar, Or, Ur* principium, Græcis αρχη, Latin. *origo.* Wachter Gloſſ.—*Or, Ord,* Cimb. *Ar,* et *Ard,* initium, principium, origo, auctor. Lye Dict. Chaucer has twice *ord and end,* for beginning and end. But ſee Richardſon, &c. as to the Perſian.

is confirmed by the number of kings, which amounting to twenty-eight, by this miſtaken reckoning, could not have reigned leſs than ten years each, at a medium, or 280 years; whereas the Fourteen, to which we reduce them, would, at the uſual rate of the Pikiſh reigns, of about 11 years each, juſt fill 154 years, as 150 is the round number given in the Chronicle. That the Piks had a ſettlement in the north of Ireland, is clear from Adomnan, Jocelin, Uſher, O'Conor, &c. and the following Fourteen kings, mentioned in this Chronicle, muſt have reigned there.

1. *Pant.*	8. *Fec.*
2. *Leo.*	9. *Ru.*
3. *Gant.*	10. *Gart.*
4. *Guith.*	11. *Kinit.*
5. *Fekir.*	12. *Inp.*
6. *Cal.*	13. *Grid.*
7. *Cuit.*	14. *Mund.*

As they all deſcended from Brudi, they all bore his name, as the Arſacidæ of Perſia, &c. &c. with the adjunct of *Ur*, or Illuſtrious: thus *Brudi Ur Pant*, *Brudi Ur Leo*, *Brudi Ur Gant*, &c. and ſo the Chronicle calls them, tho miſled by the *Ur*, as above ſtated. This Pikiſh monarchy in Ireland, tho it continued only 150 years, under the houſe of Brudi, yet laſted, under other kings, even till the conqueſt of Ireland by the Danes in the Ninth century; as appears from Tighernac, the Annals of Ulſter, &c. Adomnan mentions a king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, called *Echuvſlaid*, and mentions his flying in his chariot, from the battle of Ondemone in Ireland, fought about 570. Mr. O'Conor, in the map of Ireland prefixed to his Diſſertations, places the Cruitnidi, or Piks, in the north of that iland, and gives another ſettlement of them in Galway. He alſo tells us that he finds, from the old book of Glendalogh, that there were ſome tribes of Cruitnidi in Ulſter, and in Conaught. It is almoſt unneceſ-

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ſary to add that this Pikiſh kingdom in Ireland muſt have been ſmall; and the ſize of this kingdom may be gueſſed from this, that Ireland was in theſe early times divided into no leſs than Twenty-one ſuch kingdoms. But of this kingdom in next chapter.

After Brudi I. the chief Scotiſh caſtration ceaſes; and moſt of the following kings are found in all the Chronicles. No doubt the nominal Scots, who knew the Iriſh origin of the real Scots, as well as we do the paſſage of the Engliſh to New England in America, could not bear that the Piks, their nominal enemies, but their real fathers, ſhould boaſt of any conqueſt in Ireland; ſo the extenſion of the caſtration to Brudi I. was matter of courſe.

16. GILGIDI, A. C. 220, reigned 25 years. (*Gilgidi*, A. *Gedé*, B. *Gedé*, C. *Ghedé*, D.)

17. THARAN I. A. C. 245, reigned 25 years. (*Tharan*, A. B. D. *Caran*, C. The names in Winton [C.] are the moſt corrupt of all; the old 𝔗, T, he often reads 𝔊, G, or 𝔠, C, thus Galarg for Talarg, &c.)

18. MORLEO, A. C. 270, reigned 3 years. (*Morleo*, A. reſt wanting.)

19. DEOKIL, *Lunon*, A. C. 273, reigned 10 years. (*Deocilunon*, A. *Duchil*, B. C. D.) This abridgement of the name ſhews *Lunon* to be an epithet. *Lun*, *egenus*, poor. Lye. *Lunnon*, *incertæ ſignificationis vox*, *ap. Cædmon*, 73. 10.

20. KIMOIOD, ſon of Arcois, A. C. 283, reigned 2 years. (*Cimoiod filius Arcois*, A. wanting in the reſt. Fordun has in his place Dinorthetiſy.)

21. DEOORD, A. C. 285, reigned 12 years. (*Deoörd*, A. *Duordechel*, B. *Duordechal*, D. *Wergetel*, C.)

22. BLIKI, *Blitirth*, A. C. 297, reigned 1 year. (*Bliciblitirth*, A. reſt wanting.) The epithet ſeems *Blitheheort*, glad. Lye.

23. DECTOTERIC, A. C. 298, reigned 10 years. (*Dectoteric frater Diu*, A. *Decotheth*, B. *Decothat*, C. *Decokhath*, D.) This name, like the reſt, is quite Gothic, as Theoderic, &c.

24. USCONBUTS, A. C. 308, reigned 7 years. (*Uſconbuts*, A. the others, omitting the firſt ſyllable, have *Combuſt*.)

25. CARVORST, A. C. 315, reigned 10 years. (*Carvorſt*, A. the reſt ſwell the name to *Caranathracht*, B. *Caranacait*, C. *Caranathreth*, D.)

26. DEQAR, *Tavois*, A. C. 325, reigned 5 years. (*Decartavois*, A. reſt wanting.) The epithet may be from *Tawian*, *colere terram* (Lye), becauſe he firſt perhaps introduced agriculture.

27. VISI, A. C. 330, reigned 12 years. (*Viſi*, A. reſt wanting.) There are two of the Hebrid Iles, called North *Viſi*, and South *Viſi*.

28. RU, A. C. 342, reigned 25 years. (*Ru*, A. reſt wanting.) This name, like all the reſt, is Gothic: *Roe* is the ſeventh king of Denmark. *Runic*, a Scandinavian, firſt king of Ruſſia.

29. GARNAT I. *Boc*, A. C. 367, reigned 1 year. (*Gartnoithboc*, A. *Gernath Bolg*, B. *Garnaird Bolg*, C. *Garnath Bolger*, D.) If *Boc* be the epithet, it is *Boc*, *Cervus*, Wachter: *Bock*, *Caper*, Ihre. The Stag, The Buck, from his ſwiftneſs. If *Bolg*, or *Bolger*, it means, The Angry: *Bolgenmod*, *iracundus*. Lye. The Piktiſh Chronicle obſerves, *a quo Garnait*, 'from whom the name of Garnat.' And we accordingly find ſeveral other kings of this name.

30. VERE, A. C. 368, reigned 2 years. (*Vere*, A. reſt wanting.)

31. BRETH, A. C. 370, reigned 2 years. (*Breth*, A. reſt wanting.)

32. VIPOIG, *namet*, A. C. 372, reigned 7 years. (*Vipoignamet*, A. *Unpopnenmet*, B. *Wypopnet*, C. *Wypopneth*, D.) *Nam* is *captus*, The priſoner: but *namet* may be derived from *nam*, a name,

See

See Lye and Wachter: and may imply famous, renowned.

33. CANOT, *Ulac-hama*, A. C. 379, reigned 1 year. (*Canatulchama*, A. *Canatulmel*, B. *Enaleul-mel*, C. *Canatulmel*. D.) This name alone would sufficiently mark the whole series Gothic. Who knows not the Canut's of Denmark? *Ula-hama*, Hairy-skin, or Hairy-mantle; a simple antique epithet like the others, and like *Bla-tang*, Blue-tooth, and others of Danish, and Swedish, and Norwegian kings. *Ulah*, *Villus*, *floccus*, Lye. *Ulobtis*, *villosus*. *Hama*, *tutis*, *tegmen*. Id. *Ul*, *lana*. Hare.

34. WRADECH, *Vechta*, A. C. 380, reigned 1 year. (*Wradech vechla*, A. *Frachna Albus*, B. *Fathna*, C. *Frachna Albus*, D.) Thus we learn that the epithet implies *Albus*, The White; as *Vechta* is near enough to our word, *White*, to shew it's being Gothic.

35. GARNAT II. *di Uber*, A. C. 381, reigned 15 years. (*Garnaich di uber*, A. *Garnat Dives*, B. *Garnard Dives*, D.) Thus *di Uber* is interpreted The Rich; and accordingly *di* is Gothic, German, for *the*, and *Uber* is *nota abundantiæ*, Wachter.

36. TALORC I. son of Achivir, A. C. 396, reigned 18 years. *Talore*, A. *Talarg*, B. *Thalorger*, D.) The name seems from *Talian*, *dicere*, *Tal*, *firmo*, Lye; The Speaker, The Commander.

Here ends the First Part, which itself has amazing marks of authenticity, and approaches nearer to history than poetry. The correspondence even of the mutilated chronicles is striking; and would, with a Scaliger, or a Petavius, men of the most rigid judgement, have been sufficient to stamp historic faith upon the whole. It must not be forgot that Fordun, tho he omits no less than 21 real kings, has 5 superfluous ones, not in our Chronicle. The Register of St. Andrew's omits 20 real, and gives 2 superfluous. Winton, tho

quite careleſs, ſo as to omit 23 real kings, has yet two ſuperfluous.

Theſe ſupernumerary kings ſeem to have been rebels and uſurpers; and therefore rejected in the genuine Pikiſh Chronicle, which bears the exact number of 70 kings prior to Conſtantin, as mentioned in the old Iriſh Annals, and ſo many collateral and intrinſic marks of authenticity, that it muſt ever be regarded as the ſole ſtandard. Fordun's five ſuperfluous kings are;

1. *Blare Haſſereth*, whom he places next after Vipoig the 32d king, and who may have been an uſurper, or rebel, whoſe power might be acknowleged where the chronicle copied by Fordun was written.

2. *Thalarger Amfrud*, who in Fordun follows the 34th king, Wradech Vechta. A mere miſtake, in tranſcribing from a catalogue in double columns, for this Thalarger fil. Amfrud was the 56th king, whom ſee.

3. *Dongard Netheles*. This king the Regiſter of St. Andrew's alſo has; but ſpelled *Dinornacht Netalic* (*Netelic, beſtiis ſimilis*, Lye.) Winton calls him *Denortenach Neteles*.

4. *Feredach, ſon of Finyel*. This king alſo occurs in the three authors, Fordun, the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, and Winton. The Regiſter calls him *Feodak Finleg*. Winton *Fourdauch Fyngiel*.—Theſe two follow the 34th king alſo; and might be uſurpers.

5. *Hungus, ſon of Fergoſo*. This king is a mere forgery of the prieſts of St. Andrew's, as appears from the Excerpts of the Priory Regiſter [d], and ſupported by Fordun, the notorious father of 45 Scotiſh princes. He was fabricated becauſe a Hungus had founded St. Andrew's about 825; and it's prieſts wanted to paſs Regulus for it's founder in the fourth century, ſo forged this

[d] In Bibl. Harl. It calls him *Hungus fil. Forlon*.

Hungus

Hungus to make things hang together, as Fordun forged a Fergus I. becauſe Fergus ſon of Erc founded the Scotiſh monarchy. He places this Hungus after Garnat the Rich; and tells in different places long dreams about him and Regulus.

End of Part Firſt.

Part II. HISTORICAL. *From the reign of Druſt the Great* 414, *till that of Kenneth,* 843.

The Pikiſh monarchy, anciently confined to the Hebud Iles, was by degrees extended over the northweſt of Pikland, or preſent Scotland; and Druſt, who begins this ſeries, ſeems to have employed ſome of his many battles in ſpeading it over all Pikland. For in the next century we find Beda mentions Brudi II. as king of all the Piks, without any hint that the title was new. The reign of Druſt is remarkable, and illuſtrious, in many reſpects; from Chriſtianity being eſtabliſhed among the Southern Piks in, or juſt before, his time; from the rude praiſe, that he fought a hundred battles; from the frequent incurſions of the Piks, and their ſeizing on Valentia, when the Romans left the iland. Hence the epithet of Great ſeems his due; and is often given with leſs cauſe.

For no leſs than TWENTY-SIX reigns, after this, the whole FOUR Chronicles agree in names, and generally in years. And the Fourteen laſt of theſe Twenty-ſix are alſo ſupported by two other authorities, the liſt in the Iriſh Nennius, and the Annals of Tighernac. A coincidence which, were they different forgeries, as they all differ in other points, would be ſomething infinitely more than miraculous.

37. DRUST the Great, A. C. 414, reigned 38 years. (*Druſt filius Erp,* A. *Druſt fil. Urb,* B.

Druſt fil. Irbii, D. *Druſt*, C.) *Durſta* is the name in Runic inſcriptions. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 277. The Pikiſh Chronicle ſays it was in the xixth year of Druſt's reign, that St. Patrick went to Ireland. Uſher ſhews that it was in 432, that event happened; which forms a fixt epoch for the commencement of this reign. Druſt is ſaid to have fought an hundred battles, that is, a great number; many of them perhaps to eſtabliſh his authority over the Southern Piks; and many, no doubt, againſt the Britons and Romans, the later of whom left the iland. Conn, a king of Ireland, is alſo called of the Hundred Battles. Otulfax, a king of Norway, is ſaid to have fought ninety battles, and thirteen duels, and to have lived 130 years Torfæi Norweg. Vol. I. p. 220[e].

38. TALORC II. A. C. 452, reigned 4 years. (*Talore filius Aniel*, A. *Talarg fil. Amil*, B. *Golarg Mak Amyl*, C. *Thalarger fil. Amyle*, D.) Winton, for the ſake of his verſe, uſes *Mak* for *ſon of*, as the Iriſh: tho he oftener uſes *ſon* at the end, as Brude Bili*ſon*, &c.

39. NETHAN I. *Morbet*, A. C. 456, reigned 25 years. (*Necton Morbet filius Erp*, A. *Nethan Thelcamot*, B. *Nectan Kellemot*, C. *Nectan Thaltamoth*, D.) *Moer, celebris, famoſus: Beta, paſcere; jungere equos currui; incitare, inſtigare:* Ihre. The other epithet may be from *Telning, ſurculus*; and *Kam, apex, vertex*: Id. as being chief branch of his family. The Pikiſh Chronicle tells at ſome length his founding of Abernethy, in the third year of his reign, or 458; and calls him the great king of all the provinces of the Piks. Uſher

[e] During this reign the Jutes came to England; and Geofrey of Monmouth ſays the Piks of Vortigern's guard, called them in! Gale, in his notes to Nennius, thinks Vortigern himſelf a Pik, *Ego ſuſpicor Guortigernum fuiſſe genere Pictum vel Scytham, qui Pictorum ope ad regnum pervenerit.* A wiſe ſuſpicion no doubt! but when will Engliſh hiſtory begin to be treated with the ſame accurate ſeverity as the Greek, or Roman?

ſhews

ſhews that ſome date Bridget's *birth* in 439, others in 450, which would contradict this account. Bridget certainly died about 520[f]; for, ſuch was the ſpirit of the times, that we have more certainty about ſaints, than any thing elſe. She was in extreme old age, when ſhe died. But in no ſhape could this foundation take place in the third year of Nethan's reign; nor could a church be dedicated to Bridget in her life-time. So that this is a mere eccleſiaſtic fable; and it is ſurprizing that Innes ſhould have paſt in ſilence ſo palpable an anachroniſm.

The Regiſter of St. Andrew's dates the foundation of Abernethy in the reign of Nethan II. ſon of Urb, or, as others, nephew of Erb; ſo that he might be miſtaken for the brother of Druſt, ſon of Erp. Fordun ſays Garnat, predeceſſor of Nethan II. founded Abernethy: to which Winton aſſents. As the Regiſter of St. Andrew's is a far better authority than Fordun, it ſeems reaſonable to think that Abernethy was really founded by Nethan II. about the year 600. And that he, being alſo ſon of an Erp, as was Nethan I. an error crept into the Pikiſh Chronicle; or rather an eccleſiaſtic fraud of the religious of Abernethy, in order to enhance their own antiquity. Beda mentions that Naitan, or Nethan III. king of the Piks in 715, deſired architects from the Angles of Northumberland to build a church of ſtone. I confeſs, it ſeems to me that this was the period of the foundation of Abernethy: but perhaps a wooden fabric might have been reared by Nethan II. However Nethan I. is out of the queſtion; and the veracity of our Chronicle is here violated for once, by that grand falſifier of all Chronicles, eccleſiaſtic fraud.

[f] See Uſher Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 459, from Marianus Scotus; the Annals of Ulſter, &c.

40. DRUST

40. DRUST II. *Gurthinmoch*, A. C. 481, reigned 30 years. (*Dreſt Gurthinmoch*, A. *Druſt Gormot*, B. C. *Durſt Gorthnoth*, D.) The epithet ſeems from *Gurten*, *cingere*; *Moge*, *potens*, Wachter; *with the ſtrong girdle.*

41. GALAN I. *Avetelich*, A. C. 511, reigned 12 years. (*Galan Avetelich*, A. *Galam*, B. C. *Galaam*, D.) *Awita*, amens, Ihre: *lich*, ſimilis.

42. DADRUST, A. C. 523, reigned 1 year. (*Dadreſt*, A. wanting; B. C. *Durſt*, D.)

43. DRUST III. ſon of Gyrom, A. C. 524. After reigning one year DRUST IV. ſon of Udroſt, was aſſociated with him in the government; and reigned five years. Then Druſt III. reigned alone five years more. Hence this reign is of 11 years. (*Dreſt filius Gyrom, et Dreſt filius Udroſt.* A. *Druſt fil. Gigurum, et Druſt filius Hydroſſig*, B. *Durſt fil. Gigurum, et Druſt fil. Ochtrede*, D. *Druſt Gygmor, et Druſt Hoderling*, C.)

44. GARNAT III. another ſon of Gyrom, A. C. 535, reigned 7 years. (*Gartnoch fil. Gyrom*, A. *Ganut fil. Gigurum*, B. *Garnat Gygmore*, C. *Garnart fil. Gigurum*, D.)

45. KEALTRAIM, another ſon of Gyrom, A. C. 542, reigned 1 year. (*Cealtraim fil. Gyrom*, A. *Kelturan frater Ganut*, B. *Gelturnam*, C. *Kelturan frater Garnart*, D.)

46. TALORC III. ſon of Muircholaich, A. C. 543, reigned 11 years. (*Talorg fil. Muircholaich*, A. *Golarg fil. Mordeleg*, B. *Golarg Mak Mordeleg*, C. *Thalarger fil. Mordelech*, D.)

47. DRUST V. ſon of Munait, A. C. 554, reigned 1 year. (*Dreſt filius Munait*, A. *Druſt fil. Moneth*, B. *Druſt Mak Moneth*, C. *Durſt fil. Moneth*, D.)

48. GALAN II. A. C. 555, reigned with ALEPH, 1 year; with BRUDI II. 1 year; ſo 2 years. (*Galam cum Aleph et Briduo*, A. *Tagalad*, B. *Gagalad*, C. *Thalagath*, D.)

After this period the Catalogue of Pikiſh kings, which Lynch found in an Iriſh tranſlation of Nennius,

nius, comes in [E]; and the Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulſter, furniſh much intelligence concerning Pikiſh affairs *.

49. BRUDI II. ſon of Meilochon, A. C. 557, reigned 31 years, including the one he reigned with Galan II. (*Brides fil. Mailcom*, A. *Brude fil. Melchon*, B. *Brude Methmeſſor*, C. *Brude fil. Meilochon* D. *Brudeus fil. Melchon*, E. *Brudeus*, Adomnan. *Bridius fil. Meilochon rex potentiſſimus*, Beda. *Bridus*, App. ad Marc. Com. *Bruidi Mac Melcon*, Tigh.) In the Ninth year of his reign, he was converted to Chriſtianity, with moſt of the Northern Piks, by Columba. See Cuminius, Adomnan, Beda, &c.

The Appendix to Marcellinus Comes, written by ſome German, has this paſſage concerning Brudi II. *Anno* 557. *In Britannia Bridus rex Pictorum efficitur. Hildebertus rex Francorum circa hæc tempora moritur.* The Annals of Tighernac ſay that Brudi was born in 504; but put 507, as they are generally three years antedated thro-out §. His death they place at 583, tho really 587. At 579 [582.] they bear *Kenelath rex Pictorum moritur:* and he is the *only* king of the Piks mentioned in theſe Annals, but unknown to our Chronicles. Perhaps he was a local monarch; or, as depoſitions of kings were not uncommon among the Piks, a king depoſed in favour of Brudi, and the ſame with the *Aleph* of our Chronicles: for in Ireland, as future examples evince, the names of our monarchs are ſometimes altered by different pronunciation. The two next kings are not mentioned by Tighernac, or the Ulſter Annaliſt: but they have all the other *Twenty-five* to the end, except *four*, whoſe reigns were very ſhort: and they uniformly confirm the Pikiſh Chronicle in names, and duration of reign.

50. GARNAT IV. ſon of Domelch, A. C. 587, reigned 11 years. (*Gartnaich fil. Domelch*, A. *Gar-*

* See the Extracts, Vol. II. Appendix.

§ The dates are generaly added on the margin by a late hand.

nat

nat fil. Domnach, B. *Garnat Mak Domnah*, C. *Garnard fil. Domnach*, D. *Garnad, fil. Domnach*, E.) To this king Winton and Fordun aſcribe the foundation of Abernethy.

51. NETHAN II. grandſon of Verp, A. C. 598, reigned 20 years. (*Nectu nepos Verp*, A. *Nethan fil. Ub*, B. wanting C. *Nectan fil. Irbe*, D. *Neckan nepos Verp*, E.) To this king the Regiſter of St. Andrew's aſcribes the foundation of Abernethy.

52. KINIOD I. ſon of Luthrin, A. C. 618, reigned 19 years. (*Cineoch fil. Luthrin*, A. *Kinel fil. Luthren*, B. *Kynel Mak Luthren*, C. *Kenel fil. Luchtren*, D. *Kenethus fil. Luthrin*, E. *Cinedh fil. Luthreni*, Tigh.) By an error in the preſs, or tranſcription, the Piktiſh Chronicle, as publiſhed by Innes, gives but xi. years to this prince, inſtead of xix. as the Iriſh Nennius expreſſly bears, the chronology demands.

An unintelligible paſſage of Tighernac bears at 628 [632]. . . . *Buidbe regis Pictorum per filios Aedhain.* At 630 he has, *Bellum Perlacartle, et mors Cinedhon filii Luthreni regis Pictorum.* Kiniod ſeems hence to have fallen in this battle.

53. GARNAT V. ſon of Wid, A. C. 637, reigned 4 years. (*Garnard fil. Wid.* A. In B. he is ſtyled *Nectan ſon of Fottle. Nattan Fodiſſon*, C. *Nectan fil. Fode*, D. *Garnaid filius Vaid*, E. *Gartnaith Mac Oith*, Tigh.) The *Fode* mis-ſpelt *Fottle*, or perhaps *Fothe* in B. is evidently the *Wid* of A. and this king had probably two names, *Garnat Nectan*, as Fordun ſays Druſt I. was alſo called Nectan, *Durſt qui alias vocabatur Nectan.*

Tighernac ſays at the year 634, as marked on the margin, *Eccleſia Rechran fundata eſt. Mors Garnnai Mac Foith. Bellum Hegaiſe in quo cecidit Lactna Mac Nechtain, cum Fotha Cumaſcach Mac Eneaſa, et Gartnaith Mac Oith.* It hence ſeems that Garnat was ſlain at the battle of *Hegaiſe*, probably in an inteſtine war. Tighernac often ſpeaks even of the kings of Ireland merely by name, without any addition of title.

45. BRUDI

54. BRUDI III. another ſon of Wid, A. C. 641, reigned 5 years. (*Bridei filius Wid*, A. *Bruda fil. Fathe*, B. *Brude*, C. *Brude fil. Fachna*, D. *Brudeus filius Vaid*, E. *Bruidi fil. Foith*, Tigh.) 'Mors Bruidi filii Foith.' Tigh. ad ann. 640.

55. TALORC IV. another ſon of Wid, A. C. 646, reigned 12 years. (*Talore frater eorum* [Garnat et Brudi] A. *Telarg fil. Fetobar*, B. i. e. ſon of Fet [Wid] *above* named: *ober*, Germ.—*Golarge*, C. *Thalarger fil. Ferchard*, D. *Tolore frater eorum*, E. *Dolairg Mac Foith*, Tigh.)

Mors Ferith Mac Tuathalan, et Dolairg Mac Foith regis Pictorum. Tigh. ad A. 652.

56. TALORGAN I. ſon of Enfret, A. C. 658, reigned 4 years. (*Talorcon fil. Enfret*, A. *Talargan fil. Amfrude*, B. *Golargan*, C. *Thalargan fil. Amfrud*, D. *Talorcan fil. Enfret*, E. *Dolargain Mac Anfrith*, Tigh.) This monarch, by ſome error of Fordun, occurs twice in the liſt, here, and after the 34th king; a miſtake probably ariſing from his copy being written in double columns, ſo that his name had ſlipt from one column into the other, yet was repeated in its proper place. *Mors Dolargain Mac Anfrith regis Pictorum.* Tigh. ad 656.

57. GARNAT VI. ſon of Donell, A. C. 662, reigned 6½ years. (*Gartnait fil. Donnell*, A. *Garnat fil. Domnal*, B. *Garnat Mac Donald*, C. *Garnard fil. Dompnal*, D. *Garnad fil. Donel*, E. *Gartnaidh fil. Donaldi*, Tigh.

Mors Gartnaidh fil. Donaldi, et Donaldi filii Tuathalani. Tigh. ad 662.

58. DRUST VI. another ſon of Donell, A. C. 669, reigned 7 years. (*Dreſt frater ejus* [Garnat] A. B. *Durſt his brother*, C. *frater ejus Durſt*, D. *Druſe frater ejus*, E. *Droſt fil Domnail*, Tigh[h].

[h] About 665 the Piks invaded Ulſter; but, as would ſeem by the records, they were repulſed with loſs. Wynne's Hiſt. Irel. About 671 the Piks renewed their irruptions, burned a monaſtery; and drove out the poor monks, after which, and other depredations, they retired to their own country. *Ibid.*

Tigh-

Tighernac, at 663, has *Bellum Ludhoſeirn in Fortren*, or 'the war of Ludhoſeirn in Pikland;' for Pikland he often calls FORTREN, from the king's reſidence at Forteviot, or ſome chief town; as the Laws of Howel Dha term the king of England, king of London. At 667 he tells us that the ſons of Garnat ſailed into Ireland, with the people *Sceth*; and that they returned next year. Garnat VI. is probably alluded to. At 671 he puts *Expulſio Droſti de regno*, 'the expulſion of Druſt from his kingdom;' certainly Druſt VI.

59. BRUDI IV. ſon of Bili, A. C. 676, reigned 21 years (*Bredei fil. Bili*, A. *Brude fil. Bile*, B. *Brude Bilis ſon*, C. *Brude fil. Bile*, D. *Brudeus fil. Fili*, E. *Bruide Mac Bile*, Tigh.) This Brudi ſlew Egfrid king of Northumberland in battle, 685. as the addition to Nennius informs.

At 681 Tighernac ſays *Orcades deletæ ſunt a Bruide*, 'the Orkneys ravaged by Brudi.' At 692, *Bruide Mac Bile rex Fortren moritur*, 'Brudi ſon of Bili king of Pikland dies.' He alſo at that year marks the death of Alphin, ſon of Nethan; and the ſlaughter of Ainfrith and Pithnel, ſons of Boeno, apparently Piks.

60. THARAN II. ſon of Entifidich, A. C. 697, reigned 4 years. (*Taran fil. Entifidich*, A. *Taram fil. Amfredech*, B. wanting C. *Gharan fil. Amfedech*, D. *Taran fil. Enfidi*, E. *Taracin*, Tigh.)

At 696 Tighernac puts the expulſion of Tharan II. from his kingdom: but the marker of the years is generally from three to five years wrong.

61. BRUDI V. ſon of Derili, A. C. 701, reigned 11 years. (*Bredei fil. Dereli*, A. *Brude fil. Derili*, B. *Brude Dargardſon*, C. *Brude fil. Decili*, D. *Breitef fil. Derilei*, E. *Brude Mac Derile*, Tigh.)

In the reign of Brudi, ſon of Derili 697, i. e. 702, Tighernac marks a war between the Saxons (Angles of Northumbria) and the Piks, in which fell Brechtra ſon of Bernith. At 705 is put *Brude Mac Derile moritur*, 'Brudi, ſon of Derili, dies.'

He

He founded the churches at Culroſs and in Lochleven as Winton ſays; but others aſcribe this laſt to Brudi VII.

62. NETHAN III. another ſon of Derili, A. C. 712, reigned 15 years. (*Nechton fil. Dereli*, A. *Nectan frater ejus* [Brude] B. *his brother Nactan*, C. *frater ejus Nectane*, D. *Nectanus fil. Derilei*, E. *Naitan*, Beda. *Netan Mac Derile*, Tigh.) To this prince Ceolfrid wrote his famous letter, given by Beda, in 715. Winton ſays he founded Roſmarkin; a circumſtance no where elſe to be found; tho Beda tells us he deſired, and had, architects to build a church, from Ceolfrid.

Tighernac in this reign at 710, i. e. 712, or 713, mentions a ſlaughter of the Piks by the Saxons, *in Campo Manan*, (perhaps in the ile of Maun), where Finguin, ſon of Delaroith, fell. At 712, i. e. 714, or 715, he marks the ſlaughter of Kiniod, ſon of Derili, apparently the king's brother; and of the ſon of Mathgennan. Talorc, ſon of *Druſtan*, was alſo that year put in chains by his *brother* Nethan, the king. He muſt have been half-brother, or brother in law, or brother at arms; for king Nethan's father was Derili. At 715, i. e. 717, he marks the death of Garnat, ſon of Delaroith, apparently brother of Finguin, above mentioned. In 716, i. e. 718, he mentions that the monks of Hyona were expelled beyond Drum Albin, by king Nethan: probably in conſequence of the letter of Ceolfrid concerning Eaſter. At 718, i. e. 720, we find the ſlaughter of Druſtan. In 725, i. e. 727, Nethan *conſtringitur*, 'is bound,' or put in chains, by king Druſt VII. (*a Droſt rege*) his ſucceſſor: and ſame year Talorgan Maphan died.

After this, the Pikiſh Chronicle agrees with the liſt in the Iriſh tranſlation of Nennius, and with Tighernac: but Fordun, and the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, tho agreeing between themſelves, differ widely from the two firſt authorities, thro

five,

five, or, as they bear, *ſix* reigns, which amount to *ſixty* years inſtead of *fifty*, the real ſpace, thus altering the whole chronology, and moſt erroneouſly, as Hoveden, and other extraneous authors, prove. Winton is quite imperfect, but he leans to Fordun and the Regiſter. The reaſon of this brief difference of the Scotiſh tranſcripts from the genuine Pikiſh Chronicle ſeems to be, that the nature of the ſucceſſion to the Pikiſh crown left room for many civil commotions, and the Old Scots of Dalriada being laterly at frequent variance with the Piks, it was their intereſt to ſupport every uſurper. The moſt remarkable variety is in the next reign. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's gives it to Garnard, and ſays he reigned 20 years; but the numbers in that whole liſt are totally corrupt. Fordun gives him 14 years. He ſeems to have been an uſurper ſupported by the Dalriads, and whoſe reign was eſtimated by his life.

63. DRUST VII. and ELPIN I. A. C. 727, reigned together 5 years. (*Dreſt et Alpin*, A. *Dreſtus et Alpinus*, E. *Droſt*, Tigh. *Elpin*, Id. wanting reſt) [i].

In 727, or 729, Tighernac mentions the inteſtine battle of Monacrib fought among the Piks themſelves. Unguſt, after-king, was conqueror; and many on the ſide of Elpin the king (*Elpini regis*) were ſlain. Another bloody battle was fought between them the ſame year, near the caſtle of Crei, where Elpin fled. But Druſt ſtill retained his throne, as appears preſently. Next year, or 730, we learn from the ſame authority that there was a battle between the army

[i] Caradoc of Lhancarvon, at 733, puts the death of an Edwyn king of the Piks. Perhaps the name in MSS. was Elpin. At 750 he marks a battle between the Piks and Britons at Magedawc, in which the Piks were defeated, and Talargan their king ſlain. This king was ſurely a *rex exercitus*, or general: but, from the ſilence of all other writers, the event ſeems fabulous.

of Nethan, commanded by *exactatores*, or officers, and that of Unguſt. Rikeat ſon of Monet, and his ſon, and Fingain ſon of Druſtan, officers on the part of Nethan, fell. The houſe of Unguſt, with Fenach ſon of Fingair, and Muti, were victorious. Who Nethan was, appears not: but there is every reaſon to infer that he was Nethan III. and that he had either eſcaped, or, as more probable, his friends had raiſed this army to deliver him, and replace him on the throne. Same year another battle was fought at Droma Derg Blathug, in Pikland, between Unguſt and king Druſt, where Druſt fell, and Unguſt became king. The Piks thus felt the uſual diſadvantages of elective monarchy.

64. UNGUST I. ſon of Verguſt, A. C. 732, reigned 29 years: the Pikiſh Chronicle, and Iriſh liſt, for the ſake of a round number, ſay 30; an uſual plan in barbaric times, when chronology is inaccurate, and round numbers pleaſe the memory. The Regiſter of St. Andrew's ſays, he reigned 16 years, and after gives him 36. Fordun gives him 14 years: but we know from a Chronicle at the end of Beda; Simeon and Hoveden, that he died in 761. (*Onnuſt fil. Urguſt*, A. *Oenguſa fil. Ferguſa*, B. C. D. *Onuis fil. Urguſt*, E. *Oengus*, Chron. ad fin. Bedæ. *Unnuſt*, Simeon Dunelm; et Hoveden. *Aongus Mac Ferguſa*, Tigh.) This prince is noted by extraneous authors, his reign being long, and full of enterprize and glory. In 744 was fought a noted battle between the Piks and Britons of Strat-clyde. *Sim. Dunelm.* &c. In 756, Edbert king of Northumbria joined his army to that of Unguſt, againſt the Strat-clyde Britons; and Alcluid yielded on terms (of homage, as would ſeem). *Simeon. Hoveden.* In 761 he died. *Chron. ad fin. Bedæ.* Hoveden ſays in 762; Simeon in 759.

But it is to Tighernac that we are chiefly indebted for his fame. Unguſt I. whom the reader has already ſeen always in war, and always victorious in former

reigns; the dethroner of two kings, and the conqueror of every rival; was, after Druſt the Great, the moſt valiant and powerful of our monarchs. His reign, of twenty-nine years, was a ſucceſſion of exertions and acquiſitions. The continuator of Beda ſays, *Anno* 761 *Oengus Pictorum rex obiit; qui regni ſui principium uſque ad finem facinore cruento tyrannus perduxit carnifex*, that Unguſt, thro his whole reign, was a bloody tyrant, and executioner. He appears indeed to have been a cruel prince, but at the ſame time moſt brave and warlike; nor was clemency a virtue of that age. In his numerous wars he might not ſhew much reſpect to the monks; and this may have induced the monaſtic continuator to ſlander his fame. But let us judge him by his actions. The ſecond year of his reign, as appears from Tighernac, or 734, a battle was fought between Brudi, ſon of Unguſt I. and Talorgan, ſon of Conguſt; the later was defeated, and fled. Three years after, or 737, this Talorgan, ſon of Conguſt, was defeated by his brother, and delivered to the people, who drowned him. Nothing more is known concerning this Pikiſh chief. Talorgan, ſon of Druſtan, was ſeized and bound, near the caſtle of Olia; Don Lethfin, apparently his reſidence, was deſtroyed: and he was after obliged to fly to Ireland from the power of Unguſt. In 739 Unguſt ravaged Dalriada, took Dunat, and burned Creio; and put Dungal and Ferach, the two ſons of Selvac, late king of Dalriada, in chains. Brudi, ſon of Unguſt, died. A battle was fought at Twini Onirbre, between the Piks and Dalriads: Talorgan, ſon of Verguſt (apparently brother of Unguſt), defeated the Dalriads under Murdac, ſon of Ambkellach; and purſued them with great ſlaughter. In 741, Talorgan, ſon of Druſtan, king of Ahafoitle, was drowned by orders of Unguſt. He ſeems the ſame above-mentioned, who had fled to Ireland,

Ireland, but had returned. The title of king was very common in theſe times; and applied to any chief of great power. The puniſhment of drowning, now unknown, was formerly practiſed among the Gothic nations [k]; and even lately in Ruſſia. In 742, Cubretan, ſon of Conguſt, died. In 743, a battle was fought at Droma Cathvaoil, between the Piks and Dalriads: and in this year Dalriada was utterly waſted by Unguſt. The old Dalriadic race of kings now expires, and a new Pikiſh one ſucceeds; as the reader will find, when we come to the kings of Dalriada. Three years after, or 746, the battle of Catho was fought between the Piks and Welch of Strat-clyde; in which Talorgan, ſon of Verguſt, and brother of Unguſt, fell. In 761, Unguſt died, after an active and glorious reign. For all theſe notices we are indebted to Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter. It is impoſſible to help ſuſpecting that the great actions of this prince, and in particular his deſtroying the kingdom of Dalriada, an Iriſh ſettlement, induced our Iriſh Chroniclers in Scotland to pervert the Pikiſh Chronicles at this period. The kingdom and name of the Old Scots in Britain, mentioned by Adomnan and Beda, totally ceaſe with the conqueſt of Dalriada, and are never after to be found. The name of the new, or Preſent Scots, was given to the Piks about 1020, as after ſhewn; and the Dalriads

[k] Tacitus ſays of the Germans, 'Proditores, et transfugas, arboribus ſuſpendunt. Ignavos, et imbelles, et corpore infames, cæno ac palude, injecta inſuper crate, mergunt.' Germ. c. 12. Hence this puniſhment appears to have been a mark of great infamy. The *alum et baſſum, pit and gallows*, of feudal laws apparently roſe from this practice. Sueno, p. 113, tells that Eric king of Denmark, in 1135, *Biornonem nepotem ſuum captivavit . . . annexumque molari in profundum abyſſi demerſit.* And Snorro tells us, that the Swedes boaſted of drowning five of their kings. *Heimſkr.* Vol. III.

are ever after 743 called *Gathcli*, *Hibernenſes*, or Iriſh.

65. BRUDI VI. another ſon of Verguſt, A. C. 761, reigned 2 years. (*Bredei fil. Wirguſt*, A. *Brude fil. Tengus*, B. C. D. *Brete fil. Urguſt*, E. *Bruide*, Tigh.) *Bruide rex Fortren mort.* Tigh. ad Annum 762.

66. KINIOD II. ſon of Wirdech, A. C. 763, reigned 12 years. (*Cinicd filius Wirdech*, A. wanting B. C. D. *Kenethus fil. Viredeg*, E. *Cinaoh*, Tigh. *Cynoth*, Hoveden. *Kynoch*, Simeon). The want of this prince in B. C. D. ſufficiently ſhews them imperfect, and illuſory. It was to this Kiniod that Alcred, king of Northumbria, fled for refuge in 774, as Roger Hoveden and Simeon of Durham tell; and they alſo fix his death to the next year or 775, in perfect coincidence with this chronicle.

Tighernac at 763 bears, 'A battle at Fortren, between Aod and Kinaoh:' the later was the Pikiſh king. At 774, he has, *Mors Kinaoh regis Pictorum.* Caradoc of Llancarvon alſo mentions him.

Here the SIX accounts again agree in names of kings; and are nearly uniform to the end.

67. ELPIN II. ſon of Vered, A. C. 775. reigned 3½ years. (*Elpin fil. Wroid*, A. *Alpin fil. Feret*, B. *Alpin*, C. *Alpinus fil. Feredech*, D. *Alpinus fil Vrod*, E.)

Tighernac at 779 marks the death of Elpin king of the *Saxons.* As there was no king of the Saxons of that name, it ſeems an error of the tranſcriber for *Piks.*

68. DRUST VIII, ſon of Talorgan, A. C. 779, reigned 4 years. (*Dreſt fil. Talorgan*, A. *Druſt fil. Talargan*, B. wanting C. *Durſt fil. Thalargan*, D. *Dreſt fil. Talorcen*, E.)

At 781, Tighernac bears the death of *Druſtalarg*, king of the Piks, *citra Monah*, on this ſide Monah.

Monah. I know not if he means *Druſt Talorgan-ſon*, or ſome great chief.

69. TALORGAN II. ſon of Unguſt, A. C. 783, reigned 2½ years. (*Talorgan fil. Onnuſt*, A. *Talargan fil. Druſtan*, B. wanting C. *Thalarger fil. Druſken*, D. *To'orcen fil. Druſtan*, E.)

70. CANUL, ſon of Tarla, A. C. 786, reigned 5 years. (*Canaul fil. Tarla*, A. *Thalargan fil. Tenegus*, B. D. wanting, C. *Canul fil. Tang*, E. *Conal Mac Teige*, Tigh. ſi ſic MSS.)

Tighernac, at 788, marks a battle between the Piks, where Conal Mac Teige was vanquiſhed, and fled, and Conſtantin was conqueror: evidently this king and his ſucceſſor.

Theſe compleat the Seventy Pikiſh kings preceding Conſtantin, as the ancient Iriſh Annals bear.

71. CONSTANTIN, ſon of Verguſt, A. C. 791, reigned 30 years. (*Caſtantin fil. Wrguiſt*, A. *Conſtantin fil. Ferguſa*, B. *Conſtantin*, C. *Conſtantinus fil. Ferguſii*, D. *Cuaſtain fil. Urguſt*, E. *Conſtantin Mac Fergus*, Tigh.) The Regiſter of St. Andrew's, Fordun, and Winton, all agree that this monarch erected the church of Dunkeld; and Winton dates this erection in 815. *Conſtantin Mac Fergus rex Fortren mor.* Tigh. ad 819.

In 796, Oſbald, a Northumbrian nobleman, after reigning in Northumbria for a month only, was expelled; and fled by ſea from Lindesfarn to the Pikiſh king, and after died an Abbot. *Sim. Dun.*

72. UNGUST II. another ſon of Verguſt, A. C. 821, reigned 12 years. (*Unnuſt fil. Wrguſt*, A. *Hungus fil. Ferguſa*, B. *Hungus*, C. *Hungus fil. Ferguſii*, D. *Vidaniſt fil. Urguſt*, E. *Aongus Mac Fergus*, Tigh.) This king, all the above authors agree, founded Kilremont, afterward called St. Andrew's. A part of the charter, as preſerved in

the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, is given by Sibbald in his hiſtory of Fife [f]. The witneſſes are *Thalarg, ſon of Ythernbuthib*; *Nactan, ſon of Chelturan*; *Garnach, ſon of Doſnach*; *Druſt, ſon of Urthros*; *Nachtalech, ſon of Gighert*; *Shinah, ſon of Lucheran*; *Anegus, ſon of Forchele*; *Fheradach, ſon of Phinleich*; *Fhiachan, ſon of Bolge*; *Glunmerath, ſon of Taran*; *Demene, ſon of Cringanena*; *Duptaleich, ſon of Bargah*; ALL OF THE ROYAL RACE. The account of the foundation of St. Andrew's, containing this charter, is written by *Chana, ſon of Dudabrath*; and bears a ſingular addition, *Regi Pherath, filio Bargoth in villa Migdale.* What is the meaning of this addreſs? Vered, (here called Pherath,) ſon of Bargot, was king in 839, ſix years after the death of Unguſt II. Should we read *Regi*, as here, and ſuppoſe the account was ſent to the king? Or is it not more reaſonable to ſuppoſe the copy had *Rege*, and was taken during his reign, and bore this ſimple mark of his confirmation? Tighernac at 833 has, *Aongus Mac Fergus, rex Fortren, moritur.*

It is remarkable of this king, Unguſt II. that he is the only prince, whoſe name, and that of his father, were the ſame with Unguſt I. and that he ſucceeded his brother, who had reigned no leſs than thirty years.

73. DRUST IX. ſon of Conſtantin, and TALORGAN III. ſon of Uthol, A. C. 833, reigned together 3 years. (*Dreſt fil. Conſtantin, et Talorgan fil. Uthoil*, A. *Dreſt fil. Conſtantin, et Talorgus fil. Uthol*, E. wanting, C. The others B. and D. blunder the two names into one, *Duſtalorg*, B. *Durſtolorger*, D.)

The Pikiſh ſucceſſion ſeems here to have been violated for the firſt time, as Druſt, ſon of king Conſtantin, aſcended the throne.

[f] See the Excerpts from the Regiſter of St. Andrew's in the Appendix to this volume.

74. UVEN,

74. UVEN, ſon of Unguſt, A. C. 836, reigned 3 years. (*Uuen fil. Unnuſt*, A. *Eoganan fil. Hungus*, B. wanting, C. *Eoghane fil. Hungus*, D. *Unen fil. Unuſt*, E. *Owen Mac Aongus*, Tigh.) A ſecond violation of the ſucceſſion.

At 838 Tighernac gives the laſt notice concerning the Piks, till 857, when he marks the death of Cinaoh, or Kenneth, ſon of Alpin, king of the Piks. It is that the Danes and Norwegians made war upon Pikland; and a battle was fought, in which fell Owen, ſon of Aongus; and Bran, ſon of Aongus; and Aod, ſon of Boan; and many others. The firſt is certainly Uven, ſon of Unguſt, the king; and the ſecond his brother.

75. VERED, ſon of Bargot, A. C. 839, reigned 3 years. (*Ured fil. Bargoit*, A. *Ferat, fil. Batot*, B. wanting, C. *Ferech fil. Badoc*, D. *Urard fil. Bargot*, E.)

76. BRUDI VII. ſon of Vered, A. C. 842, reigned 1 year. (*Bred*, A. *Brude fil. Ferat*, B. wanting, C. *Brude fil. Feredech*, D. *Breud*, E. Unhappily A. and E. do not give the name of his father; but it is clear from B. and D. that he was the ſon of Vered, or, as they call him by Celtic pronunciation, Ferat, the laſt king.)

This Brudi is called ſon of Dergard, in the Chartulary of St. Andrew's, whence Ruddiman[s] quotes this paſſage: 'Brudi, ſon of Dergard, who was laſt king of the Piks, according to ancient traditions, beſtowed the iland of Lochleven on God almighty, and St Serf, and the Culdees hermits reſiding there and ſerving God, and who are to continue to ſerve him in that iland.' But Winton imputes this foundation to Brudi V. ſon of Derili, which name he puts Dergard: and the Chartulary ſeems to have confounded him with Brudi VII. when it terms him laſt king of the Piks.

[s] Introduct. ad Diplom. Scotiæ.

After Kenneth's power was acknowleged, as is clear from the invaluable Pikiſh Chronicle, and from the Iriſh liſt, the former of which cloſes with Brudi VII. and the later next after this Brudi gives Kenneth, the ſon of Alpin, he had, as the Regiſter of St. Andrew's and Fordun ſtate, three ſucceſſive uſurpers to ſtruggle with. They were;

Kinat, ſon of Ferat, whoſe uſurpation laſted one month.

Brudi, ſon of Fotel, who ſtood out 2 years.

Druſt, ſon of Ferat, who conteſted for 3 years.

This conteſt therefore laſted till 848. Two of the uſurpers were ſons of Vered, or Ferat, the 75th king, the *pretenders* of the time, for Kenneth was ſupported by the Pikiſh nation at large, as after explained.

Beſide theſe three pretenders, the Regiſter of St. Andrew's and Fordun have, in the Second Part, admitted one uſurper, and one erroneous king; namely,

Garnat, ſon of Feredech, in the time of Druſt VII. and Elpin I. or about 727, an uſurper. But this Garnat is quite unknown to Tighernac, and the Annals of Ulſter, tho at this period full of Pikiſh affairs.

Nethan, ſon of Derili, whom they repeat at the ſame period, by a mere error in tranſcription, as he preceded Druſt VII. and Elpin I. his reign ceaſing in 727; but this new reign of his they only extend to nine months. Nethan, who had been depoſed by Druſt, appears indeed, from Tighernac, to have re-aſſerted his right to the crown, as above-mentioned, which accounts for this repetition.

Some other kings are out of order, toward the end of Fordun's liſt, and of that given in the

the Regiſter of St. Andrew's; which are indeed only valuable as collateral proofs of the two authentic monuments, the Pikiſh Chronicle, and the Liſt preſerved in the ancient Iriſh tranſlation of Nennius. The Annals of Tighernac and Ulſter, and the old Engliſh hiſtorians, ſufficiently confirm theſe two remains, and make the later part of Pikiſh hiſtory as clear as can be expected.

CHAPTER IX.

Extent of the Pikiſh dominions.

THE induſtrious and acute Innes, who ought never to be named by a Scotiſh antiquary but with ſuperlative praiſe, has treated this part of my ſubject at ſuch length, as to leave me little to add. I ſhall therefore on this one occaſion do little more than abſtract his account; tho with ſome corrections.

Tacitus, the moſt ancient author who gives any account of the northern parts of Britain, includes in the poſſeſſions of the Caledonii, or Piks, all the countries on the north ſide of the Tay. Ptolemy, in his geography, gives us the weſtern boundary of the Caledonians on the ſouth; namely, Lelamonius Sinus, or Loch Fyn. Dio, in his relation of the expedition of Severus into Caledonia, mentions the Wall of Antoninus, as the boundary between the Caledonians and Mæatæ, for the former had, about the year 170, broken the Province of Veſpaſiana, and ſeized all the country down to Forth.

Beda is clear, that the Piks from an early period poſſeſſed the northern parts beyond the friths, from weſt to eaſt. For he tells that the frith of Clyde was anciently the boundary of the Britons and Piks[a]. And he gives us to know that the

[a] I. 1. Yet the Gadeni, a part of the Strat-clyde Welch, had Dumbartonſhire: but of this preſently.

Dalriads at their firſt coming to Britain were received in a portion of the Pikiſh territories, *in parte Pictorum*, at the north ſide of the frith of Clyde. It is alſo clear from Beda, that, in 565, Hy, or Icolmkill, belonged to the Pikiſh territory, ſeeing the king of the Piks gave it to Columba. They who would on this occaſion confute Beda from the Annals of Ulſter, a work of the Fifteenth century, which ſay the Old Scots gave it to Columba, only ſhew groſs ignorance of every law concerning hiſtoric authority. The diſtance of time is ſo great, that the later teſtimony can in no way confute the former; and theſe Annals being written by Iriſh churchmen, they would naturally wiſh to make Hyona belong to the Old Scots of Iriſh extract; and to give them the merit of this ſaintly donation. It is therefore apparent, that in 565 the Old Scots of Britain only held the ſouth part of Argyle.

Ammianus Marcellinus, in the fourth century, divides the Piks into Dicaledones and Vecturiones; the former certainly the Northern Piks bordering on the Deucaledonian ſea; the later the Southern, as appears from Richard; and their name, which is merely that of the Vikar, or Vichtar, the Icelandic pronunciation of Pikar, or Pichtar, in a Latin form. Snorro Sturleſon, the venerable northern hiſtorian of the thirteenth century, calls the Old Piks of Norway, *Vikveriar*, or men of Vika; a name very near that of *Vecturiones*. Beda confirms this diviſion of Ammianus, by mentioning that the Southern Piks, converted by Ninian, were divided from the Northern by high ridges of hills. That is, the Southern Piks were the Lowland Piks; the Northern, the Highland Piks; the two grand diviſions of Scotland in all ages. Theſe hills were the Grampians, which run from Loch Lomond on the weſt, to Aberdeenſhire on the eaſt.

Adomnan,

Adomnan, in a remarkable paſſage of his life of Columba, not to be found in the early editions, but publiſhed by Bollandus in his edition about the year 1660, from a fuller MS. and which paſſage alſo occurs in the invaluable MS. in the King's library, written in the twelfth or thirteenth century, tells us, that the hills of Drum-Albayn were the boundaries between the Piks and Britiſh Scots. *Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniæ, quos utroſque Dorſi montes Britannici diſterminant.* The *Dorſum Britannicum* is a mere Latin tranſlation of Drum-Albayn, 'The Back of Britain.' Father Innes, has, upon this occaſion, much foreign matter about the Grampians, as if the Grampians were the only hills in Scotland! Every one knows that Drum-Alban is neither more nor leſs than the higheſt part of Braidalban; and ſo called even in laſt century [b]. Innes ſuppoſes Drum-Alban muſt have been in a direct mathematical line, between Hyona and king Brudi's Caſtle, on the river Neſs, near Inverneſs; becauſe Adomnan ſays Columba uſed to paſs it in his way to that caſtle on the Neſs. Of courſe he makes the hills of Drum-Alban run from Athol, North-Weſt, to the coaſt oppoſite to the ile of Skey. But as it is univerſally known to a certainty that Drum-Alban is the higheſt part, or mountainous ridge, of Braid-Alban; it is palpable that Columba croſſed from Hyona to the neareſt ſhore, that of Mid Lorn, in a line with Inverary, and from thence paſſed Braid-Alban to Inverneſs: a way which common ſenſe points out as the neareſt and moſt convenient. Innes ſeems to imagine that Columba went thro the Ile of Mull, and kept to the northward of Loch Linny, and Loch Neſs. But in this caſe he could

[b] 'And the higheſt part of Braid-Albin, is called Drum-Albin, that is, the back of Scotland, ſo termed, for forth of the back waters do run in both the ſeas.' Moneypenny's Deſcription of Scotland, London, 1612, 8vo. Edin. 1633, 1760, 12mo.

not

not have paſſed Drum-Alban, and muſt have gone a far way about, thro the region of the Piks: while the other way was nearer; and he went thro the territory of his countrymen to it's extreme frontier, and ſo paſſed at once to the Pikiſh court, where the ſcene of his miſſion lay. Indeed the poſition of Drum-Alban is ſo well known, that it is needleſs to argue the point. In this remarkable paſſage, concerning the boundary of the Piks and Dalriadic Scots, Adomnan is ſpeaking of a plague that happened in his own time, about the year 702, when he viſited Alfred, king of Northumberland, as he himſelf, and Beda, tell: which plague, as the paſſage bears, viſited all nations, ſave the Piks and Britiſh Scots, which were divided from each other by Drum-Alban. That is, the Britiſh Scots in the Eighth century were confined to Argyleſhire with the Iles of Jura and Ila.

Adomnan, in ſpeaking of the Pikiſh dominions, uſes always the barbaric phraſe of his age, *Pictorum* PROVINCIA. The word *Provincia* had now become low Latin, for a region, land, or territory, however large, as under the Romans whole kingdoms had been provinces. In lib. I. c. 10. Adomnan uſes *Galliarum Provinciis*; for Gaul. Du Cange, in his gloſſary, obſerves that the kingdom of France is called *Provincia* by an ancient writer; nay, that Tertullian calls the world itſelf, *Provincia*[c].

Thoſe of the Hebud Iles, which are mentioned by Adomnan, are, 1. *Hyona*, or Icolmkill. 2. *Malea*, or Mull. 3. *Coloſus*, or Colonſa. 4. *Himba*, where there was a monaſtery, founded by Columba, and which would ſeem to have been upon

[c] Pro regno Franciæ adhibet Adeodatus, PP. in privilegio pro majori Monaſt. *In cujus volumine et aliorum per Gallicanam provinciam conſtitutorum antiſtitum.* Provincia mundus ipſe dicitur Tertull. adv. Valent. c. 20. *Igitur Demiurgus extra Pleromatis limites conſtitutus . . . novam provinciam condidit, hunc mundum.* Du Cange in voce.

the

the Coaſt of Ireland. 5. *Rechrea*, or Rachlin. 6. *Scia*, or Skey, where Columba was ſome days, *lib.* III. *c.* 4. edit. Meſſingham. This ile was then full of woods; and Columba ſlew *aprum*, 'a boar,' in it. In *lib.* I. *c.* 12. *edit Meſſ.* § 31, *Surii, et al.* beginning, *Cum per aliquot dies in inſula demoraretur Scocia vir beatus*; read, as the MS. in the king's Lib. bears, *in inſula Scia.* Unhappily Adomnan gives no hint to which nation Mull and Skey belonged; but it ſeems certain that, while Hyona belonged to the Piks, theſe two great ilands to the north of it muſt have alſo been in their hands. The hiſtory of the Hebud Iles is obſcure to exceſs, till the Ninth century, when the Norwegians got them. When the Piks acquired better habitations in Britain, they ſeem to have left the Hebud Iles very thinly inhabited; and in the Ninth century we may ſafely ſuppoſe the Old Scots, or Iriſh, were the moſt numerous people in them; and their ſpeech prevailed, as at this day.

The Orkneys, being happily not inhabited by Celts, we know all that can be expected of their hiſtory: for while the Celts of the Hebud Iles were diſgracing human nature with their ſecond ſight, and other frenzies, the Goths of Orkney lived in day-light and common-ſenſe. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that Adomnan ſhews there was a *regulus*, or prince of the Orkneys, at the court of Brudi, king of the Piks, when Columba viſited it about 570; and that this prince had given the Pikiſh ſovereign hoſtages for his fidelity; whence Columba requeſted the king to recommend to this prince the monks then in the Orkneys. Thus it is clear that the Orkneys were ſubject to Pikland. Nennius alſo, who wrote in 858, ſhews that the Piks then held the northern extremity of Britain; for he ſays the Orkneys were 'ſituated at the extremity of Britain, beyond the Piks.

Piks[d].' The life of St. Findan, written by a cotemporary, and publiſhed by Goldaſtus, is an authentic monument of the Ninth century. The author, a companion of the ſaint, relates that Findan was carried away captive from Ireland, by the Norwegians, about the end of the eighth century; and that, in going from Ireland to Denmark, they came to certain ilands called the Orkneys in the neighbourhood of the Pikiſh nation, *ad quaſdam venere inſulas, juxta Pictorum gentem, quas Orcades vocant*[e]. From an invaluable monument, publiſhed in the ſecond edition of Wallace's Orkney Iles, London, 1700, being a Diploma of the year 1403, we learn that, when the Norwegians ſeized the Orkneys in the Ninth century, they found them poſſeſſed by the Pets, or Piks, and *Papas*. Who theſe Papas were, ſhall be afterward examined; but it ſuffices here to add, from that Diploma, that the Orkneys were then called *Terra Peterum*, 'a land of the Piks.' The name of Pentland Frith, called in the Navigation of James V. *Pictland Frith*, alſo confirms this. The guttural name of the Piks to be found in the Saxon Chronicle, and in the vulgar mouth, namely *Pebts*, being hard to pronounce, and ſomehow indefinite in the enouncing, *Pent* was in frequent uſe ſubſtituted; whence Pentland hills in the South of Scotland, and Pentland Frith in the furtheſt North.

The SOUTHERN extent of the Pikiſh dominions is rather more difficult to adjuſt, as being more changeable and obſcure. The point is curious and important; for on it depends the queſtion, whether the inhabitants ſouth of Forth and Clyde be of Engliſh or Pikiſh origin? It therefore deſerves

[d] Tertia inſula ſita eſt in extremo limite orbis Britanniæ, ultra Pictos, et vocatur Orcania ins. Nenn. c. 2. p. 98. edit. Gale

[e] Goldaſti Aleman. rerum Script. Vet. 1606, fol. Vita Findani, p. 318.

to

to be examined with care; for tho the Angles and Piks were originally the very ſame people, the former being Danes, and from Scandinavia, as were the Piks, yet the diſcuſſion is intereſting. Impartiality neceſſarily attends the ſubject; for, let the queſtion be determined either way, the people of the ſouth of Scotland are of Scandinavian origin; and it amounts barely to this, Was the ſouth of Scotland peopled with Goths, from the north of Scotland, or from the north of England?

Innes divides the ſouthern extent of the Pikiſh dominions, into three epochs. 1. From the firſt mention we meet with in hiſtory of the Caledonians, or Piks, till the coming in of the Saxons 449. 2. From thence till the death of Egfrid king of Northumberland 685. 3. From Egfrid's death till the union of the Piks and Old Scots of Dalriada 843. The firſt of theſe epochs is improper, and ought to have been till the year 426. But Innes alſo errs in ſuppoſing that Tacitus and Ptolemy extend the Caledonians to Clyde and Forth.

There are really FOUR Epochs.

EPOCH I. Tacitus and Ptolemy ſhew, that the Piks originally extended only to Loch Fyn, and Tay, on the ſouth. Nor did they reach to the Forth and Wall of Antoninus till Veſpaſiana was broken, about the year 170.

EPOCH II. Dio, Gildas, Beda, mark the Forth and Wall of Antoninus, as the ſouthern boundary of the Piks, from about the year 170, till 426. Beda in one place, *lib.* I. *c.* 1. expreſſly mentions the frith of Clyde, as the ancient boundary between the Piks and Britons. But he errs, as is clear from Ptolemy, who puts the *Lelamonius Sinus*, or Loch Fyn, as the ſouthern boundary of the Caledonians, or Piks, on the weſt; and the Clyde never was a boundary of the Piks in any ſhape. For on the north of the very mouth of Clyde were the Gadeni, a Cumraig people, ſouth of the *Lelamonius Sinus*, and afterward a part of the

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kingdom of Strat-clyde, which laſted till the 11th century; when, and never before, Dumrton-ſhire and the reſt of Stratclyde fell into the nds of the Piks, being in fact the very laſt terory which they held. About 258, the Attacotti, Dalriads, had Cowal, or that part of Argyle re between Clyde and Loch Fyn, along with her contiguous territory, as Beda himſelf ſays in s very paſſage when he mentions that the Dalidini ſettled on the *north* of the frith of Clyde; d *lib.* I. *c.* 12. where he deſcribes the Britiſh ots as paſſing the Clyde, and the Piks the rth, to invade the Britons. Thus it is clear om Ptolemy, a far more ancient authority, and om his own teſtimony in another place, that eda is miſtaken when he mentions the Clyde as a undary between the Piks and Britons. But if he xtends the firth of Clyde to the mull of Cantire, e is right; for the Epidii, a Pikiſh people, were habitants of Cantire before 258, when it was iven to the Dalriads. And his deſcription of the rth of Clyde, as *ſinus maris permaximus*, favours this interpretation of his context.

EPOCH III. In the year 425, or 426, as appears from Gildas and Beda, the Piks ſeized the whole province of Valentia, up to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine. Gildas ſays, *cap.* XV. *edit. Bertram*, 1757, 8vo. *Tetri Scotorum, Pictorumque greges ..... omnem aquilonarem, extremamque, terræ partem, pro indigenis murotenus capeſſunt.* 'The dreadful crouds of Scots and Piks ſeized, as old inhabitants, the whole northern and extreme part of the land, up to the wall,' namely, of Gallio, as his context ſhews. And he tells us, *cap.* XIX. that, after writing to Aetius, in 446, without ſucceſs, the Britons attacked the invaders; and the Scots, or Iriſh, went home, but the Piks retained the extreme part of the iland: 'Revertuntur ergo impudentes graſſatores Hyberni domum, poſt non multum tempus reverſuri. Picti

in extrema parte insulæ tunc primum et deinceps requieverunt, prædas et contritiones nonnunquam facientes.' The *extrema pars insulæ* is here universally known to mean the extreme part of the Roman possessions in the iland, to wit, the province of Valentia. The friths of Forth and Clyde are, by Gildas and Beda, regarded as seas of separation between the Roman iland, or part of Britain, and the barbarous Piks, and Scots of Argyle. So Beda himself explains, lib I. c. 12. speaking of the Piks and these Scots, *Transmarinas autem dicimus has gentes, non quod extra Britanniam essent positæ, sed quia a parte Britonum erant remotæ, duobus finibus maris interjacentibus*, &c. 'We say these nations came from beyond the seas, not because they were out of Britain; but because they were distant from the possession of the Britons, two arms of the sea, lying between, &c.' and he then describes the Forth and Clyde.

Beda narrates these transactions in the same way, and generally in the same words with Gildas.

Thus the Piks got possession of the province of Valentia: of which, as shall be after shewn, they ever afterward remained the inhabitants. But here a most obscure and difficult question occurs, concerning that darkest incident in the ancient history of England, namely, the territory subdued by Ochta and Ebusa, son and nephew of Hengist, about the year 460.

This question is only obscure and difficult, because it has never been examined, as indeed no part of the ancient history of England has been. It's full discussion is reserved for another place [f], where is shewn. 1. That there is great reason even to doubt the existence of Ochta and Ebusa, they being quite unknown to Beda, the Saxon Chronicle, Ethelwerd, and other the most ancient

[f] Supplement to this work, Sect. I.

and

and authentic writers, and being only found in Nennius, an interpolated author. 2. That, if they did exiſt, there is no room to believe they made any ſettlement. 3. That if ſuch ſettlement exiſted, it muſt have been ſouth of the wall of Gallio. 4. That, in all events, ſuch ſettlement, if it exiſted, was deſtroyed in a year or two by the Piks. The reader, who wiſhes here to be ſatisfied of theſe points, has only to turn to the Supplement, Sect. I.

Such being the caſe, we may reſt aſſured, that till 547, when the great Ida led his Angles in forty ſhips from the continent, landed at Flamborough in Yorkſhire, and marching north, founded the kingdom of Bernicia, afterward to become the kingdom of all Northumbria; the Piks, far from diminiſhing their territory, or reſtraining their progreſs, greatly advanced them. It is evident, from Gildas and Beda, that the Piks in 426 had ſeized on all the territory down to the wall of Gallio, between Solway and Tine: and that they held that part EVER AFTER, in the words of Gildas, who wrote about 560, in quiet poſſeſſion; *tunc et* DEINCEPS *requieverunt.* This word *requieverunt* can ſolely bear ſuch meaning, for they only reſted, or remained in that acquired province, *pro indigenis*, as fixt inhabitants; but by no means reſted with regard to incurſions on the ſouth, as that very ſentence of Gildas, and his ſubſequent text, bear. Had the Piks been contented with the province of Valentia, the Saxons would never have been called in. But when the Britons were quite debilitated by a plague, as Gildas and Beda ſhew, the Piks taking that advantage carried their arms into the very heart of Britain: and the Belgic Britons, exhauſted by Roman luxury and calamities, found the Pikiſh hurricane burſt upon their own poſſeſſions ſouth of Humber, and were forced to aſk aſſiſtance of the Jutes, who apparently had landed on their ſhores

by chance. In 368, when Theodoſius came over, we find that he defeated ſome parties of Piks and Scots, in his progreſs thro Kent to London[g]. In 448 and 449, there is room to think that the Piks had got nearly as far ſouth, when Hengiſt and Horſa arriving in Kent marched againſt them, and defeated ſome of their advanced parties. Henry of Huntingdon ſays the main battle between Hengiſt and Horſa, and the Piks, was fought at Stamford in Lincoln-ſhire, which is but 89 miles north of London. The Piks, it is ſaid, were defeated. But this is not a little obſcure. Matthew of Weſtminſter ſays, that Hengiſt was forced to retire to Germany for ſome years. According to the common accounts, Hengiſt came here in 449, and ſent for more Jutes with Rowena his daughter, and Octa his ſon, in 450; and died in 488, when he could not be leſs than 80 years of age. It ſeems ptobable that Hengiſt did return to collect his powerful armament of Jutes, who were to found the kingdom of Kent; and did not arrive with them till about 460, when Carte, an author of induſtry, ſeems rightly to mark the arrival of the reinforcement. However this be, all writers, ancient and modern, join in this, that inſtantly after the firſt battle was fought with the Piks, the Jutes, their countrymen, ſpeaking the ſame tongue, concluded an alliance with them. This alliance could be founded on no other baſis, than that either party ſhould retain what lands they could conquer. Beda ſays that the Piks were driven ſomewhat back[h] at the time of this treaty; and he dates it after the arrival of the reinforcement; that is, in 450, according to the common accounts, tho more probably about 460: but this is of no moment, nor are ten years of any conſe-

[g] Amm. Marcell. XXVII. p. 625, edit. Lugd. Bat. 1632, 12mo.

[h] 'Longius pepulerant.' I. 15. The paſſage is preſently produced.

quence

quence in treating of the ſettlement of nations. The Piks had advanced as far as Stamford at leaſt; and they were driven ſomewhat back, that is, to the other ſide of the Humber. This great Gothic ſwarm pouring from the Caledonian mountains, where they had been long pent up by the exertions of Roman power, now ſpred like a flood that burſts a mound. The Brigantes fled from it to the mountains of Cumberland, and the weſtern ſhore: and the Piks certainly ſeized, as inhabitants, the whole eaſtern part, down to the Humber. From 448, to 547, being a century, they held this whole tract as part of their ſovereignty: but from 547 to 685, only as inhabitants; after 685, one half of it, being the ſouthern part of preſent Scotland, reverted to their monarchy, and continued to belong to it ever after; as inhabitants of the whole, they remain in their progeny to this day.

That the Piks ſeized all the country down to the Humber is no leſs clear, from the deduction neceſſarily ariſing from the ancient authors, than from this, that, had not ſuch been the caſe, the ſpeech of all that tract would have been Cumraig, or Welch, at this day; whereas it is more Gothic than that of any other part of England. Ida, who in 547 founded the kingdom of Bernicia; and Ælla, who about 559 founded that of Deira in this tract; had not, if both their armies be put together, above 15,000 men. A pretty number to people ſuch a country! Had the Cumri been then the inhabitants, they might amount to a million; and their ſpeech would infallibly have prevailed, as all know is ever the caſe with the moſt numerous people. The Danes afterward were in the ſame predicament.

Another circumſtance, corroborating the Pikiſh origin of the Northumbrians, is the decree of the Council of Calcot in Northumbria, held in the year 787, againſt that noted practice of the Piks, the painting, or ſtaining, of their bodies. It is

as follows: *Annexuimus ut unuſquiſque fidelis Chriſtianus a Catholicis juris exemplum accipiat; et, ſi quid ex ritu Paganorum remanſit, avellatur, contemnatur, abjiciatur. Deus enim formaverit hominem pulchrum in decore et ſpecie. Pagani vero, diabolico inſtinctu, cicatrices acerrimas ſuperinduxerunt: dicente Prudentio.*

Tinxit et innocuam maculis ſordentibus humum. Domino enim videtur facere injuriam, qui creaturam fœdat ac deturpat. Certe ſi pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ injuriam ſuſtineret, magnam inde remunerationem accipiet. Sed quiſquis ex ſuperſtitione gentilium id agit, non ei proficit ad ſalutem. Labbé Concil. Tom. VI. p. 1872. That is, "We alſo have added that every faithful Chriſtian ought to receive example of law, from the true believers; and that if any thing of Pagan rite remain, it ſhould be torn off, deſpiſed, and thrown away. For God has formed man fair in perſon and hue. But the Pagans, by diabolical inſtinct, have covered him with deep marks: as Prudentius ſays, 'He has covered the innocent ground with baſe ſtains.' For he ſeems to injure the Lord, who ſtains and defiles his creatures. Certainly if any one receives the injury of this dye for the ſake of God, he will receive a great reward therefor. But he who does it from the ſuperſtition of the gentiles, it will nothing avail to his ſalvation." William of Malmſbury indeed tells us that the Angli painted themſelves; but he is ſingular in this account, unknown to Beda, and the elder writers: and, if they did, it ſeems moſt reaſonable to impute this practice to that of the Piks, among whom they ſettled, as the manners of the moſt numerous people muſt have had much influence.

That the Old Scots had nothing to do in theſe invaſions and poſſeſſions is clear. For in 447, we learn from Gildas and Beda, that they went to Ireland: nor did they return, as ſhewn in the next part, till 503. Even the Attacotti, or Dal-

reudini,

reudini, the Old Scots of Argyle, were driven to Ireland at this time, as both Iriſh and Scotiſh writers confirm. This could only be in conſequence of a quarrel between the Piks and Scots; and perhaps concerning the acquired territories. Beda fully inſtructs us that the Piks alone were concerned in theſe acquiſitions; for he tells, *lib.* I. *c.* 15. *Tum ſubito inito ad tempus fœdere cum Pictis, quos longius jam bellando pepulerant*, &c. 'that Hengiſt and Horſa, having formed an alliance with the Piks, whom in the courſe of war they had driven ſomewhat back,' turned their arms againſt the Britons. As to Ethelwerd and William of Malmſbury, who for *Piks*, put *Scots*, no man will dream of ſetting the teſtimony of writers, who lived four centuries after Beda, againſt his. Tho indeed in their time, as after ſhewn, the very ſame people, anciently called Piks, were called Scots.

In 547, Ida founded the kingdom of Bernicia. The Pikiſh dominions, ſouth of Forth, were far from the ſeat of ſovereignty, and detached by that frith. Their inhabitants being remote from protection, ſeem willingly to have owned the royalty of Ida, an Angle, their own countryman; and having, for a century, enjoyed a rich country, were mollified enough to prefer a peaceful ſubmiſſion to the new monarch, and his little army. The kingdom of Bernicia, as is clear from Beda, extended up to the frith of Forth, on the northern bound: it's weſtern limits are not ſo clear. Beda tells that Candida Caſa, or Whithern in Galloway, was in it[j]; as was Abercorn on the Forth[k]. Clydeſdale was the kingdom of Strat Clyde. To the weſt of Strat Clyde, the kingdom of Bernicia perhaps never extended. Preſent Airſhire and Renfrewſhire never appear to have acknowleged

[j] V. 24. Pectbelm was biſhop of Candida Caſa, when Beda wrote. Malmſbury de geſt. Pont. Angl. III. ſays Beadwine, the laſt biſhop, was ordained 791.

[k] Beda IV. 26.

the power of the Bernician, or Northumbrian kings. Beda gives no hint concerning that large tract of country. There is indeed a paſſage of Beda, which Smith, in his valuable edition, refers to the country now called Cunningham in Scotland; and has accordingly in his map marked that country as the Cuningum of Beda. This paſſage occurs, *lib.* V. *c.* 13, where Beda tells the viſion of a man in Cuningum, who afterwards became a monk of Melroſe: and it is *Erat autem vir, in regione Nordanhumbrorum quæ vocatur Incuningum, religioſam cum domo ſua gerens vitam*; but the Saxon tranſlation, by Alfred, has *Cununingum*. Yet Beda unfortunately gives no hint where this region was; and Smith's idea is a mere conjecture, for it may have been ſome diſtrict in the north of England. Names fluctuate and change; and it is dangerous to build on a name only, without any deſcription: not to mention that the real name given by Beda, namely, *Incuningum*, is very different from *Cuningham*. The continuator of Beda tells us that, in the year 750, *Eadbertus campum Cyil cum aliis regionibus, ſuo regno addidit*, 'Eadbert added the field Cyil, with other regions, to his kingdom.' Milton[1] interprets this to be Kyle; and juſtly obſerves, from the ſame continuator, that in 740 Edbert, king of Northumberland, was occupied in war againſt the Piks; and that this acquiſition ſhews it was ſucceſsful. Now the event mentioned by Beda, as happening in the country called Incuningum, falls about the year 696, eleven years after the Piks regained their poſſeſſions from the Northumbrians. If therefore Cunningham, a country immediately on the north of Kyle, belonged to the Northumbrians ſtill in 696, i cannot ſee how Edbert in 750 ſhould acquire Kyle from the Piks. For the Piks did not, as appears, enlarge their poſſeſſions in Galloway, from

[1] Hiſt. Eng. p. 175.

685,

685, till about 820, when they ſeized Candida Caſa, and all the ſouth, upon the decline of the Northumbrian kingdom, as William of Malmſbury ſhews[m]. At the ſame time it is very probable that the Piks of Cunningham and Kyle were ſubject to the Northumbrian crown in 696; and that, between that year and 740, they had thrown off the yoke: and that in 750, Edbert, the laſt warlike monarch of Northumbria, while in Anglic power, recovered Kyle, and perhaps Cunningham. In 756, we know that Edbert joined Unguſt I. king of the Piks, in reducing Stratclyde; which ſeems to indicate that his domains bordered on that kingdom, as well as thoſe of Unguſt, and that they united their arms for reciprocal advantage. Now Edbert's kingdom did not border on Stratclyde on the eaſt and north, territories belonging to the Piks; but certainly did on the ſouth of Stratclyde, and, if he had Kyle and Cunningham, on the weſt. It ſeems certain that Unguſt I. one of the braveſt princes who ever held the Pikiſh ſceptre, and who had juſt confirmed and enlarged his power by the conqueſt of Dalriada, would not have joined Edbert, if this monarch had conquered any part of his own territory, but would have turned his arms againſt him. Hence it appears that the Piks, againſt whom Edbert made war, were thoſe of Galloway, who had aſſumed independence, both of the Northumbrian and Pikiſh crowns. Nor is there any diſpute between Unguſt I. and the Northumbrians, mentioned by any writer, Engliſh or Iriſh. As Beda, after mentioning the acquiſitions of the Pikiſh crown in the ſouth of Scotland 685, is ſuppoſed to ſpeak of Cunningham, as ſubject to the Northumbrians in 696, and implies that all things remained in the ſame condition 731, when he cloſed his work; it might ſeem that, about 740, the Piks in Gal-

[m] G. f. Pont. Ang. lib. III.

loway

loway rebelled, that Edbert made war on them, and in 750 re annexed them to his dominions. And that about 820. on the fall of the Northumbrian kingdom, they ſeized all Galloway, and became quite independant both of the Engliſh and Pikiſh kingdoms, till the Twelfth century. At the ſame time the word *addidit*, in the paſſage above adduced, is againſt this interpretation, and implies that Kyle was a new acquiſition: which induces me ſtill to heſitate if *Incuningum* be *Cunningham*; and the reader muſt excuſe my writing uncertainly on an uncertain ſubject. Being quite ſeparated from the Pikiſh monarchy by the kingdoms of Strat Clyde and Dalriada, the Piks of this province had their own chiefs, who were in time to be the powerful princes of Galloway. In an old charter, Irvin[n] is ſaid to be in Galloway; and Jocelin, who compiled his life of Kentigern from two old lives, ſpeaks of the Piks in Galloway as a detached people, when Kentigern lived, or in the Sixth century. And even in the Twelfth century the princes of Galloway were only feudatory to the Scotiſh king[o].

EPOCH IV. In 685 the Pikiſh monarchy acquired that extent to the ſouth which it was ever after to hold. That year Egfrid king of Northumberland being defeated and ſlain by the Piks, a great revolution followed. Beda ſays, *Ex quo tempore ſpes cœpit et virtus regni Anglorum fluere, ac retro ſublapſa referri. Nam et Picti* TERRAM POSSESSIONIS SUÆ, *quam tenuerunt Angli; et Scotti qui erant in Britannia, et Britonum quoque pars nonnulla,* LIBERTATEM *receperunt, quam et hactenus habent per annos circiter quadraginta ſex.* 'From which time the hope and virtue of the kingdom of the Angli began to melt, and flow backward. For the Piks

[n] Goodal. Introd. Fordun. c. 10. Dalrymple's Annal. Ao. 1165.

[o] Dalrymple's Annals Ao 1160. ex Chron. Stæ Crucis.

recovered

recovered the LAND OF THEIR POSSESSION, which the Angli had held: and the Scots who were in Britain, and a ſmall part of the Britons, recovered their LIBERTY, which they hold ſtill, being a ſpace of about Forty-ſix years.' A memorable paſſage! Saint Oſwald king of Northumberland, who had lived in Ireland and Pikland, before he aſcended the throne in 634, carried the Northumbrian power to great height. Before his death in 642, after a reign of only eight years, he was, ſays Cuminius, *Imperator totius Britanniæ*, 'Emperor of all Britain:' and according to Beda, *lib.* III. *c.* 6. *Denique omnes nationes et provincias Britanniæ, quæ in quatuor linguas, id eſt, Britonum, Pictorum, Scottorum, Anglorum, diviſæ ſunt, in ditione accepit.* 'He received in ſubjection all the nations and provinces of Britain, which are divided into four languages, that of the Britons, of the Piks, of the Scots, of the Engliſh.' Such were the happy fruits of a king's being a ſaint! The truth is, that the two predeceſſors of Saint Oſwald had done what theſe writers did not approve, in extirpating the Chriſtian religion from their dominions, which Oſwald reſtored, and went to the other extreme, by calling in Iriſh churchmen, and giving religion every encouragement; himſelf a ſaint, whoſe miracles Beda relates at much length. Yet was Oſwald certainly a victorious prince, as his reſtoring Northumbria to one great and powerful monarchy proves; and the above panegyrics, tho given by an Iriſh and an Engliſh churchman, in exceſs of gratitude and zeal, were not without grounds. He gained a bloody battle againſt Cædwalla, king of the Britons, or Welch: the Britons of Strat-Clyde were alſo ſubject to the kings of Northumbria, as the above paſſage of Beda, only applicable to them, indicates: as were their neighbours the Dalriadic Scots; two ſmall kingdoms that required ſupport againſt the Pikiſh power. Cuminius was a Scot who wrote in Hyona, about 657, when he was abbot of that place; and in that character, and

as

as a cotemporary of Oſwald, is an infallible witneſs that the Britiſh Scots acknowleged the Imperial power of Saint Oſwald. But as to the Piks, it is ſuſpected the fable of the lion and the man might be applied. They had no painters of hiſtory. The aſſertion with regard to them is as ridiculous as with regard to the reſt of England, whoſe ſix other kingdoms never acknowleged this emperor. That Pikland, a monarchy of four times the ſize of Northumbria, and impracticable to it's power, ſhould have been ſubject to it's ſaintly king, is incredible. Oſwald had been educated in Pikland and Ireland, as Beda tells; and among his favours to the Old Scots, or Iriſh, certainly was not ſo ungrateful to the Piks, as to uſurp any title of authority over them. It is however extremely probable that the independent Piks of Galloway might join the Britiſh Scots, and Strat Clyde Britons, their neighbours, in acquiring the friendſhip of ſo powerful a prince as Oſwald, by acknowleging him lord paramount. The panegyric given to him is a monkiſh rant, but not void of foundation.

There is a curious paſſage in the Appendix to Nennius, which is thought to have been written in the Tenth century, by a Northumbrian, as it relates to Northumbrian hiſtory. It ſays: 'This is the Egfrid who made war againſt his brother-in-law, the king of the Piks, by name Brudi, and fell with all the flower of his army, the Piks with their king being victorious. And the Saxons never ſent a devouring tax-gatherer to exact tribute of the Piks, from the time of that war, which is called Guerchlumgaran [r].' General expreſſions argue little;

[r] Echfrid ipſe eſt qui fecit bellum contra fratruelem ſuum, qui erat Rex Pictorum nomine Bridei; et ibi corruit cum omni robore exercitus ſui; et Picti cum rege ſuo victores extiterunt. Et nunquam addiderunt Saxones ambronem, ut a Pictis vectigal exigerent, a tempore iſtius belli: vocatur Guerchlumgaran. *Nen. App.* c. 64. edit. Bertram. *Ambro* means a devourer, ſee Du Cange; and here a greedy tax-gatherer.

Eddius,

little; but the information here is particular, that the Northumbrian kings uſed to receive tribute from the Piks. A writer more anxious for the cauſe of the Piks, than for that of truth, might argue that only the ſouthern Piks of Lothian paid this tribute: but there is room to believe that the king of the Piks paid this tribute to the Northumbrian monarchs from Oſwald's time, 634, and that the above authorities of Cuminius and Beda are much to be credited. The Northumbrian kingdom, the greateſt of the heptarchy, and the name of whoſe ſubjects, Angli, prevailed over all the reſt, was ſuperior to the Pikiſh in wealth and arts. The Saxon Annals ſay that Oſwi brother of Oſwald, and his ſucceſſor, in 658, ſubdued all Mercia, and the greateſt part of the Pikiſh nation. This accounts for the tribute, ariſing moſt probably from the conqueſts of Oſwi, and not from the ſanctity of Oſwald.

Beda, in the above paſſage, ſays the Piks recovered their POSSESSIONS; but the Britiſh Scots, and Strat Clyde Britons, their LIBERTY. In the dark ages, when Beda lived, it was thought that the Angli, Saxons, and Jutes, had actually peopled their poſſeſſions in Britain! It was thought that Ida's 10,000 men had peopled a territory, whoſe inhabitants could not be much leſs than a million! This ignorance is now matter of laughter. Beda means ſimply that the Pikiſh nation recovered their ancient property, *a land of their poſſeſſion*, inhabited by themſelves, tho long ſubject to another crown. But how far ſouth did this poſſeſſion extend? It is clear from Beda, that in 731, when he wrote, Candida Caſa, or Whitherne, was in the hands of the Engliſh. So Mailros on

Eddius, who about the year 720 wrote a curious life of St. Wilfrid, biſhop of York, publiſhed by Gale in the firſt volume of his *Script. Hiſt. Angl.* mentions c. xix, a victory of king Egfrid in his firſt years, or about 674, over the *rebellious* Piks, who after remained ſubject till the 3 year he loſt his life. He ſpeaks of the Piks as *gentes innumeræ*, and ſays two rivers were filled with their ſlain.

the ſouth bank of the Tweed ſeems alſo to have been [q]. If therefore a line be drawn along the courſe of the Tweed from Berwick, and that of the river Etteric in a weſt direction to the river Stinſar, between Wigton and Airſhire, it will form as accurate a bound, as can be given in a debateable march, of the Pikiſh and Bernician poſſeſſions from 685, till 793, when the Danes firſt invaded Northumbria. About which time, or ſoon after, during the confuſions of the Daniſh ſettlers in Northumbria, which laſted near two centuries, the independent Piks of Galloway extended their poſſeſſions into preſent Wigton and Kircudbright ſhires, parts of old Galloway, while thoſe on the eaſt ſeized preſent Roxburgh and Dumfries ſhires, the preſent ſouthern limits of Scotland: as compactly and naturally bounded by the Tweed and Eſk, on the Eaſt and Weſt; and mountains of Cheviot in the middle.

In 756, Unguſt, king of the Piks, and Edbert king of Northumbria, joined their arms, and beſieged Alclyde, or Dunbarton, capital of the kingdom of Strat Clyde, which ſurrendered on terms of tribute to both kings, as would ſeem. But the Britons retained poſſeſſion as elſewhere ſhewn.

The Northumbrians naturally gave the name of Angli to all their ſubjects, tho in fact Piks, as Beda gives repeatedly the ſame name of Angli to the very people, who, he tells us expreſſly, were Saxons, or Jutes. Thus Beda ſays the Forth divided the Angli from the Piks, that is, the Anglic kingdom of Northumbria from the Pikiſh. But that part of Bernicia which adjoined to the Pikiſh kingdom was eſpecially called *Provincia Pictorum*, and it's inhabitants Piks, even while it

[q] Beda IV. 27, V. 13. In his life of St. Cuthbert, Beda mentions *terra Pictorum Nedſair*, or, as other MSS. *Niduari*, to which the ſaint went in a veſſel from Carlile. This appears to have been on the river Nid.

was

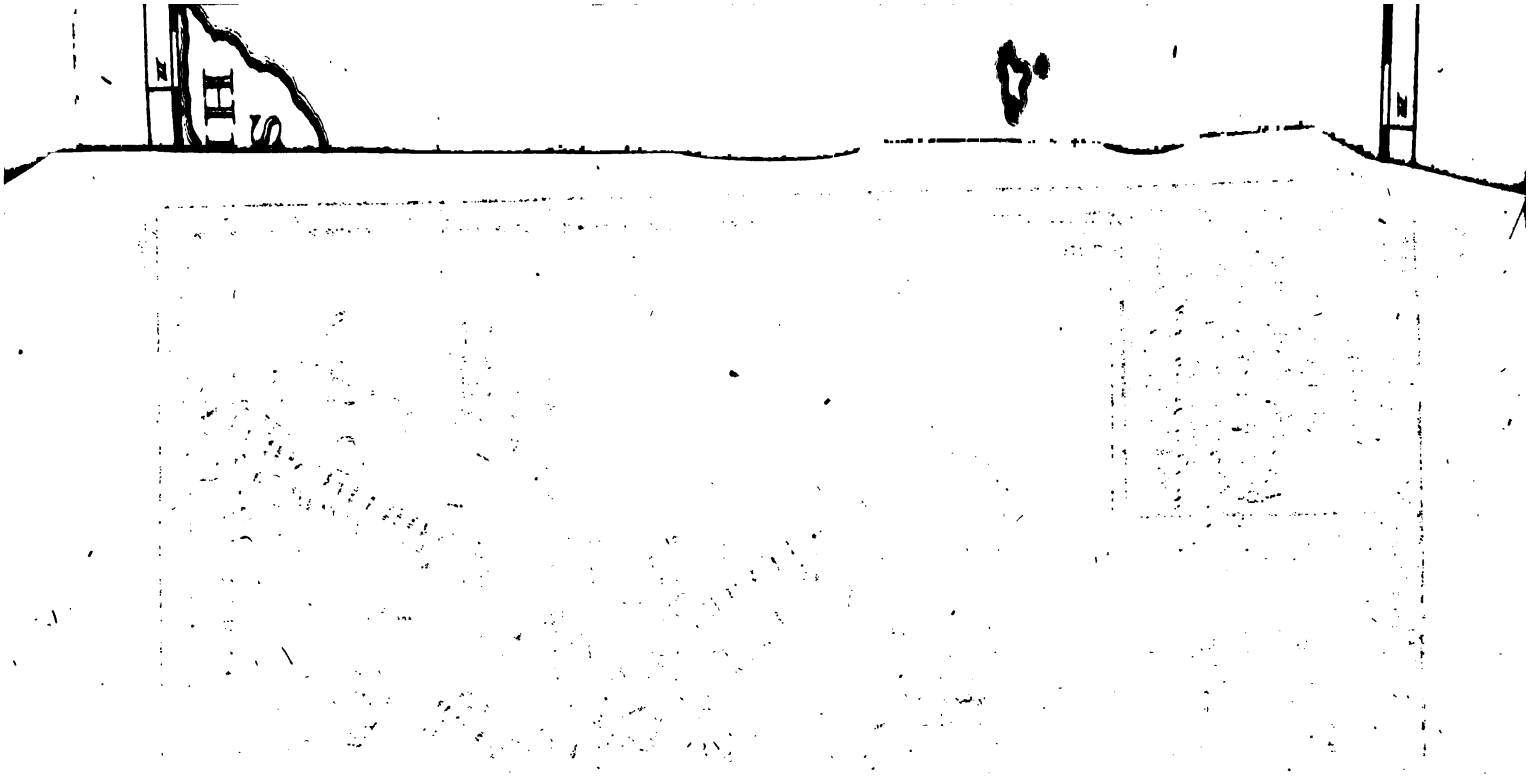
was under the Bernician monarchs, as is clear from Beda[r]. Trumwin, the biſhop of theſe Piks, reſided at Abercorn, nine miles weſt from Edinburgh. That the Bernician or Northumbrian kings never had any territory beyond the firth of Forth, is certain from Beda, and all the ancient writers. The Piks, over whom Trumwin was biſhop, were the Piks of Lothian; as the biſhop of Whitherne preſided over thoſe ſouth parts of Galloway, which were ſubject to the Angli. But of this in the chapter of Eccleſiaſtic Hiſtory. The hiſtory of Northumbria is known to be very obſcure. It is highly probable that Ida's acquiſition did not extend over Lothian, the weſtern part of which was the frontier province of the ancient Pikiſh kingdom, and main entrance to it; ſo that it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe that tract was long and warmly conteſted by the Pikiſh and Northumbrian monarchs. Therefore it ſeems to have been a late addition to the later kingdom; and being ſpecially and more lately won from the Pikiſh monarchy, it was called a Pikiſh province, and it's inhabitants Piks. Roger Hoveden, in his account of the battle of the ſtandard 1138, calls thoſe people *Lodonenſes*, or of Lothian, whom other ancient writers call *Picti*. Roger of Cheſter, mentioning Edinburgh, ſays it was *in terra Pictorum*, in the land of the Piks. A ridge of hills running thro Mid Lothian is ſtill called Pentland Hills, as the frith to the North of Scotland is called Pentland frith; of which above.

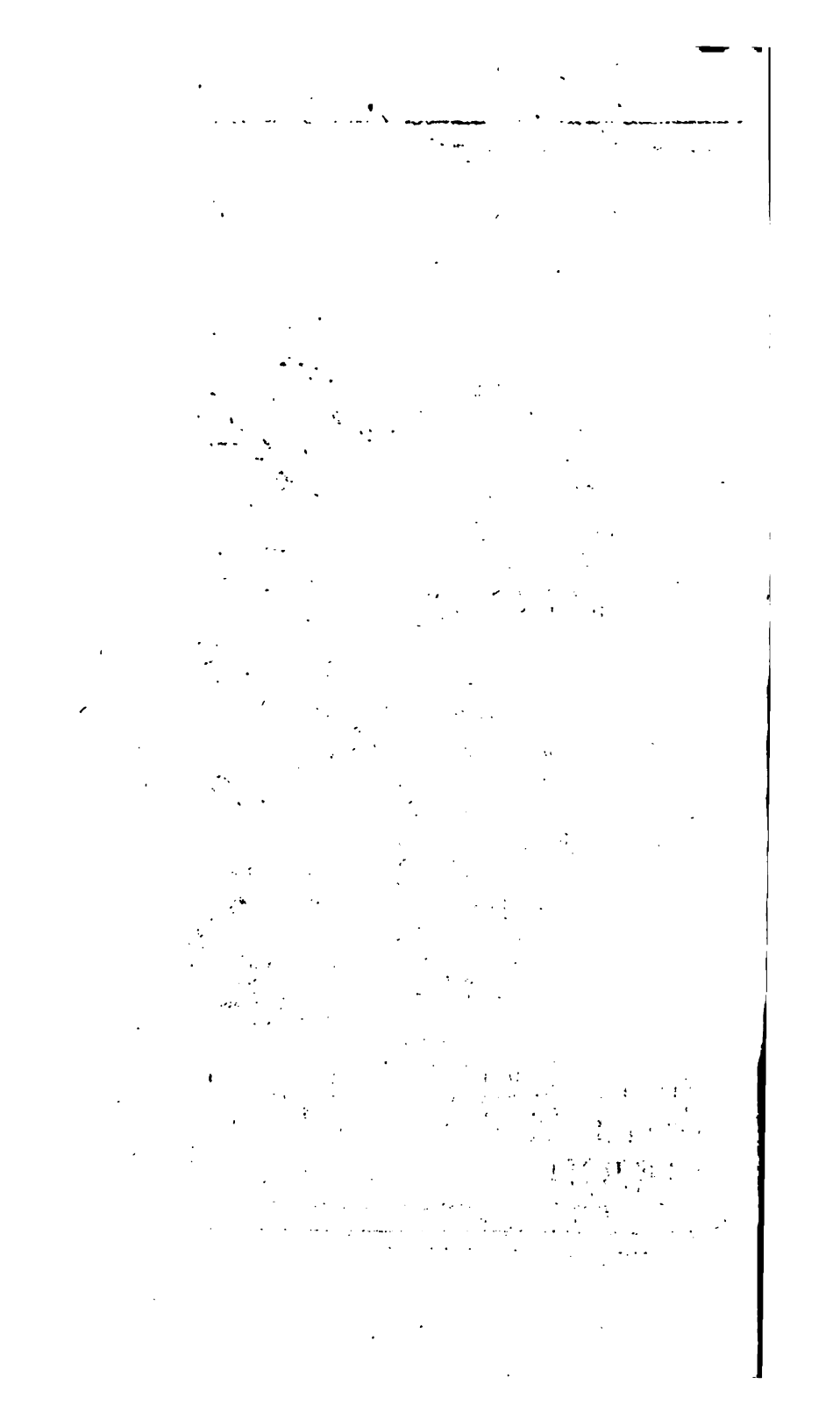
To return for a moment to Galloway: the hiſtory of that country, anciently ſo noted, is rather obſcure. The Piks, in pouring from Caledonia down to the Humber, preferred the fertile provinces of the eaſt to the weſtern hills. When Ida came in and founded the kingdom of Bernicia, A. C. 547, ſome of the Piks, preferring the roving independence of mountaineers, ſeem to have retired to the

[r] IV. 26. Carta ap. Langhorne, Chron. Reg. Angl. p. 236.

weſtern

weſtern parts of Galloway. The duration of the kingdom of Strat Clyde may ſeem remarkable, for it lay in a plain and fertile country, ſurrounded by hills, ſo that it might be expected to have fallen a prey to ſurrounding enemies. But this very circumſtance of it's being between two powerful foes, the Piks and Angli, muſt neceſſarily have protected it, and it did not ſubmit till Piks and Angli joined againſt it in 756. Till the Angli came in 547, the Piks were occupied in the rich and fertile provinces of England, as we have ſeen. Even in the mountains of Argyle, they allowed the Britiſh Scots to re-ſettle in 503. Alclud had been well fortified by Theodoſius; and the ſtrength of the capital naturally defended the ſtate. Around it the moſt warlike Britons, thoſe of Valentia the frontier, were aſſembled; and were ſo ſtrong that it required the joint armies of Piks and Angli to bring them to terms. Theſe circumſtances conſidered, we need not wonder that this ſmall ſtate, like many others, long exiſted among powerful neighbours. The Piks of Galloway lay beyond it on the ſouth-weſt among numerous mountains; but, contented with ſelf-defence, they were not powerful enough to attempt the conqueſt of Strat Clyde. Theſe Piks were themſelves ſometimes tributary to the Northumbrian monarchs, whoſe dominions extended all along their ſouthern frontier. William of Malmſbury and Roger of Cheſter teſtify, that upon the decay of the Northumbrian kingdom, about the year 820, Whitherne and theſe ſouthern parts were taken from the Angli by the Piks. And it is likely that about the ſame time they re-annexed to their domains preſent Roxburgh and Dumfries ſhires. The name of Galloway alſo occurs in an Iriſh province Galway. The etymology of names is altogether fooliſh and uncertain; but it may juſt be hinted that the name of Galloway is unknown till the eleventh century, till when, and after, the Iriſh churchmen were the only





only writers in Pikland. And as this name occurs in Ireland, it may be ſuppoſed Iriſh. *Gall* implies an alien; as the Galwegians, long an independent people, were to the preſent Scots. It is obſervable that in Galway of Ireland there were alſo Crutheni, or Piks [s].

The Wild Scots of Galloway are remarkable in our old writers and poets. The people of Carrick were noted, two or three centuries ago, for ſpeaking Iriſh, which was ſpoken by none of their neighbours. They ſeem to have paſt from the oppoſite ſhore of Ireland by degrees, as many Scots have ſince paſt into Ireland, but when, it is impoſſible, and of no moment, to determine. The reſt of that vaſt tract, anciently called Galloway, ſpeak the broad Scotiſh, or Piko-Gothic, tho with a peculiar accent, which is as likely to be the Buchan, or genuine Scandinavian dental pronunciation, as any. Thoſe uſed to the Iriſh accent think it Iriſh; thoſe uſed to the Welch think it Welch. The names over Galloway, ſave a few in Carrick, are purely Gothic. Cunningham, the country of Cunnyngs, as our old poets call rabbits. Kyle, Beda's Continuator calls Campus Cyil: it may be from a perſon's name, from the old German Kel, *cavus*, (Wachter), or the Scandinavian Kil, a narrow angle, (Ihre).

It may be proper, before cloſing this chapter, to give a hint or two concerning the ſettlements of the Piks in Ireland. Mr. O'Conor, in his map, marks two colonies of Crutheni, the one in the northern extremity of Ireland, the other in Galway. From Probus, in his life of St. Patrick, and Adomnan, in that of St. Columba, it is alſo clear that there were conſiderable ſettlements of the Crutheni, or Piks, in Ireland. The Pikiſh Chronicle, as we have ſeen, dates their ſettlement in the time of Brudi I. or about 210, which

[s] O'Conor's Diſſertations.

ſeems very probable. The extent and hiſtory of theſe ſettlements are unknown, but they muſt have been pretty conſiderable. Adomnan mentions Echuviſlaid, a king of the northern Crutheni. The Welch writers call them *Gwydhyl Phictiaid*, or Iriſh Piks. Price, in his deſcription of Wales, tells from Welch annals, that about 540, theſe Iriſh Piks, and the Iriſh Scots, ravaged the ſhores of Cardigan; and then the ile of Maun, whence they were driven by Caſwalhon Lhawhir, or Caſwalhon with the long hand, who ſlew Serigi, their king, with his own hand [t].

The Annals of Tighernac, and of Ulſter, have many notices concerning theſe Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland. The firſt I find is at the year 562, 'The battle of Moindor Lothair, upon the Cruthens, by the Nells of the north [of Ireland]. Bædan, ſon of Kin, with two other Cruthen chiefs, fought againſt the reſt of the Cruthens. The cattle and booty of the Eolargs were given to them of Tirconnel and Tirowen, conductors, for their leading, as wages.' Next is 628, 'Battle of Fedha Evin, in which Maolcaich, ſon of Skanlan, king of the Cruthens, was victor, the Dalriads fell with Kenneth Keir, their king.' At 643 is 'the death of Loken, ſon of Finin, king of the Cruthens.' At 645, 'the wounding of Scannal, ſon of Bec, ſon of Frachra, king of the Cruthens.'

[t] Ware, in his notes to the Fragments of St. Patrick, ſays, "Præter Pictos Albanienſes, qui in Annalibus Ultonienſibus nonnunquam Picti, ſed plerumque Cruithnei, appellantur, erant et olim Picti quidem Hibernici, qui Cruithnei etiam vocabantur. Horum regionem, in parte boreali Ultoniæ ſitam, Probus Cruthenorum regionem nuncupat. De Pictis Hibernicis, & *Gwydhil Phichtiaid* a Britannis dictis, vide Humf. Luid in Anglica ſua Walliæ Deſcr. p 14. 15." And ſee Uſher, Ant. Eccl. Brit. p. 302, edit. 1687, who rightly obſerves that Adomnan diſtinguiſhes the *Picti* from the *Crutheni*. The Annals of Ulſter, in Latin parts, always uſe *Picti*, for Piks, and *Crutheni* for Iriſh Piks; but in Iriſh parts the context only can mark the difference, both being called *Cruithne*.

At

At 665, 'death of Maolduin Eoch Iarlach, king of the Cruthens.' At 667, 'War of Feroti, between Ulſter and the Cruthens.' At 680 is mention of Dungal, ſon of Scannal king of the Cruthens. At 681, 'War of Rathmor at Maghlin againſt the Britons, where fell Cathaſo, ſon of Maolduin, king of the Cruthens.' In 691, Dalriada was waſted by the Cruthens, and people of Ulſter. In 707 Canis Cuarain, king of the Cruthens, was killed. In 709, Fiachra was ſlain by the Cruthens. In 730 was a battle between Dalriada and the Cruthens, at Marbuilg, where the Cruthens were conquered. In 748, Cathaſo, ſon of Aillila, king of the Cruthens, was killed at Ruhbehech. In 773, Flahrus, ſon of Fiachra, king of the Cruthens died. In 807, is the laſt mention of the Cruthens, who vaniſhed beneath the Daniſh power, and being in the north of Ireland firſt felt it's rage. All the above dates may be placed too ſoon by three or four years, as uſual in theſe Annals, to which the dates are affixed by a late hand.

CHAPTER X.

The Pikiſh Language.

EVERY one, who has been in North Britain, knows that the Lowlanders of that country are as different from the Highlanders, as the Engliſh are from the Welch. The race is ſo extremely diſtinct as to ſtrike all at firſt ſight. In perſon the Lowlanders are tall and large, with fair complexions, and often with flaxen, yellow, and red hair, and blue eyes; the grand features of the Goths, in all ancient writers. The Highlanders are generally diminutive, if we except ſome of Norwegian deſcent; with brown complexions, and almoſt always with black curled hair, and dark eyes. In mind and manners the diſtinction is as marked. The Lowlanders are acute, induſtrious, ſenſible, erect, free. The Highlanders indolent, ſlaviſh, * ſtrangers to induſtry. The former in ſhort have every attribute of a civilized people. The latter are abſolute ſavages; and, like Indians and Negroes, will ever continue ſo. For a people, which has continued ſavage from their origin till now, will infallibly remain ſo till the race be loſt by mixture. Their ſavage indolence forbids all ideas of cultivation. Their want of induſtry is the cauſe that they have no towns; their want of towns, the cauſe that they have no induſtry. Theſe cauſes act reciprocally and infinitely. If

* It is ſurpriſing, that the Highlanders are perhaps the only mountaineers who are ſtrangers to "the mountain-nymph, ſweet Liberty." Ever the ready tools of deſpotiſm, their conduct, and condition, preſent a ſad contraſt to thoſe of the Norwegians, Swiſs, &c.

towns

towns were built for them, they would not inhabit them. In vain do we dream of building towns in their territories. If peopled with Highlanders they will be in ruins in half a century. Norway is not a ſuperior country to the Highlands of Scotland. But what a difference! The one ſwarms with induſtry and towns: the other is a deſert. Had all theſe Celtic cattle emigrated five centuries ago, how happy had it been for the country! All we can do is to plant colonies among them; and by this, and encouraging their emigration, try to get rid of the breed.

The Lowlanders amount to two thirds of the inhabitants of Scotland: and, if all hiſtory were utterly extinguiſhed, we ſhould know to a certainty from their perſons, manners, and language, that they came from the oppoſite continent. Of that continent the ſouth of Norway is by much the neareſt part to Scotland; and plain ſenſe would lead us to conclude they came from thence. Language is of all others the ſureſt mark of the origin of nations. Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been originally Celts, either Gael, or Cumri, no change, or chance, could have introduced the Gothic tongue among them. In vain do ſome of our ſuperficial writers dream that they received their tongue from their ſouthern neighbours: and to ſuch a degree has their ignorance gone, as to think that, when Malcolm III. married an Engliſh princeſs, the Engliſh became the court, and then the common language! A language paſs from a ſcore of people to more than a million! If any foreigner of learning happens to peruſe this work, he will be apt to think that i have created a ſhadow to fight with. But the caſe is real: and ſuch is the ſtate of learning at preſent in Scotland! That the Lowlanders of Scotland were not Celts, who received their ſpeech from their ſouthern neighbours, requires no proof; as no ſuch matter ever happened in any period, or country. The

Celts are, like all ſavages, moſt tenacious of their ſpeech and manners. In Ireland, where there were numerous ſettlements of Engliſh, the Engliſh ſpeech was ſo far from prevailing, that ordinances were obliged to be given [a] againſt adoption of the Celtic dreſs and language, which were prevailing over the Engliſh; as thoſe of the moſt numerous people always do. The people of the plains of Ireland ſpeak the Gaëlic, as well as thoſe of the mountains; and in the moſt mountainous part of Ireland, the north, Engliſh, and Scotiſh, are chiefly ſpoken, while Celtic is the ſpeech of the ſouthern and midland plains. If ſuch be the caſe with Ireland, a country conquered by the Engliſh, and widely colonized by them; what muſt have been the caſe in Scotland, a country unconquered, and uncolonized, and ever inimical to England, till the happy junction of the Crowns? Had the Lowlanders of Scotland been Celts, they would have viewed the Engliſh language with utter abhorrence and averſion. But this need not be inſiſted on; as, putting all hiſtory aſide, we have infallible marks that they are not Celts but Goths.

More plauſible, tho fooliſh to exceſs, is the opinion of thoſe who think the Lowlanders of Scotland real Saxons from England. Such ſay that the ſouthern parts belonged to the Northumbrian kingdom, and were peopled with Saxons (they mean Angles), along with the reſt of that kingdom. That this could not be the caſe is clear: for Ida's army did not exceed 10,000 men, of which not one quarter could be ſettled in

[a] Iriſh Statutes; and ſee Spenſer's State of Ireland. Lynche, in his *Cambrenſis Everſus*, ſays, 'Barnab. Rich, Deſcr. Hib. p. 34, author eſt decem Anglos citius Hibernorum ſe moribus accommodare, quam unum Hibernum Anglorum ritus amplecti.' The cauſe is evident, for the indolent life of a ſavage has ſupreme charms for the vulgar, who in advanced ſociety are forced to work for ſubſiſtence, but in uncivilized need only hunt, or ſteal.

the

the ſouth of Scotland, if any ſettled there at all. The Lothians are by Beda called *Provincia Pictorum*; and Trumwin, whoſe ſee was there, was *Epiſcopus Pictorum*. When the Piks, in 685, recovered all the ſouth of Scotland, Beda ſays they regained, or re-annexed to their crown, *terram poſſeſſionis ſuæ*, 'the land of their poſſeſſion;' which ſhews it was always poſſeſſed by them, tho ſubject to the Northumbrian kings. In all events the phraſe poſitively forbids any interpretation, that, after 685, the Angli had any footing there. But this is vain argumentation, for it has been ſhewn above that the Piks, a Gothic ſwarm, long confined by Roman power, as ſoon as that mound was removed, burſt like a torrent over the fertile plains of England, and peopled that country down to the Humber; tho their name, like that of the Belgæ, was loſt in that of the new invaders, long before Beda wrote. In preſent Renfrew, and Lanerkſhire, it is clear that the Angles never had any footing. No towns, or poſſeſſions, there are ever mentioned by Beda. In Airſhire the Piks of Galloway, mentioned by Jocelin, lived: the kingdom of Strat Clyde ſpred over the reſt. But ſo groſs is our ignorance, that the Piks, ſo remarkable in the Roman page, and in that of Beda and the other early writers, are totally forgotten by our ſcribblers, who do not read to diſcover facts, as the antiquaries of other countries do, but are contented to ſleep in their mental night, and dream dreams. The dominion of a country is totally different from the population of it. The inhabitants of Scotland, ſouth of the friths, muſt amount to half a million; and it is queſtioned, if ancient population was greater than modern. But no one can ever imagine that a quarter of Ida's army, or 2,500 men, could have peopled that tract in two centuries, or before Beda's time. The queſtion is, who were then the inhabitants, among whom

thoſe 2,500 men were as a drop in the ſea? It has been ſhewn, from Gildas and Beda, that they were Piks.

But how came the Gothic language to be ſpoken all along the Eaſtern Lowlands of Scotland, up to it's extremity? This puzzles our pſeudo-antiquiſts. One [b] will have it that Saxon merchants ſettled there, and ſo the thing came about by God's permiſſion. What a pretty *bull!* See what it is to have Celtic intelligence! Saxon merchants! Merchants introduce a language! To anſwer ſuch nonſenſe, would be to inſult the reader's underſtanding. Others, not quite ſo abſurd, ſay that, at the Norman conqueſt, many of the Engliſh fled into Scotland, where they introduced their language. But thoſe Engliſh were people of rank; and it is known, that French was then the language ſpoken by ſuch in England before the Conqueſt [c]; ſo, if by a ſpecial miracle, a hundred or two had ſpred their ſpeech among a million of the common people, that ſpeech would have been the French. And, after all, king Dovenald Ban, 1093, obliged all theſe foreigners to leave the kingdom [d].

But there are two paſſages of ancient Engliſh hiſtorians which deſerve eſpecial notice.

The firſt is of Simeon of Durham, who wrote about 1164. He ſays, that after Malcolm III. had ravaged the Engliſh frontiers in 1070, the priſoners were ſo many, 'that Scotland is filled with male and female ſervants of Engliſh race; ſo that, even at this day, i will not ſay no little village, but not even a hovel can be found without them [e].' But ſuppoſing theſe priſoners to amount

[b] Mr. Macpherſon, Introd. to Hiſt. of Brit. and Irel. p. 91.
[c] Warton's Hiſt. of Engliſh poetry, Vol. I.
[d] Dalrymple's Annals.
[e] Simeon Dun. Col. 201. ſub Anno 1070. 'Repleta eſt ergo Scotia ſervis et ancillis Anglici generis; ita ut, etiam uſque hodie, nulla non dico villula, ſed nec domuncula, ſine his valeat inveniri.'

to

to 100,000, that number could not have introduced a language among a million of people; for, if a language is perpetuated, it is an infallible ſign, that thoſe who ſpeak it are the moſt numerous: ſo that more than a million of priſoners would have been required to effectuate this. A maid, or man ſervant, in every hut, muſt have ſpoken as the family did; but no man can ſuppoſe that the family aſſumed the ſpeech of it's ſervant. When the Franks poured into Gaul, and the other Goths into Italy, Spain, &c. the people were to them as twenty to one, and the ſpeech of the old inhabitants overcame of courſe. In ſuch inſtances the language of the inferior people prevails, from their numbers: but the caſe is widely different here. Theſe Engliſh captives, as ſuch, were for the time inferior to their maſters; but their numbers were comparatively ſo few, that it is impoſſible their ſpeech could prevail. Inferior in numbers, as in ſituation, their language would rather be matter of averſion and deriſion, than of imitation: and no doubt, at the very firſt, they tried to accommodate even their dialect to that of their maſters, in order to abandon an odious diſtinction, and to conciliate favour. That priſoners ſhould introduce a language into a country, would be a phænomenon in hiſtory, totally unknown in ancient or modern times, and cannot be admitted even in theory, far leſs in fact.

The other paſſage is extremely curious, and ſingular. It is of William of Newburgh, who wrote about the year 1200. He ſays, 'There was in the army of William, king of Scots [1173], a great number of Engliſh; for the towns and boroughs of the Scotiſh kingdom are known to be inhabited by the Engliſh. The Scots, taking the occaſion of the king's abſence, revealed their innate hatred againſt them, which they had diſſembled for fear of the king; and ſlew as many as they could find, thoſe who could eſcape flying to the

royal caſtles[f].' Malcolm III. 1056, and Edgar, 1098, were married to Engliſh ladies, as were Alexander I. and David I. Theſe princes had a natural and laudable favour for the Engliſh; and, being ſenſible of their ſuperiority in the arts of life, had apparently uſed all means to induce them to ſettle in their kingdom, and forward theſe arts there. The knowlege of theſe arts had gradually paſt from the ſouth: from Italy to France, from France to England, and ſo from England to Scotland. In the countries more immediately Gothic borough towns are of late origin. In Germany they are not older than the reign of Henry the Falconer, or about 930. In France, boroughs or corporation towns were introduced by Louis the Groſs, about 1120. But it is to be ſuſpected that they paſſed from Germany to England. At any rate, borough towns and corporations are not older in England than the eleventh century at moſt: and they ſeem almoſt inſtantly to have paſt from thence into Scotland. The Scotiſh monarchs, with a patriotic view of advancing the intereſts of their kingdom, gave boroughs with due privileges to Engliſh merchants, tradeſmen and mechanics, in like manner as the Engliſh did to French and Flemiſh. Theſe towns and boroughs muſt be carefully diſtinguiſhed from the old towns, which even in England were no better than villages, without any privileges or corporations whatever. As the Engliſh monarchs gave ſuch boroughs to the Flemings, and other foreigners, for the advantage of mechanics and commerce; ſo did the Scotiſh to the Engliſh. The Danes and Swedes are, in like manner, indebted for their early

[f] Lib. II. c. 34. 'Erat in Gulielmi Scotorum regis exercitu ingens Anglorum numerus: regni enim Scottici oppida et burgi ab Anglis habitari noſcuntur. Occaſione ergo temporis Scotti innatum, ſed metu regio diſſimulatum, in illos odium declarantes, quotquot incidebant perimerunt; refugientibus in munitiones regias ceteris qui evadere potuerunt.'

boroughs,

boroughs, commerce and arts, to German merchants from the Hanſe, and other towns of the north of Germany: and theſe advantages were unknown to Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, till the Thirteenth century, for ſuch was their gradual progreſs northward. Now theſe burghs and towns, inhabited by the Engliſh, could never exceed Fifty; tho half that number will appear nearer the matter to thoſe who know how few ſuch were in Scotland till the time of the Stuarts. And any one who knows how ſmall even Edinburgh, the capital, was before that time, will think that the medium of 1000 Engliſh to each town will exceed, and not fall ſhort of, the truth. Say then there were 50,000 Engliſh inhabitants of burghs and towns, and 100,000 Engliſh captives uſed as ſervants in Scotland, in the Twelfth century, the number will be 150,000. But even imagining this prodigious number, which every cool enquirer will allow to be in all probability double the truth, their language would in that of a million, or 1,100,000 people, the real amount of the Scotiſh Lowlanders, be as nothing. Theſe Lowlanders, far from even imitating their language, would deteſt it as foreign and inimical, as this very paſſage of Newburgh too plainly proves; and the Engliſh would rather abandon their dialect as an odious deſtinction, than ſpred it thro the country. In England the French and Flemings introduced no language, but on the contrary ſoon loſt their own. In Denmark, Sweden, Norway, the Germans made no alteration on the language. An author would be regarded as of unſound mind in thoſe countries, if he were to advance ſo weak a dream. The analogy as to Scotland is poſitive, direct, and mathematical.

It has been ſaid that ſome Danes may have ſettled in the eaſt parts of Scotland, and aſſiſted in bringing in the Gothic tongue. But this is not only *gratis dictum*, without one ſhadow of the ſmalleſt authority, but can be ſhewn to be abſolutely

lutely falſe. The Norwegians, along with the Orkneys, held Caithneſs, Sutherland, and a part of Roſs, for ſome time. Sigurd added theſe domains to his Earldom of Orkney, about 920; and they were held by his ſucceſſors for three or four centuries: the inhabitants of theſe tracts are mingled Norwegians and Piks; tho theſe northern parts, being ſeparated by Murray Frith from the Lowlands of Scotland, and adjoining to the Celtic part, the Gaëlic tongue has lately gained much ground there. But that any Norwegians, or Danes, ever ſettled in the parts ſouth of Murray Frith, there is not a ſhadow of authority. The Moravians were Piks, as Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 30. During the early Pikiſh period of our hiſtory, the Danes and Norwegians appear to have regarded Pikland as poſſeſſed by their own people, and do not ſeem to have moleſted it. In the Ninth century they began their incurſions; but were conſtantly repelled by the Pikiſh inhabitants, a people as martial as themſelves, and who alone, of the ſurrounding nations, ſeem to have matched them in arms. They were always regarded as the bittereſt enemies, and could never effectuate any ſettlement whatever; far leſs ſettle in ſuch numbers as to make any alteration on the language of the country.

As thoſe who have travelled in Scandinavia think all our Lowlanders, Scandinavians, from identity of ſpeech and manners; ſo, from a great reſemblance in theſe matters, thoſe who have travelled in Germany think them Germans. But the neareſt part of Germany is twice as far from Scotland, as the ſouth of Scandinavia; and to think that any German colony arrived in, or after, the Roman period of our hiſtory, can be ſhewn to be ſubverſive of all hiſtoric evidence concerning North Britain. Our language has many German words, as the German and Scandinavian are but dialects of the ſame tongue. We have old German

man words not to be found in the Scandinavian; and old Scandinavian not to be found in the German. But of this preſently.

In ſhort, to wind up the confutation of theſe ſuperficial opinions, advanced merely becauſe their aſſertors had not examined the matter, it is not the embroidery, or the ſowing of the robe, which muſt be attended to; but the cloth of which it is made. Theſe adventitious ſettlements, granting them all for the ſake of argument, would, if the body of the people had been Celtic, have been loſt in the number; and would have aſſumed the Celtic tongue, as the Belgic, Pikiſh, and Daniſh ſettlers in Ireland; and as the Engliſh themſelves, tho a numerous and conquering people, would have alſo done, had not ſpecial laws been made againſt it. Language depends on the univerſal population of a country; not on ſcattered ſettlements of adventitious people. Our poor Scotiſh antiquiſts are to this day enemies of the Piks; and would allow them nothing if they could. It is their trade to fight againſt all authorities, all truth, and common ſenſe. On this occaſion, being really ignorant of that grandeſt feature of our hiſtory that the Piks were a Gothic people, they have blundered in utter darkneſs; and had recourſe to abſurd ingenuity, inſtead of reading every thing that could be redd on the ſubject, in order to find facts. One would have imagined that ſome one of them might have blundered on the truth: but in fact they have, like Falſtaf, a natural alacrity in ſinking; and, in antiquarian matters, it is an infallible rule that truth can never be diſcovered by ignorance.

It has been amply ſhewn that the Piks were a Gothic people; and the inhabitants of all preſent Scotland and it's iles. The Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, do not now amount to above one quarter of the people. The Lowlanders of Scotland amount to two thirds of it's inhabitants. Of the other

other Third being Highlanders, and people of the Iles, a great part conſiſts of Goths, tho now uſing the Celtic tongue. For the Old Scots, who came into Argyle, in 503, were from the north of Ireland; and were mixt with Crutheni, or Piks, inhabitants of theſe parts, tho their tongue had been loſt in the ſurrounding Celtic. In the Hebud Iles, and in Argyle, and the north of Scotland, the Norwegians were lords, for four centuries from the ninth: and they, in like manner, loſt their ſpeech among the more numerous Celts. When theſe parts returned to the Scotiſh crown, the inhabitants remained as before. The chief families in the Highlands are all of Norwegian extract. The Celtic *Mac* is nothing: it is the name itſelf we muſt judge from. Thus the Mac Leods are ſo called from Liod Earl of Orkney: the Mac Sweyns, Mac Niels, with a ſcore of others, all bear the *Mac*, with a Norwegian name. Even when the ſecond name is Celtic, it was often taken by a Norwegian to gratify his ſubjects, or beſtowed by a Highland bard; as the Mac Donalds are known to be direct male deſcendants of Reginald, Earl of Orkney. Theſe Highland bards, it is well known, will alter a plain Gothic name to a Celtic one, in a twinkling; and are very ready in dirtying people with this honour. A part of the Iles ſtill ſpeaks the Gothic tongue, namely, the whole Orkney and Shetland Iles. The other parts ſpeak Gaëlic; but of them a great part are Goths, tho their ſpeech be loſt in that of the moſt numerous people.

There

There are in Scotland, and it's iles, of people by the lateſt and ſureſt calculations about . . .		1,600,000
Lowlanders upward of two thirds, or about		1,100,000
Highlanders and Ilanders		500,000
Of whom the people of the Orkney and Shetland Iles, all uſing the Gothic tongue, may be . . .	30,000	
Piks and Norwegians of Roſs, Sutherland, and Caithneſs, the Hebud Iles, &c. &c. now uſing the Celtic, about	70,000	
		100,000
Real Gaël, or Celts in Scotland, being a quarter of it's people,		400,000

Theſe Gaël are moſtly ſlaviſh and poor, as their ſavage indolence muſt neceſſarily make them. The better ranks in the Highlands and Weſtern Iles are almoſt all of Norwegian race, which is in fact the very ſame with the Pikiſh.

To proceed to a few remarks on the Pikiſh tongue, let us begin with obſerving, that the Gothic Language divides itſelf into Two Grand Branches, namely, The GERMAN, and The SCANDINAVIAN. Of theſe the German deſerves the ſuperiority on many accounts: 1. The Scythians muſt have begun the population of Germany long before they entered Scandinavia, and they paſſed thro a part of ancient Germany, on the eaſt, before they went over to Scandinavia. That part of them, which peopled the vaſt extent of Germany, had arrived at it's weſtern extremity as ſoon, if not ſooner than thoſe who peopled only the ſouthern tract of Scandinavia, had gained it's weſtern extremity.

2. The

2. The Baſternæ, who peopled Scandinavia, were only held a fifth part of the Germans. 3. The German, of courſe the more ancient dialect, alſo proves this antiquity [g] by it's greater reſemblance of the Aſiatic tongues; as the old Scythic, or Gothic, was an Aſiatic tongue. 4. This ſuperior antiquity of the German alſo appears from this, that it bears far more reſemblance to the Gothic of Ulphilas, the genuine ancient Scythic, than the Scandinavian does. 5. We have written monuments of the German, from the Eighth and Ninth centuries till now; but none of the Scandinavian before the Twelfth century. 6. The many countries peopled from Germany, namely, France, England, Italy, and Spain, in a great degree, render the German a more important and intereſting dialect than that of Scandinavia, from whence only Scotland, Denmark, and a few iles, were peopled.

From the ancient German dialect of the Gothic ſpring, 1. The Tudeſque. 2. Francic. 3. Belgic. 4. Anglo-Belgic, or, as we call it, Anglo-Saxon. 5. Swabian. 6. Swiſs. 7. Friſic. 8. Modern German. 9. Modern Dutch. 10. Modern Engliſh.

From the ancient Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic ſpring, 1. Swediſh, which reſembles the Icelandic, or oldeſt Scandinavian, more than the Daniſh. 2. Norwegian. 3. Pikiſh. 4. Daniſh, now much mingled with German. 5. Icelandic; which, from the very remote and detached ſituation of the country, has been kept the pureſt of all, and is juſtly eſteemed the ſtandard of the Scandinavian tongue. 6. Modern Scotiſh, or corrupted Pikiſh, as ſpoken in Angus, Mearns, Buchan, &c.

Theſe two Grand Dialects have always been different, as is well ſhewn by the learned author of

[g] See a learned and accurate Memoir of Mr. Tercier, ſhewing that, of all European tongues, the German preſerves moſt veſtiges of it's antiquity, in Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcr. Tome xxiv.

the

the *Diſſertatio de lingua Danica*, to be found at the end of Gunlaug's Saga, *Hafniæ*, 1775, 4to. The Scandinavian was in the middle ages termed Daniſh; then Norſe, as Norwegian; and laterly Icelandic, becauſe now found in the greateſt purity in that remote iland. An old writer[h] ſays that William I. duke of Normandy, when he heard Heriman, a Saxon general, ſpeak Daniſh, aſked in admiration, *quis eum Daciſcæ regionis linguam, Saxonibus inexpertem, docuerit?* 'Who had taught him the Daniſh tongue, unuſed by the Saxons?' He who enquires into the origins of the Engliſh tongue will find them in Flanders and Germany: but thoſe of the Scotiſh muſt be traced in Scandinavia.

In both theſe Grand Dialects of the Gothic, nouns and verbs are declined and inflected by changing the terminations, as in the Greek and Latin. The Modern Engliſh, and the Modern Scotiſh, form the ſole exceptions, being changed only by prepoſitions and auxiliary verbs. This ſingularity of theſe tongues paſſed from the French to the Engliſh at the Norman conqueſt; and from the French and Engliſh to the Scotiſh.

A curious diſtinction between the German dialect and the Scandinavian is, that the later has, properly ſpeaking, no letter P in it. Not above twenty words begin with P; and they are all names of foreign places, or real foreign words, as Petland, ſo called by the inhabitants; Papa, a foreign word, father, applied to a prieſt; and the like. And even in theſe, P is pronounced V, Vetland, Vava. The Scandinavian has alſo no W at all. The Runic alphabet wants E, G, P, Q, W, V, X, Z. On the contrary the Gothic of Ulphilas has both P and W; as have alſo the Anglo-Belgic, of which ſo many noble ſpecimens remain; and the Tudeſque. Theſe tongues have alſo E, G, P, Q, W, Z. The later Anglo-

[h] Dudo Geſt. Norm. apud Du Cheſne.

Belgic has X and V. But V in particular, which ſupplies both P and W in the Scandinavian, is unknown to the Gothic of Ulphilas; Tudeſque; and oldeſt Anglo-Belgic. The Scandinavian has alſo no C, which is a ſuperfluous letter in every language having *k* and *s*; and no Q, X, or Z; for *q*, it uſes *kv*; for X, *ks*; for *z*, *ſd*. The Scandinavian has but one ſupernumerary letter, Þ, TH; the Gothic of Ulphilas has G, or Ȝ, open, thus written in Anglo-Belgic ſmall letter ȝ, and in our Scotiſh ȝ; which being the identic form of Z has made our ignorant printers of old poetry totally confound our language by putting Z in it's place inſtead of Ȝ. Ulphilas has alſo Ƕ, TH; ϙ, or QU, which begins ſo many words in old Scotiſh; and X, or CH. But the total want of P and W may be looked on as the grand literal diſtinction, between the Scandinavian and the German dialects of the Gothic. And this ſeems a remarkable inſtance of the effect of climate upon language; for P and W are the moſt open of the labial letters; and V is the moſt ſhut. The former requires an open mouth: the later may be pronounced with the mouth almoſt cloſed, which rendered it an acceptable ſubſtitute in the cold clime of Scandinavia, where the people delighted, as they ſtill delight, in gutturals and dentals. The climate rendered their organs rigid and contracted; and cold made them keep their mouths as much ſhut as poſſible.

Hence alſo another grand diſtinction between the German and the Scandinavian; namely, the length of the words in the former, and their ſhortneſs in the later dialect. Long words, as a late author very juſtly obſerves, are infallible proofs of an original and ancient tongue. In time by frequent uſe, and that deſire of ſaying much with little effort, which is ſo natural in a cold climate eſpecially, words are contracted by degrees. The words of Ulphilas are as long, or longer, than

the German, or Tudeſque. The Anglo-Belgic words are ſhorter. The Scandinavian ſhorter ſtill.

The Piks, being divided from Scandinavia by a wide ſea, and being planted in North Britain, in an early period, when navigation was only undertaken for ſettlements, or ravages, and not to maintain intercourſe, they were of courſe quite detached from their progenitors. At firſt the Cumri were their only neighbours in the iland; but fear keeped them at a diſtance; and the Cumri, who only knew them as ravagers, could have little or no intercourſe with them. About 412, the Southern Piks were converted to Chriſtianity by Cumraig miſſionaries; and it is likely that a few Latin and Cumraig words might now appear among them. About 430, the Piks, burſting from the mountains to which the Roman power had long confined them, poured over the plains, driving the Cumri to the Weſtern ſhores, and peopled the country down to the Humber. The Belgic Britons were now their neighbours; and the Piks, ſoftened by a fertile country, would ſoon begin, in their ſouthern ſettlements, to adopt the arts and manners of that more poliſhed people. With theſe arts and manners, many new words would creep in, from the German dialect of their civilized neighbours. The Cumri, their old neighbours, were a barbarous paſtoral people; the Belgæ, even in Cæſar's time, an agricultural people; and now poliſhed as Roman provincials with every elegance and luxury. Theſe Piks, who were divided by the Wall of Gallio from their brethren, would naturally regard themſelves as detached from their own kingdom, and as inhabitants of a new. The Belgæ being the moſt numerous people, their ſpeech would prevail as ſuch among the detached Piks; the more eſpecially as it was but a ſuperior dialect of their own tongue. When Ida arrived with his Angles, a

century after, the progreſs of the Belgic language among theſe Piks would of courſe have been great.

When Beda wrote in 731, or about three centuries after this ſouthern ſettlement of the Piks, he informs us there were Four tongues ſpoken in Britain, namely, Engliſh, Pikiſh, Britiſh or Cumraig, and Scotiſh or Iriſh. We ſee from this, that, as the name of Angli was given by Beda to all the poſſeſſors of South Britain, ſave the Welch, this ſpeech which Beda calls Anglic was in fact the Belgic, with a new name. *Nomina non mutant rem.* Beda calls the Jutes of Kent and the ſouth; Saxons of the middle parts; and real Angli of the north, all Angli promiſcuouſly. And it is clear from him, that one ſpeech had now prevailed among them all; becauſe Jutes, Saxons, Angles, were but as drops in the ſea of Belgæ, and their language would vaniſh in leſs than a century. That this ſpeech, which Beda calls Anglic, was not Anglic, is known to all. It is improperly called Saxon by the learned; but all grant, and this very name implies, that it was not the Scandinavian dialect of the Gothic, as it muſt have been, had it been Anglic, from Anglen, a Daniſh province; but was the German dialect of the Gothic, Saxon by name, but in fact Belgic. Cædmon wrote in it in this century, when Beda lived; and Alfred and others after; ſo that we can judge of it perfectly. It is German-Gothic; and not Scandinavian-Gothic. The Saxon was in fact German-Gothic, as well as the Belgic. They were the ſame tongue; but it is the real propriety of the name that is contended for. Aſſer, who wrote the century after Beda, but lived among the Weſt Saxons, as Beda among the Angles, calls this Anglic of Beda repeatedly Saxon. We have no writer who lived among the Jutes, elſe we ſhould have it called Jutic. The fact is, all the ſettlers ſpoke this language in a century or ſo after their arrival; and of courſe all gave it their

own

own name. This Belgic muſt have, long before Beda's time, made great progreſs among the Piks of Northumbria, from their detached ſituation, from their fewneſs when compared with the Belgæ, and other cauſes above ſpecified. Leſs than three centuries will, in ſuch ſituations, totally change a language; much more alter one dialect of the Gothic into another, as the example of the Normans in France may ſhew. No wonder then that Beda ſhould call that ſpeech Anglic, which Aſſer calls Saxon; and ſhould ſpecially diſtinguiſh this Anglic, ſpoken all over England in his time, from Northumbria to Cornwall, and Kent, from the Pikiſh, or old and broad Scandinavian of Pikland. For tho the people of Northumbria, the greateſt domain of the Angli, were really Piks; yet from their ſituation, ſeparate government, and other cauſes, their ſpeech had aſſumed the Belgic hue, while the old Piks retained their Scandinavian original ſpeech. From a ſimilar ſituation the German has greatly gained, and is daily gaining, on the Daniſh; while the Swediſh remains purer.

The Saxon Chronicle was certainly begun, if not compleated, in Northumbria, for it diſtinguiſhes the South Humbrians from *Us*, as it expreſſes, a term only applicable when a work was written in Northumbria. It ſeems to have been begun in the Eleventh, and finiſhed in the Twelfth century. It's language is Belgic, not Scandinavian. The Yorkſhire dialect of the Engliſh is full of Scandinavian words; but in Beda's time, when language was rude, this diſtinction would be little ſtriking.

Beda produces one word in the Pikiſh language, namely, *Peanvahel*, the name of a town at the eaſt end of the wall of Antoninus, now, as is thought, Kineil. This name has been ſaid to be Welch; but moſt falſely, for neither *Pean* nor *Vahel* are to be found in the Welch language. *Pen* is, in

Welch, the head of a hill, the top of an object [h]; but no *vahel*, or *fahel*, is to be found in that tongue. The Welch for wall, is *gwal*, a modern word derived from the Latin *vallum*, or from the Gothic *veal*, and our *wall*; as almoſt all words in the pretended Celtic are either Gothic, or Latin. Baxter ſays, that, in Welch, *Pen-y-wall* is the head of the wall [i]; but this is not *Peanvahel*. Beda, who ſpecially diſtinguiſhes the Welch as a different tongue from the Pikiſh, and lived in a country bordering on both Piks and Welch, certainly knew the Pikiſh tongue from the Welch. Nennius, *cap.* 19. ſpeaking of this, ſays the Wall was called in Welch *Gual*, which is the mere Roman *vallum*, with the Welch G prefixed; and that the town was, in Welch, called *Pengaaul*, a very different word from *Peanvahel*. The Pikiſh word is broad Gothic, *Paena*, 'to extend,' Ihre; and *Vahel*, a broad ſound of *veal*, the Gothic for 'wall,' or of the Latin *vallum*, contracted *val*: hence it means, 'the extent, or end of the wall,' as the Piks, who followed it to the ſouth-eaſt, would naturally term it; for they could not follow it to the weſt, where the Britons of Strat Clyde dwelled. The Engliſh name, as Beda ſays, was *Penveltun*, which is merely the Pikiſh, in a ſofter dialect with *tun*, or *town*, at the end of it; and it is amazing our Welch dreamers do not prove the Engliſh language to be Welch, for the Engliſh name is far nearer to the Welch than the Pikiſh. But to leave this trifling.

The nature and deſign of this work forbids my entering on a formal diſſertation concerning the Pikiſh language; and I ſhall therefore cloſe this ſubject with a few brief remarks. The earlieſt

[h] So is *Pinne*, or *Penne* in German. The Celtic is quite full of Gothic words.

[i] Baxter was a true Celtic etymologiſt; witneſs his deriving *Blackneſs* from *Balg na iſc*, 'venter aquæ.' *Stirling*, from *Es treu Alaun*, 'Oppidum Alauna!'

remain

remain we have of the Lowland Scotiſh, or modern Pikiſh, is the poem of Barbour, written in 1375. Here is a ſpecimen, faithfully copied from the MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, dated 1489.

A ! Fredome is a nobill thing !
Fredome mayſs man to haiff lyking.
Fredome all ſolace to man giffis :
He levys at eſs, that frely levys.
A noble hart may haiff nane eſe,
Na ellys nocht that may him pleſe,
Gyff Fredome failyhe ; for fre lyking
Is yharnyt our all othir thing.
Na he, that ay haſs levyt fre,
May nought knaw weill the propyrte,
The angyr, na the wrechyt dome,
That is cowplyt to foule thyrldome.
Bot gyff he had aſſayit it,
Than all perquer he ſuld it wyt,
And ſuld think Fredome mar to pryſs,
Than all the gold in warld that is.

Of this, as of all our old Scotiſh language, the GRAMMAR is perfectly ENGLISH. That is, there are no inflections of verbs and nouns, as in the German and Scandinavian dialects; but their purpoſe is ſerved by prepoſitions and auxiliary verbs. The Grammar of any language is it's moſt eſſential and permanent form; and nothing is more certain than that the old Scotiſh language derives it's Grammar from the Engliſh, as the Engliſh does from the French, and the French from the Italian. The origins of the Engliſh language have never been enquired into with any degree of labour and minute attention; nor the time marked when the French grammar prevailed over the Belgic, or as it is called Saxon, which had inflections, as the other Gothic dialects. This Belgic, or old Engliſh, had certainly ſome inflections, down to the Twelfth century, tho many of them had worn out before; for the grammar of a language is very difficult to change, and it took

three centuries at leaſt totally to change the Engliſh, namely, from the Eleventh, when French was firſt ſpoken by the court and nobility before the Conqueſt, and after by all, ſave the common people, till the Fourteenth century, when ſome inflections ſtill remain in the work of Robert de Brunne. It muſt, however, be remarked, that the inflections of the later Gothic are few: and that the genius of that language often admitted prepoſitions, and auxiliary verbs, from the firſt. But it was infallibly the influence of the French ſpeech, which has no inflections in nouns, that led us to diſcard them. The French, Italian, and Spaniſh, have inflections of verbs; and ſo have we, tho very few. In which we abide by the later Gothic, while they follow the Latin; of which all theſe tongues are but corrupt and ruſtic dialects.

From the reign of Malcolm III. 1056, to the end of that of Alexander III. 1291, moſt of the Scotiſh monarchs were married to Engliſh ladies; and a continual intercourſe prevailing between the kingdoms, from their natural ſituation and connection, it is then no wonder that the language of a kingdom, ſo very ſuperior to Scotland as England was, and is in all reſpects, ſhould have been always gaining ground there. The Daniſh language is now very much German, owing to the ſame cauſes. The Houſe of Oldenburg is a German houſe; as Malcolm III. from his long reſidence in England, was almoſt an Engliſhman, as to manners, &c. The borough towns of Scotland were, as we have ſeen, tenanted by Engliſhmen. All theſe cauſes, no doubt, contributed to introduce gradually Engliſh words and idioms, nay ſuch ſmall grammar as the Engliſh bears, into the Pikiſh or Scandinavian dialect of the north of Britain. The Engliſh was alſo a written tongue, while there is no room to ſuppoſe that the Pikiſh ever was, being ſpoken in a rude and barbarous kingdom; while the Belgic, or Engliſh, had

been

been long the written language of a great and civilized country. When it was above ſhewn that the Lowland Scots could not receive their language from the Engliſh, it was not meant to deny that they received the form of their *written* language from the Engliſh. All that was intended to be proved was, that, as the Piks ſpoke a dialect of that very language before, the Engliſh improvements of that dialect were natural and eaſy; whereas, had they ſpoken the Celtic, the Engliſh language would have gained no ground. For the cauſes above given are ſufficient to alter one dialect almoſt wholly into another; but by no means to introduce a new language.

As we have no work written in Scotland in the common tongue prior to the Eleventh century, when the Belgic, or Engliſh, had begun in all appearance to prevail, the Pikiſh is beyond doubt a loſt language, or rather a loſt dialect of the Scandinavian, as the Spartan is a loſt dialect of the Greek. But one half of the words, ſtill uſed in the remote Lowlands of Scotland, are not Engliſh, or Belgic; but Pikiſh, or Scandinavian. The Pikiſh never being a written dialect, it muſt be ſought for only in the vulgar mouth; and it were well worth the curioſity of ſome man of ſkill to give us a Gloſſary of the Uncommon Words uſed from the Forth to Murray Frith. We find in our old Scotiſh poets, and in Provincial Poetry of Scotland, that nearly half the words are Scandinavian, not Engliſh. A Scotiſhman can learn the Scandinavian in very ſhort time [k]; while an Engliſhman finds it difficult. In Icelandic the Lord's Prayer runs thus:

[k] 'Accedit linguæ cognatio, quæ facit ut Scoti in Suediam advenientes Suedice loqui facillime diſcant.' Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. This muſt have been eaſily obſerved in the many Scotiſh who advanced the arms of Guſtavus Adolphus. Mr. Coxe, in his Travels, I. 504, obſerves the great ſimilarity between Swediſh and broad Scotiſh; and mentions a Swediſh traveller, who found many obſolete Swediſh words common in Scotland.

Fader

Fader uor ſom eſt i Himlum. 2. Halgad warda thitt nama. 2. Tilkomma thitt Rikie. 3. Skie thin vilie ſo ſam i Himmalam, ſo och po Iordanna. 4. Wert dachlicha brodh gif os i dagh. 5. Och forlat os uora ſkuldar, ſo ſam ogh vi forlate tham os ſkildighe are. 6. Ogh inled os ikkie i freſtalſan. 7. Utan frels os ifra endo. Amen.

In Tudeſque thus:

Fater unſer thu thar biſt in Himile. 1. Si gehailagot thin namo. 2. Queme thin Rihhi. 3. Si thin willo ſo her in himile, iſt o ſi her in erdu. 4. Unſar brot tagalihhan gib uns huitu. 5. Inti furlaz uns nuſara ſculdi ſo uuir furlazames unſaren ſculdigon. 6. Inti ni gileiteſt unſih in coſtunga. 7. Uzouh arloſi unſi fen ubile. Amen.

In Anglo-Belgic, thus:

Uren fader thic arth in Heofnas. 1. Si gehalgud thin noma. 2. To cymmeth thin ryc. 3. Sie thin willa ſue is in heofnas and in eortho. 4. Uren hlaf oferwiſtlic ſel us to daeg. 5. And forgeſe us ſcylda urna, ſue we forgefan ſcyldum urum. 6. And no inleod uſig in cuſtnung. 7. Ah gefrig uſich from iſle. Amen.

Chamberlayne, in that curious work the *Oratio Dominica omnibus fere in linguis*, and which ſerves more to illuſtrate the origin and propinquity of nations, than many huge works, gives us the following as the Lord's Prayer in the language of the Orkneys.

Favor ir i chimre. 2. Helleur ir i nam thite. 3. Gilla coſdum thite cumma. 4. Veya thine nota vara gort o yurn, ſinna gort i chimrie. 5. Ga vus da on da dalight brow vora. 6. Firgive vus ſinna vora ſin vee firgive ſindara mutha vus. 7. Lyve us ye i tuntation. 8. Min delivera vus fro olt ilt. Amen; or, *On ſa meteth vera.*

This was originally publiſhed by Wallace, in his account of the Orkneys, London, 1700, 8vo. Biſhop Percy[1] ſuſpects that there are errors of the preſs,

[1] Northern Antiquities, Vol. I. Pref.

preſs, ſuch as *helleur* for *helleut*: and i think at 7. *ye* for *ze*. Wallace ſays the Orcadians call the language *Norns*, or *Norſe*: But it is a different dialect from the Norwegian, Icelandic, Daniſh, Swediſh. It approaches nearer to the Icelandic, than to any of the others; but differs conſiderably even from the Icelandic, as the reader may obſerve. But whether this difference be merely the effect of change and time, to which all tongues are liable; or, as we know that the Piks inhabited the Orkneys, when the Norwegians came in, and that the former muſt have been the moſt numerous people, this may therefore be really the old Pikiſh, preſerved in that remote ſituation, tho with ſome corruptions; is a queſtion not eaſily determinable.

In the oldeſt Lowland Scotiſh recoverable, the Lord's Prayer would run thus:

Uor fader quhilk beeſt i Hevin. 2. *Hallewit weird thyne nam.* 3. *Cum thyne kingrik.* 4. *Be dune thyne wull as is i hevin, ſva pa yerd.* 5. *Uor dailie breid gif us thilk day.* 6. *And forleit us uor ſkaths, as we forleit tham quha ſkath us.* 7. *And leed us na intil* temtation [m]. 8. *Butan fre us fra evil.* Amen.

In this it is attempted literally to follow the four former, as far as the language would bear. When the reſemblance between all theſe four ſpecimens is ſo great; the reader will not wonder that there is ſo much proximity between the old Engliſh and Scotiſh. The Pikiſh ſo differed from the Anglo-Belgic in Beda's time, that he marks them as diſtinct languages. The one retained all it's German peculiarities; the other all it's Scandinavian. But by colliſion, and at an early period, by an interchange of words, they became very ſimilar. For we muſt not imagine that all the profits were on one ſide. The early Engliſh min-

[m] This word is the only heterogeneous one. In Francic it is *coſtunga*, in Ulphilas *fraiſtubnjai*. But i know no Scotiſh word for *temptatio*.

ſtrels

ſtrels were all of the north country; and from them many words, not to be found in the Anglo-Belgic, paſſed into the old Engliſh. It is indeed a ſingularity worth remarking, that the Germans were never ſo remarkable for poetry as the Scandinavians. The northern Angli, and Piks, a Scandinavian people, brought poetry into firſt repute in England: the Normans, another Scandinavian people, did the ſame in France; for the claim of the inſipid Troubadours has been laid aſleep by M. le Grand [n]. But it is clear to me, as is natural to ſuppoſe, that the form of the language, and the greater number of mutual words, paſſed from England into Scotland.

On the ſubject of our Scotiſh poetry it is worth obſerving that our ballads and ſongs are as ſimilar to the Daniſh as poſſible, as the reader will find on looking into the *Priſcæ Cantilenæ Danicæ* of Velleius, publiſhed laſt century; or the *Levninger af Middel-Alderens Digtekunſt*, Kiobenhavn, 1780, 8vo. None of theſe Daniſh ſongs are older than the Fourteenth century: and in all points they perfectly reſemble our Scotiſh ones, tragic and comic. They who enquire into the origins of Scotiſh muſic, ſhould ſtudy that of Iceland and Scandinavia.

Fordun tells, lib. II. c. 9. 'The manners of the Scots are various as their languages; for they uſe two tongues, the Scotiſh and the Teutonic, which laſt is ſpoken by thoſe on the ſea coaſts, and in the Low Countries: while the Scotiſh is the ſpeech of the mountaineers, and remote ilanders [o].' He then

[n] In the able prefaces to his *Fabliaux ou Contes*, 5 vols. 12mo, a work tranſlated from the old northern poets of France, and which has paſt thro many editions, while the works of the Troubadours, tranſlated in like manner, have been received with the coldneſs their inſipidity merited.

[o] 'Mores autem Scotorum, ſecundum diverſitatem linguarum, variantur: duabus enim utuntur linguis, Scotica, videlicet, et Teutonica; cujus linguæ gens maritimas poſſidet et planas

then deſcribes the former as a civilized people: the later as mere ſavages. Sir John Clerk, perhaps the beſt antiquary that Scotland has yet produced, tho he was quite deficient in erudition, has, in a work written in 1742, but not publiſhed till 1782[p], and which did not happen to be ſeen by me till after the materials of this Enquiry were collected, attempted to ſhew that the Piks were Saxons, and of courſe their tongue Saxon. In this he lyes open to eaſy and direct confutation: for, to go no further, the Piks and Saxons are by all the ancient writers marked as quite different nations; and we know from Beda that in his time the Pikiſh, and Anglic, or Saxon, were different tongues. But in other articles of that diſſertation, on the Ancient Language of Great-Britain, Sir John is entitled to the higheſt praiſe, as the ONLY antiquary, who has ſeen that infallible truth, that the Belgic Britons ſpoke that language afterward called Saxon, and that the Celts, even in Britain, were confined to the weſtern parts, long before the time of Cæſar. This diſcovery aroſe to me, when collecting materials for the Diſſertation at the end of this work; before i began to compile thoſe of this work itſelf; and two years before i ſaw Sir John's production; yet Sir John has no doubt the priority of a diſcovery, which in the hiſtory of no other country would have been reſerved for this century, and which i will venture to ſay is more important to Engliſh hiſtory, than any yet made, or that can be made. For it not only adds SEVEN CENTURIES to the hiſtory of Engliſhmen, as ſuch; but will, if duly attended to, put the whole hiſtory of Law, Manners, Antiquities, &c. in England upon

planas regiones: linguæ vero gens Scoticæ montanas inhabitat et inſulas ulteriores. Maritima quoque domeſtica gens eſt, et culta, fida, patiens, et urbana; veſtitu ſiquidem honeſta, civilis atque pacifica, circa cultum divinum devota, ſed et obviandis hoſtium injuriis ſemper prona. Inſulana vero ſive montana, ferina gens eſt, &c.

[p] Bibliotheca Topographica Brit. *Reliquiæ Galeanæ*, p. 362.

quite

quite a new, and far more intereſting footing. Unhappily Sir John wanted learning ſufficient to ſtamp full authority upon this; and he reſts upon the meaning of a few German words what depended on a diſplay of the whole progreſs of the Scythians, or Goths, ſhewn in the Diſſertation annexed to this work. His ideas on the ſubject are of courſe confuſed and inaccurate; and he only ſees, thro a miſt, a vaſt object, which is capable of receiving the whole blaze of day. Concerning the Piks, he is totally miſtaken; and he ought to have read a thouſand or two more books, before he attempted the antiquities of his country. Sir Robert Sibbald, the earlieſt antiquary Scotland produced, ſaw this matter better, the end of laſt century; and tells us expreſſly, that the Piks were Goths, and that the names of their kings are all Gothic, not Celtic*. Pity that Sir Robert alſo had only that kind of ſuperficial and ignorant learning, ſo remarkable in the works of our Scotiſh antiquiſts, who ought to read thouſands of books before they pretend to write a word; and that he was ſo weak, as not to know that the name of a country is nothing, either in regard to it's inhabitants, or it's hiſtory. But the little word *Scot* totally perverted Sir Robert's underſtanding; and made him, who was a Pik, regard his own anceſtors as his enemies.

To diſplay the origins of the old Scotiſh language of the Lowlands; and the words of it which belong to the Anglo-Belgic and to the Scandinavian, and thoſe peculiarly it's own; would require a work as large as the whole of this, or much larger: and is well deſerving the attention of ſome able hand. But this ſubject ſo little concerns my preſent purpoſe, that i ſhall leave it after ſome remarks on the name the Piks gave themſelves in their own language.

* Hiſt. of Fife.

The

The old Anglo-Belgic writers, who were the neighbours of the Piks, and had frequent intercourse with them, certainly called them by that very appellation they gave themselves, and pronounced as they pronounced it. King Alfred in his translation of Beda, and in that of Orosius, calls them repeatedly *Peohtas*, *Peahtas*, *Pehtas*. The Saxon Chronicle *Pihtas*, *Pyhtas*, *Pihtas*, *Peohtas*. Ethelwerd, lib. II. 12. *Peohtæ*; lib. IV. *Pihti*. And many other Saxon remains preserve these appellations.

Wittichind, a German Saxon writer, who lived under Otho I. about the year 950, narrates fabulously that the Britons sent to the Saxons for assistance against the Piks and Scots; and calls the former repeatedly *Pehiti*, which is merely a softer pronunciation of *Pehti*. Andrew Winton, a Scotish Chronicler, who wrote about 1410, calls them *Peyctis*, *Peehts*, *Pihts*. The common denomination among the people of Scotland, from the Pehts Wall in Northumberland to the Pehts houses in Ross-shire, and up to the Orkneys, is *Pehts*.

The genuine name the Piks from the earliest times gave themselves, and which they bore among neighbouring nations, was therefore that of PEHTS, variously pronounced PIHTS, and PEUHTS; for *Peöhtas*, in the Scandinavian, would now sound *Peuehtas*, the *ö* in Icelandic having the sound of a French *u*.

This name being guttural, and somehow indefinite, and lax in the mouth, it was softened and rendered firm and distinct, by different nations in different manners. In their original seats on the Euxine, Greek and Roman writers call them PIKI and PEUKINI; being the real names PIHTS and PEUHTS, mollified, and rendered more distinct. The later name follows them into Scandinavia, as formerly shown.

On their emerging again to Roman view in the North of Britain, they were at first called

Cal-

Caledonians [q], from a Cumraig epithet; but when the Romans by further acquaintance had discovered the real name, the writers of a declining age unfortunately termed them PICTI; a name, which tho only the real one PIHTS, softened to Roman pronunciation, yet gave rise to great confusion. For the word *Picti*, implying *painted people* in Latin; the identity of the words blended matters totally distinct, and made the real name of a nation pass for a Latin epithet, so that even their own writers were led astray; and Claudian, a poet full of quibble and conceit, says *Nec falso nomine Picti*. The English and Irish were alike unfortunate in their Latin appellations. *Angli* has been gravely derived from *Anguli*, 'corners,' because England has many promontories. The *Hiberni*, or Irish, have been confounded with *hiberni*, 'wintry people, or people in a wintry climate,' by several writers; nay by Sir James Ware, who quotes

Hibernique Getæ, pictoque Britannia curru,

as belonging to Ireland! The *Britons* were in like manner thought to be named from the Latin *Brutus*, for ten centuries. Such was Latin etymology: and now we promise fair to have ten centuries of Celtic; and then ten centuries of Laplandic; for human folly is always the same. But to return to the *Picti*, the Romans, unhappily not catching from the pronunciation the old name *Peukini*, must have been puzzled how to modify this barbaric term: for as *Piki* implied in Latin wood-peckers, &c. a victory over these *Piki* would have sounded odd in their annals. The Cumraig Britons called them *Phichtiaid*, and the Romans could have only Latinized this name *Ficti*, which was worse and worse; for a battle with *Ficti*, *feigned* people,

[q] Lloyd in pref. to Archæolog. says, the Welch still call Scotland *Keltdhon*; Baxter, in his Glossary, tells that the Welch call the North Britons *Kelydhon*, and their woods *Coit Kelydhon*.

people

people of *fiction*, would have been matter of laughter. From Scandinavian pronunciation, the name was *Vici*, *towns*, or *Victi*, *conquered*, or *Vecti*, *carried*, ſo that the confuſion was endleſs. *Picti*, coming firſt to hand, took the place of all. Ammianus calls the ſouthern Piks, by the Scandinavian pronunciation, *Vecturiones*; that is, *Vect-veriar*, or *Pikiſh men*, as the Icelandic writers call them in their old Norwegian ſeats *Vik-veriar*. But the mountain Piks, being then under a different government, and forming a ſeparate nation from the Southern Piks, the old name of *Ducaledones*, or Northern Caledonians, was ſtill continued to the former, with whom the Cumraig Britons had no neighbourhood, nor intercourſe; while the real name of the Southern Piks became perfectly known to them from neighbourhood.

In Scandinavia, even among the Piks themſelves, the ſound of P vaniſhed, and it was pronounced as V, from circumſtances above explained. Hence the *Vika* and *Vikr* of Icelandic writers, and Norwegian charters. The ſame names were alſo pronounced *Vicha* and *Vichr*, even in the Sixteenth century, as Olaus Magnus ſhews; nay, Torfæus, in the beginning of this century, uſes *Vika* and *Vicha*, indiſcriminately. This V is in fact only the Scandinavian pronunciation of P, and prevails in the Icelandic to this very day; P being never pronounced but as V in that tongue, even in foreign words, for in Icelandic there is no P at all. Saxo, *lib.* IX. ſpeaks of the conqueſts of Regnar Lodbrog, in Scotia, *Petia*, and the Hebudes. This muſt have been taken from a poem preceding 1020, for Scotia is here palpably Ireland, the only Scotia, prior to about 1020, and Petia is Petland, or preſent Scotland. Saxo a traveller, and a man of great information, knew that the inhabitants, the Engliſh and the Germans, called the country *Pehtland*, and he uſes the genuine, not the Icelandic pronunciation. For

about the Sixth century, and from that time downward, as above explained, the Anglo-Belgic began to prevail among the Southern Piks in Northumbria, and by degrees proceeded northward, ſo that in Alfred's time, or about 880, the real ſound of the letter P would be reſtored among the Southern Piks at leaſt: if indeed the Scandinavian V for P be not a late corruption. And neither in the old Scotiſh, nor in the preſent Buchan dialect, is V put for P at all. In Icelandic writers we find *Pets* and *Petlands Fiord*, for Piks and Pentland Frith; while the old Piks of Norway are called Vikir, and their country Vik. This ariſes from our having no Scandinavian authors at all, till the Twelfth century; long before which time the Piks of Britain had become perfect foreigners to the Scandinavians, and their origin quite unknown to them. Hence the change of name, for one and the ſame people, the old name of Pikir, pronounced Vikir, continuing to the Norwegian Piks; while the Britiſh Piks, calling themſelves Pehts, the name was ſoftened to Pets, but really pronounced Vets and Vetland. Thus, tho the Engliſh proceeding from Anglen in Denmark, it might be ſuppoſed their country would be called Angleland in Icelandic writers, it is uniformly termed England; and neither Saxo, nor any old Icelandic writer, ever hints, or ſeems to have known, that the Engliſh were from Anglen. Such pieces of ignorance are frequent in the moſt enlightened times; no wonder then that they ſhould occur in dark periods.

CHAP.

CHAPTER XI.

Manners of the Piks.

THE manners of a people are either Public, or Private. Under the head of Public Manners, may well be put, 1. Government; and 2. Religion as they ſtrictly belong to ſuch, not only as having vaſt influence over the manners, but as forming an actual part of them. Other articles of Public Manners are, 3. War, 4. Navigation; and, by a ſingular fate among the Gothic nations, 5. Poetry and Muſic.

Private Manners may be referred to, 1. Birth, Marriage, Death. 2. Eating and Drinking. 3. Houſes and Dreſs. 4. Occupations. 5. Arts, and Sciences. 6. Amuſements. Under theſe diviſions every part of Manners is included.

But in treating of the people now under view, their Manners admit not only of Two Grand Diviſions, Public and Private; but of Two Deſcriptions. The Firſt Deſcription is that actually given of Pikiſh manners, as ſuch, by Roman and other ancient writers. The Second Deſcription ſprings from the certainty that the Piks were Goths, and that of courſe their manners were the ſame with thoſe of other Gothic nations, in the ſame ſtate of ſociety.

An hiſtorian of Scotland ought to enter fully into both deſcriptions; for the Manners of a barbaric people form by far the moſt intereſting part of it's hiſtory; but my preſent purpoſe confines me to a few brief hints.

§ I. *Deſcription of Pikiſh Manners, as given by the Roman and other ancient writers.*

Diviſion I. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. Tacitus, the very firſt writer from whom any hints concerning the manners of the Caledonians, or Piks, can be derived, ſhews, that in the time of Agricola's expedition, they were divided into ſeveral ſmall ſtates, as the Germans, and other ancient nations. As Tacitus rightly conſiders the Scandinavians as Germans, and expreſſly tells us, that the Caledonians, or Piks, were Germans, it follows that the fine deſcription of the German governments, given by Tacitus, muſt be that of the Pikiſh ſtates alſo, namely, a democracy, which choſed it's own chiefs, but reſerved all liberty, and the moſt eſſential part of the power, to the people. Dio accordingly tells us expreſſly, that the Caledonian ſtates were democratic. And Tacitus does not mention that they had one king among them, but poſitively implies that they had none, by calling Galgacus only the moſt eminent of their generals[a]. In Germany and Scandinavia, Tacitus mentions kings: but the Piks being a later ſettlement, had not proceeded ſo far in ſociety, ſave in their firſt Britiſh ſeats, the Hebud Iles, where a kingdom had already been formed, which was in time to extend it's power over all the Caledonians. Tacitus mentions that in Britain there were formerly kings, but that in his time there were only factions. This deſcription belongs to the ſouthern Britons, with whom alone, as procurator of Belgium, Tacitus had acquaintance, as is clear from the context, in which theſe Britons are compared with the oppoſite Gauls; and from his adding that

[a] Inter plures duces virtute et genere præſtans, nomine Galgacus. *Agric.*

the

the ſtates formed no confederacies, *ita dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur*, 'ſo that fighting apart, all are conquered:' whereas, in the very ſame work, the ſame writer tells that the ſtates of Caledonia, with ſurprizing prudence, joined in a common league againſt Agricola.

In the Hebud Iles Solinus, who wrote about 240, deſcribes the ſingular ſtate of the early Pikiſh monarchy, above inſerted. From Adomnan we learn that the Pikiſh kings had a ſenate [b]; and that there was a *nobile genus*, or noble race [c], as among the Germans: and from the Regiſter of St. Andrew's, that there was a *Regalis Proſapia*, or Royal Race: from whom it has been above ſhewn that the kings were choſen.

II. RELIGION. Of the religion of the Caledonians there is no hint in any Roman writer, as the country was little known, or deſcribed. Adomnan is the earlieſt author, from whom any information on this ſubject can be drawn, and that information very ſmall. It appears from him that the Piks reverenced fountains [d], and aſcribed great virtues to them, a notion common to the ancient Goths. That they had *ſui Dei*, 'their own gods,' whom they thought ſtronger than him of the Chriſtians. That they had *Magi*, or Magicians, prieſts who were thought to poſſeſs the power of raiſing ſtorms: many adventures of Columba, with *Broichanus*, one of theſe Pikiſh magicians, are narrated by Adomnan.

III. WAR. On this head almoſt the whole Roman information neceſſarily reſts. From Tacitus

[b] Rex cum ſenatu valde pertimeſcens, domum egreſſus, obviam cum veneratione beato pergit viro. *Adom. Vita Col.* II. 14. de Brudeo loq.

[c] Quendam de nobili Pictorum genere II. 11. He alſo mentions the 'familiares regis,' II. 13. the *comites* of the Germans, in Cæſar and Tacitus.

[d] In Pictorum Provincia . . . audiens in plebe gentili de aliquo fonte divulgari famam, quem quaſi divinum ſtolidi homines . . . venerabantur. II. 6.

we learn that the Caledonians, or Piks, uſed cars in battle, as the Belgæ and other Gothic nations. That the Celts ever had cars there is no proof. Adomnan deſcribes Echuviſlaid, king of the Crutheni, or Piks in Ireland, as uſing a car[e]. Cars continued among the Scandinavians, down to the Tenth, or Eleventh century[f]. In deſcribing the battle of the Grampians, Tacitus alſo ſhews that the Caledonians had a body of cavalry. He does not ſpecify the arms peculiar to each claſs; but only mentions that the Caledonian ſwords were very large, and without points, ſo as to cut, but not thruſt; and their ſhields were ſmall[g]; matters in which they exactly correſpond with the Germans, as deſcribed by the ſame author. The Caledonians alſo uſed archery, as all barbaric nations, and as Tacitus ſpecially ſhews. The arrows were pointed with flints, now often found, and called elf-ſtones. In the time of Severus, Dio ſays, the Caledonians alſo uſed daggers, as the Saxons, and many other Goths. Herodian mentions their ſmall ſhields; and adds lances to their armour. The laſt are alſo mentioned by Dio, who ſays their lances had an hollow ball of braſs at the handle-end, which ſerved as a kind of rattle[h]. Gildas mentions that the Piks had a

[e] Sed et de rege Cruithniorum, qui Echuviſlaid vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus currui inſidens evaſerit prophetizavit ſimiliter ſanctus. *MS.* in Bibl. Reg. lib. I. *c.* 6. omitted by Caniſius.

[f] See Diſſertation annexed, p. 70. So late as 1182, cars of battle were uſed in Flanders. 'Le Comte de Flandres y parut, eſcorté de pluſieurs chariots armés en guerre a la façon des anciens;' in battle againſt the French king 1182. *Eſſai ſur l'Hiſt de Picardie*, I. 311. This was the old cuſtom of the country, the *Belgica eſſeda* of Virgil, if he means not the Belgæ of Britain. Saxo, lib. VIII. p. 147, mentions the car of Harold Hyldetand, about the year 800.

[g] In Roman coins, Britannia has a ſmall round ſhield, and long ſpear.

[h] Lib. 76. Herodotus deſcribes bands of Perſians, with gold and ſilver pomgranates, on their javelins, lib. VII.

kind

kind of hooked ſpears, with which they drew the Britons down from the battlements of the wall of Gallio. Such ſpears were uſed among the Scandinavians; and Bartholin gives us a print of one found in Iceland. Sidonius Apollinaris deſcribing the Gothic princes ſays, *muniebantur lanceis uncatis.*

IV. NAVIGATION. The Piks were perpetually paſſing the friths of Forth and Clyde to moleſt the Britons. Their boats were uſually of oſiers, interwoven, and covered with the ſkins of beaſts, as appears from Solinus, Gildas, and Nennius. Sidonius Apollinaris, *car.* 7. mentions ſuch boats as uſed by the Saxons[i]. Maitland tells us they are ſtill uſed on the river Spey, in Moray; being round at both ends, five feet long, and three broad. Such were alſo the boats of the old Welch and Iriſh. Tacitus deſcribes navigation as at a great height among the Suiones, or Danes of his time. But the caſe was different in Caledonia, an earlier and more barbaric ſettlement of the Goths. The Piks, however, would naturally advance in this ſcience, tho i cannot find that they ever had fleets, like their Scandinavian anceſtors. In the year 1726, under ſeveral ſtrata of earths and foſſils, was found in the bank of the Carron, a large boat, 36 feet long, and 4½ broad; made of one entire piece of oak, and well poliſhed, both within and without. From the number of ſtrata, Sir John Clerk thought it an antediluvian boat; but, that jeſt apart, theſe ſtrata certainly ſhew it very old; and it is moſt probable that it was Pikiſh, becauſe found in the country of the Piks.

V. POETRY and MUSIC. With regard to theſe the ancients have hardly left one hint. Tacitus mentions the war-ſong, and military ſhouts of

[i] Quin et Aremoricus piratam Saxona tractus
Sperabat, cui pelle ſalum ſulcare Britannum
Ludus, et aſſuto glaucum mare findere lembo.

the Piks. The manners of the other Goths muſt here be recurred to.

Diviſion II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. The whole accounts of private manners of the Piks are moſt defective. Dio tells us the Caledonians had their wives in common, and brought up their children in public. Cæſar tells us the ſame thing of the ſouthern Britons, that ten or twelve had wives in common; and chiefly brothers with brothers, and parents with children; but that the children belonged to him who firſt wedded the mother. Theſe are moſt ſingular and ſtriking features of barbaric ſociety, hitherto rather raſhly denied, than illuſtrated by ſimilar examples. The Germans, as Tacitus ſhews, had quite the contrary practice; all being content with one wife, ſave the rich, who had ſeveral. They were palpably in a more advanced ſtate of ſociety, than either Piks, or Belgæ of Britain, their brethren. Monteſquieu obſerves it as a feature of paſtoral ſociety, that men then have many wives, or wives in common, altogether as beaſts; but he gives no examples. Herodotus tells us, expreſſly, that the Agathyrſi, a Scythic nation in Germany, had their wives in common in his time. Tacitus ſays the Germans, *alone of all barbaric* nations, had not wives in common; a clear proof that the Celts and Sarmatians had their wives in common: and he tells us of the Peukini; that, thro the promiſcuous marriages of their chiefs, they were diſgraced by a reſemblance of the Sarmatæ. The Belgæ and Piks ſeem to have been in one identic ſtate of ſociety, as might be expected from common Gothic origin, from inſular ſituation, and from both ſettling about one and the ſame period. Not ſo barbarous as to have all wives in common, they ſeem not however to have been

been ſo civilized as the Germans. The cuſtom, however, ſeems to have been peculiar to the great, as among the Peukini in Germany; and Solinus deſcribes it in his time as a privilege only of the Pikiſh king, to chuſe and diſmiſs any woman he pleaſed. This was the natural progreſs of the cuſtom, for the great would certainly be the laſt to abandon ſuch licence. There is indeed every reaſon to believe that Cæſar judged only from the chiefs in Britain, as too many travellers apply the vices of the great to whole nations. But of this cuſtom we have ſpoken before. Concerning the reſt of this article we know next to nothing. From Adomnan it appears that the Piks did not, in Columba's time, burn their common dead, but buried them [k]. People of rank may however have been burnt. Among the other Goths it appears to me that burning the dead was never very frequent, but always confined to the chief ranks, being laborious and expenſive [l].

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Of theſe we have almoſt as little direct information. Dio tells us that the Caledonians uſed a certain root which ſupported them long, without their ſuffering hunger; and the ſame is told of the Scythians [m]. Solinus ſays that the Piks of the Hebudes lived on fiſh and milk; but hunting ſeems to have afforded a chief food of the Piks of Caledonia. In the old forts, bones of deer have been often dug up. From Adomnan we learn that the Piks uſed glaſſes for drinking, as he deſcribes Broichan the Magician uſing one. Ale, the drink of all the Goths, was certainly that of the Piks.

[k] In Pictorum provincia . . . alios ex accolis aſpicit miſellum humantes homunculum, II. 12.

[l] So Tacitus expreſſly, 'Funerum nulla ambitio: id ſolum obſervatur ut corpora CLARORUM virorum certis lignis crementur.' *Germ.*

[m] Dio lib. 76. And ſee Pliny, Hiſt Nat. XXV. 8, for the uſe of the herbs *ſcytice* and *hippace*, among the Scythæ.

III. HOUSES

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. From Tacitus it is clear that the Caledonian houſes, of whatever materials formed, had combuſtible roofs; for he deſcribes them as all ſmoking around, being ſet on fire by the Caledonians in their retreat. The walls were probably of turf, or wood. Adomnan deſcribes that of the Pikiſh king, Brudi, to have been a *munitio*, or caſtle [n] But it was ſurely of wood; and no ruins of ſuch edifices can remain at the preſent time. The Caledonians, like the Germans, were almoſt naked. Roman writers ſometimes mention them as naked; and if we ſaw a ſavage, with only a deer's ſkin thrown over his ſhoulders, and the reſt of his body bare, we would, like theſe writers, call him naked. For it appears from Cæſar that the Belgæ, and from Tacitus that the Germans, wore a ſkin of ſome beaſt. No doubt the Romans ſaw the Piks in their moſt naked ſtate, for they only viſited them in the ſummer, the ſeaſon of war. And the chiefs, as in Germany, apparently wore a tunic and breeches, under their mantle. Gildas, c. 15, mentions the Piks as partly cloathed, or at leaſt girt with a cloth about the middle. This was in the Fifth century. In the Sixth, when Columba lived, Adomnan drops no hint of dreſs or nakedneſs: but it is inferable that they were cloathed. The cuſtom the ancient Piks had of ſtaining their bodies has been formerly ſhewn to be peculiar to the Gothic nations. The Belgæ alſo retained the ſame cuſtom, till the Romans introduced luxury and dreſs among them. But the Piks of Northumbria had it's remains down to the eighth century, as appears from a decree of the Council of Calcot, in 787, above adduced. This ſtaining was done like the *tattooing* of American

[n] Alio in tempore, hoc eſt in prima Sancti fatigatione itineris ad regem Brudeum, caſu contigit ut idem Rex faſtu elatus regio, ſuæ munitionis, ſuperbe agens, in primo beati adventu viri non aperiret portas. II. 14.

ſavages,

ſavages, by pricking the ſkin with a thorn, or other ſharp ſubſtance, and then rubbing in the juice of a plant [o]. From Cæſar we learn that the plant uſed among the Belgæ was the *vitrum*, or woad; which made them of a blue colour. Pliny tells that this plant was, in Gaul, called *glaſtum*, and that the Britiſh matrons in particular uſed it. Cæſar's *vitrum* is palpably a tranſlation of this Gallic word *glaſtum*, or glaſs; and the word muſt have originated with the Belgæ, being Gothic, and given to amber by the German Goths, as we learn from the ſame Pliny. This tattooing as a terrible ornament, the Piks did, like the Americans, in various figures. So Claudian;

> Venit et extremis legio prætenta Britannis,
> Quæ Scoto dat frœna truci, ferroque notatas
> Perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras.
>
> *De Bello Getico.*

Beſides this tattooing, the ſavages of North America often paint their faces red, or ſome other colour. This they vary as occaſion demands; one colour denoting mourning, another joy, &c. But whether this cuſtom was known to the Piks, or not, cannot be now determined. The ſavages of North America, tho the cold be certainly, at leaſt, equal to any ever felt anciently in North Britain, go moſtly quite naked; tho ſome wrap a ſkin about them in winter, as the Piks no doubt alſo uſed. Herodotus tells us of the Neuri, a Scythic nation, who were in winter turned into wolves: Pelloutier ingeniouſly explains this, that in winter they cloathed themſelves in the ſkins of wolves.

IV. OCCUPATIONS. The chief occupation of a ſavage is to procure food and dreſs: the chief occupation of civilized ſociety is the ſame, to procure money to buy food and luxuries. As Solinus tells that the Hebudian Piks lived on fiſh and milk,

[o] ——— viridem diſtinguit glarea muſcum,
Nota Caledoniis talis pictura Britannis. *Auſon. in Moſella.*

fiſhing

fiſhing and paſturage muſt have been their main occupations. The other Piks added hunting: and in time agriculture.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. The houſes of the Piks were certainly only built with wood, or wattles, and mud; as among the Gauls, and the Germans. But from the ancient writers who mention the Piks, we can only learn that they could make weapons of war; which were certainly of braſs, as were thoſe of all other early nations; and war chariots, in which braſs was no doubt uſed in thoſe parts now made of iron. Of the Sciences of the Piks we find no veſtige: and while in South Britain one or two learned men aroſe, we have every reaſon to believe that the Piks did not even know the uſe of letters, and that their churchmen, and men of letters, were all Iriſh and Welch, down to the Twelfth century. This proceeded from the ſupreme contempt, which the barbaric Goths, as a wiſe people, had for that jumble of madneſs, and ſanctity, called learning in the dark ages.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Of theſe, as might be expected, we find no account in thoſe ancient authors, who mention the Piks.

§ II. *Deſcription of Pikiſh manners, as being thoſe common to other Gothic nations.*

This theme is very extenſive, and can therefore be here only ſlightly ſketched.

Diviſion I. Public Manners.

I. GOVERNMENT. It is now univerſally known that the government of the early Goths, was generally a Democratic Monarchy. Herodotus deſcribes the early Scythians as having kings: and from

from Tacitus we learn, that the Germans had them. But theſe kings were merely as Indian chiefs; men, who from ſuperior merit had acquired influence, and which influence remained to their deſcendents and relations, from a natural veneration of the people for the ſuperiority which had eſtabliſhed it, and a hope of finding it continued in the ſame progeny. The example of Iceland may ſatisfy us, that the barbaric Goths were not incapable even of a regular republic, eſtabliſhed upon wiſe laws. But in this republic riches had ſuch natural influence, that if a man became very rich, the laws, paſſed in the General Aſſembly, in which even all the peaſants appeared, were not held ratified, if ſuch a man were abſent. Some man of this deſcription, adding great talents, art, and courage to his wealth, would have in time come to be king. For in ſuch ſociety riches and power are the ſame; and nobility always originates in wealth. But how does wealth originate in ſuch ſociety? Certainly by chance. For a man of the greateſt talents, or courage, may make many inroads and expeditions without ſucceſs; while another, by one lucky hit, may acquire vaſt riches: and a man without capacity may find a treaſure, or be ſole heir of many relations. This Republic of Iceland highly merits the attention of the learned, as we have all it's Laws, Conſtitution, and Hiſtory, in far higher perfection than thoſe of Greece and Rome. It preſents a picture of the progreſs of barbaric ſociety, prior to the year 1000, when it became Chriſtian, and letters were introduced. A progreſs of nine centuries, uninfluenced by foreign manners, had taken place between the ſtate of the Germans, given by Tacitus, and that of Iceland. But it muſt be remembered that Tacitus tells, the Suiones, or Danes, had wealth; and were from ſituation more advanced in ſociety than the Germans, even in his time. They obeyed a king with greater, and a

more

more fixt power: but there is no room to think the royalty was hereditary, elſe Tacitus would not have omitted ſo ſtrange a peculiarity, while all the Germans elected their monarchs, as he tells, from the nobility of their race. From a perfect ſimilarity of ſituation the Pikiſh monarchy originated in the Hebud Iles; while Caledonia was divided into democratic ſtates. Cæſar inſtructs us, that the Gallic ſtates were moſtly democratic; and that the few kings were chiefly uſurpers. Tacitus mentions no pure democracies in Germany; and the Gauls were, from Grecian and Roman intercourſe, more advanced in ſociety than the Germans. Like the Greeks they had paſt from petty kingdoms, known at the ſiege of Troy, to republics; while the Germans were ſtill in their heroic age. The Piks, during the Roman period of our hiſtory, as may be inferred from their remote ſituation, reſembling that of the Germans, had alſo the German government. Tacitus mentions no kings in Caledonia. Dio, a ſuſpicious authority, names one Argentocoxus, and tells a pretty tale about him. It is indeed mere matter of curioſity to enquire whether the Caledonian ſtates had their petty kings, or not. Such kings were mere chiefs, or firſt magiſtrates; and with no power over the people, ſave what the people pleaſed to allow. It has been agitated, whether monarchy, or democracy, be the moſt ancient form of government; but the fact is, that the moſt ancient monarchies were really democracies. We are certain from Tacitus and Dio, that the Caledonian ſtates were democratic; and if writers would candidly examine the ſubject, they would ſee that in early ſociety monarchy itſelf is always democratic. In the Hebud iles alone, as among their fellow ilanders, the Suiones, a remarkable and real monarchy was eſtabliſhed, which in time ſpred over Caledonia. The coincidence of both theſe monarchies being in a cluſter of iles is curious.

curious. *Divide et impera* was here done by nature.

II. RELIGION. The religion of the ancient Goths has been lately explained by ſo many writers, that i need not enter ſo vaſt a field. Suffice it to obſerve, that the mythology of a barbaric people muſt be full of confuſion, while even that of the Greeks and Romans is ſo. Odin is at preſent the God beſt known to us, as he is moſt celebrated by the Scandinavian ſcalds: but Tuiſco was in the time of Tacitus the chief god of the Germans; and Irmenſul was in the days of Charlemagne, he of the Saxons. In the Scandinavian mythology, the chief confuſion riſes from this, that Thor, beyond doubt the Jupiter, or chief god, is ſometimes called father of Odin, ſometimes ſon of Odin. The Eddas of Sæmund, and of Snorro, alſo palpably imply two Odins; and the Scandinavian antiquaries aſſert an elder, and a later. If i may humbly offer an opinion, after ſo many men of real and profound learning, a ſimilarity of names ſeems in traditional times ſo liable to errors of this ſort, to have confounded *Odin*, the god of war with *Godin*, a name for the Supreme Being; whence our word God, and originating from *god*, GOOD. For it is clear from the Eddas, that the Scandinavians, as many of the Greeks and Romans, admitted a Grand Creator and Preſerver, to whom theſe gods were but as ſervants. When they became Chriſtians, they naturally retained this name for that Great Being. This theory might be ſupported by arguments very valid, but this is not the place. And i ſhall cloſe this argument, with only admoniſhing the reader to beware of that grand error of the Scandinavian antiquaries, ſo unerring in other matters, namely their ſuppoſing Odin and his Aſæ to be real perſons, who led their people from Aſia, 70 years before Chriſt; whereas they belong wholly to Mythology, and not in the leaſt to hiſtory. Snorro Sturlaſon, a writer of the *Thirteenth* century,

tury, is the grand ſource of this deluſion; by mentioning in his Edda[p] that Odin fled from Pompey: and the veneration paid to Snorro maintains this puerile fable, tho it be a mere romantic fiction, ſimilar to that of Scota, daughter of Pharaoh, the Britiſh Brutus, &c. Snorro could only find this tale in a Saga, written by ſome ignorant romancer, who had heard of Pompey the Great, and ſo brought him in as he would have done Alexander the Great, Judas Maccabæus, King Arthur, or Charlemagne. For where elſe could Snorro find this, ſave by *ſpecial revelation?* It is ſhewn in the Diſſertation annexed, that the progreſs of the Scythians, or Goths, into Scandinavia, was compleated, at leaſt 500 years before Chriſt. Nor did they even come out of it again, ſave into Britain, Denmark, Ruſſia, Iceland, and Normandy. And it is demonſtrable from all the ancient writers, from Herodotus, down to Cæſar, Tacitus, and Ptolemy, that this pretended expedition of Odin is a mere fable, founded on the allegory that Odin, the God of War, led the Goths into Scandinavia, that is, they opened their path by the ſword.

III. WAR. The peculiar warlike ſpirit of the Caledonians, or Piks, unknown to the other Britons, marks them as Goths, and as Scandinavian Goths, the moſt warlike of men. Northern climates produce iron men. The mountains of Scandinavia, and of Scotland, were the natural ſoil of ſuch a race.

> An iron race the mountain-cliffs maintain,
> Foes to the gentler genius of the plain.
> What wonder if, to patient valour train'd,
> They guard with ſpirit what by ſtrength they gain'd?
> And while their rocky ramparts round they ſee,
> The rough abode of want and liberty,
> (As lawleſs force from confidence will grow)
> Inſult the plenty of the vales below?
>
> GRAY.

[p] Apud Torf. Ser. Reg Dan. In his hiſtory Snorro dates Odin in the time of the Roman emperors.

This admirable deſcription applies ſo well to the Piks in particular, that one would imagine it drawn from their invincible ſpirit, and conſtant incurſions into the ſouthern plains. If our Highlanders be in fact, as ſome aſſert, more warlike than their Iriſh anceſtors, their mountainous ſituation muſt be one chief cauſe, as the great mixture of Goths among them is another. But had the Romans found Celts in Caledonia, they would have totally vanquiſhed them at once, with a ſingle legion, as they did Celtic Gaul; and, as Tacitus ſays, they could have done Ireland. The conqueſt of the Celts, ſouth of Forth and Clyde, was ſo eaſy that Tacitus gives no hint of it, but paſſes it as a thing of courſe: and in another place ſays, that Agricola diſcovered the Celtic tribes in Galloway, and went and planted caſtles among them. But when the Caledonians appear in Roman hiſtory, it is to open a new ſcene; and to give a ſample of ſuch people as were to overturn the Roman empire, a ſpecimen of the Oſtro-Goths, and Weſtro-Goths on the Euxine, and of the Northern Germans. Would that, for the ſake of civilization, the Piks had been ſubdued! Yet their defiance, for three hundred years, to all the power of Rome, is certainly a ſtriking ſpectacle in hiſtory. That their country was not ſubject to Rome, is no compliment to it; but that the Romans ſo repeatedly attempted the conqueſt, and not only failed, but were forced to build many ramparts and walls in their own defence, gives us a ſurprizing idea of the warlike ſpirit of theſe northern Goths, to whom, as their ſouthern brethren ſaid, 'the gods themſelves were not equal [p].'

[p] Cæſar, IV. 7.—The weapons and battles of the Gothic nations, are perfectly known. Their enſigns were at firſt heads of boars, wolves, bulls, and other beaſts. But Arrian, *in Tactic.* deſcribes the Scythic enſigns of his time as dragons made of cloth, and hiſſing in the wind. The Scotiſh banner, 1138, was a dragon. Dalrymple's Annals, p. 79, from Aldred de Bello ſtandardi.

When we ſee the ſtate of war among the northern Goths in particular, this myſtery vaniſhes. Utter contempt of death, joined with vaſt ſtrength of body and mind, neceſſarily inſured to them defence and conqueſt. But why enter upon ſo trite a theme, as the ſpirit or manner of Gothic war? Why deſcribe the hall of Odin, and the eternal luxuries of thoſe ſlain in battle? Why paint the martial terrors, thundering around a people who compared the delights of a conflict to thoſe of love, and who died laughing?

IV. NAVIGATION. As we meet with no diſtant maritime expeditions of the Piks, it is needleſs to enlarge on this head. It has already been ſhewn that the Scandinavian anceſtors and brethren of the Piks were ſo ſkilful in navigation, as to have regular fleets in the time of Tacitus.

V. POETRY AND MUSIC. The Gothic Poetry forms one of the moſt ſingular features in the hiſtory of human manners. It's familiar and conſtant uſe is ſo remote from modern ideas, nay from the practice of any barbaric nation, ancient or modern, that it ſeems to us almoſt incredible. Yet nothing is more certain than that to be taught the compoſition of verſe, and the uſe of arms, formed the whole Gothic education. Verſe was in ſuch familiar uſe among the Goths, that it was common to accoſt a ſtranger in verſe, who at once anſwered in the ſame [q]. The Scalds were only men more diſtinguiſhed for this talent; and who, from ſuperiority in it, were led eſpecially to practiſe it. But, even to underſtand their verſes, it was requiſite to have ſtudied poetry much; for their metaphors are ſo violent and remote, and the conſtruction ſo entirely changed, that a poem was required to be committed to memory, and often revolved, before it could be thoroly underſtood [r]. As a

[q] Sagas, and Northern Writers, *paſſim*.
[r] Gunlaug's Saga.

ſpecimen

ſpecimen of the figures, gold is called the dragon's bed, the tears of Freya; poetry, the preſent, or the drink, of Odin; a combat, the bath of blood; the hail of Odin, the ſhock of bucklers; the ſea, the field of pirates; a ſhip, the horſe of the waves, &c. &c. &c. Hardly any idea was expreſt in ſimple and direct terms. Hence the obſcurity is prodigious: and to explain one ode of the Edda of Sæmund, Eric Hallſen, an Iſlandic poet of laſt century, employed ten years, and was forced, after all, to give it up in deſpair[s]. This, to be ſure, is an unique inſtance, as that ode is the moſt obſcure remain of northern antiquity. Nor does this darkneſs ariſe from the metaphors only, but from the conſtruction, which is ſo perverted, that the moſt perverted part of a Greek or Roman poet ſeems plain Engliſh to it.

Hence it required ſuperior underſtanding and ſkill to develope this poetry. But it may naturally be concluded, that the more ancient the Gothic poetry is, it will be the more ſimple. The Death Song of Regnar Logbrog, who was king of Denmark, about 820, is an ancient remain of Scandinavian poetry; and, tho not ſo perplexed as many later pieces, it has nevertheleſs very remote figures, as a battle is called the ocean of wounds. In ſhort, ſimplicity ſeems to have been ſhunned as a matter of eaſe: and the more art, labour, and ſuch ſealdic ſcience as then prevailed, that were employed, ſo much higher was the praiſe. Thus we ſee that even barbaric ſociety is capable of falſe taſte, and falſe refinement, in poetry. The Goths were too ingenious; and ſacrificed the delicious poetry of the heart to that refined art, and remote ſenſe, which only employ the head; and employ the head in vain, for nothing can be more fooliſh, than for a man to uſe much time and labour to wrap a thought in obſcurity, only in or-

[s] Edda Sæmundi, Hafniæ 1787, 4to Tom. 1.

der that another may uſe much time and labour to develope it; while the former, by ſpeaking plain at once, might have ſaved the whole toil, and have attained far ſuperior praiſe. This unhappy taſte for ænigmas pervades much of the Gothic poetry, and only ſerves now to excite our wonder at ſeeing extreme ingenuity, and falſe refinement, in barbaric ſociety. In other barbaric poetry, perfect ſimplicity is ſure to be found; but in the Gothic the caſe totally differs; and the very ſtudy of the ancient Scandinavian poetry, is to this day a peculiar and real ſcience by itſelf; requiring as much, nay more, ſkill in it's mythology; kinds of verſe, which amount to at leaſt three times the number ever known to the Greeks, or Romans; metaphors, phraſeology, &c. than is neceſſary to the perfect knowlege of the Greek and Roman poetry. A phænomenon altogether aſtoniſhing; and which ſets all theory of human manners at defiance! The Celtic poetry is quite different; having no mythology at all, and only ſuch few metaphors and perverſions, as are found in all rude poetry, as in the Laplandic and Indian Heroic and Amatory Ballads.

The Gothic poems were all ſhort, as common ſenſe dictates muſt be the caſe in all traditional poetry. The ſtory of Homer's poetry being preſerved by tradition, for three centuries, is quite fabulous; for he wrote about four hundred years after letters were uſed, both in Greece and Aſia. The Death Song of Regnar Lodbrog is among the longeſt pieces of Gothic poetry ſuppoſed to be traditionally preſerved; and it extends to but Twenty-nine octave ſtanzes, of ſhort lines. Oſſian, and *Epic poems*, preſerved by tradition, are ideas which could not have occurred but to a Celtic underſtanding. The longeſt kind of poem, known to the Goths, was that called the

Drapa,

Drapa [t], which to relieve the memory had always a burden: and it was a very long Drapa, which had Thirty octave ſtanzas, of theſe very ſhort lines, ſo uſual, and ſo diſagreable in Gothic poetry, conſiſting of but three, four or five ſyllables each. A piece of this ſort, would not of courſe contain more words than ſixty, or eighty lines of Homer. The *Flocker* was a ſhorter kind, without burden. The *Mals*, *Lioths*, and *Quidas*, of the Edda of Sæmund, the earlieſt repoſitory of Scandinavian poetry, being collected about the year 1110, never exceed fifty ſhort ſtanzas, of very ſhort lines: and it is ſuſpected by ſome Scandinavian antiquaries, that a few of them are of his own compoſure. Rime is unknown to the early Northern poetry; and ſeems never to have been uſed till after the Scandinavians were Chriſtians, in the Eleventh century, and began to imitate the riming Latin verſes of the monks, the real inventors of rime.

The Celtic poetry, as that of a weak and deſpirited people might be expected to be, is almoſt wholly melancholic in a ſupreme degree. All the mock Oſſian is full of deaths, miſery, and madneſs. The Gothic poetry is the exact reverſe of this, being replete with that warm alacrity of mind, chearful courage, and quick wiſdom, which attend ſuperior talents. Death, which is ſuch a whining and dreadful affair in Celtic poetry, is in the Gothic a matter of laughter. It was a cuſtom of the Gothic warriors, to ſing their own death ſong. So did Regnar Lodbrog; ſo did alſo king Bodvar; and many others, noted in northern ſtory. We have a moſt remarkable correſponding inſtance in Procopius, who wrote about the year 560. He attended Beliſarius in his expedition againſt Gilimer, king of the Vandals, in Africa, 533; and tells us,

[t] See an account of the Drapa, in Gunlaug's Saga, p. 1, 15, 113. Of the Floker, ib. 113.

that Gilimer being defeated, and blocked up in the mountain Pappua, he compoſed a ſong on his own misfortunes, which he ſung to the harp. Soon after he was forced to yield himſelf; and Procopius informs us, that he laughed much, when he came before Beliſarius, for that purpoſe: tho the ſtep was to him worſe than death, had he not apparently hoped that he might thereby intercede for his people.

The Pikiſh poetry, no doubt, conſiſted, like that of the other Goths, altogether in ballads, or ſongs upon the ſubjects of mythology, hiſtory, genealogy, moral advices, panegyrics of heroes, and love. In particular Heroic Ballads, and Love Ballads, are the earlieſt poetry of all nations. The Lapplanders celebrate old chiefs, as well as their miſtreſſes; but we have no ſpecimen of the former, tho the Spectator has made the later well known. Even in the confined circle of the Ferroe Iles, the Gothic inhabitants have their ſongs on celebrated champions [u]. And that this cuſtom was moſt ancient among the German Goths appears from Tacitus, who tells us of the great Arminius, *caniturque adhuc apud barbaras gentes*, 'he is yet ſung by the barbarous nations.' Eginhart tells us, that Charlemagne 'wrote, and committed to memory the barbarous and moſt ancient ſongs, in which the acts and wars of former kings were celebrated.' Aſſer tells us the fame of Alfred. Jornandes ſays, the funeral of Theodoric, the Gothic king, was *cantibus honoratum*, 'honoured with ſongs.' Of hiſtoric and genealogic ſongs i have treated above. Of moral ſongs we have fine examples in the *Haavamal*, and other pieces of Sæmund's Edda. Love ditties form another ſpecies of early poetry, known, like the Heroic, to all barbaric nations. Some of the old Scandinavian, i am informed, are

[u] Debes's account of the Ferroe Iſles, p. 273. Torfæus de rebus geſtis Ferræenſium, *paſſim*.

exquiſitely

exquiſitely tender; and tho few have been publiſhed, yet good examples appear in the Sagas. Take theſe tranſlations of two ſtanzas [v].

'Virgin of the beautiful face, learn my verſes. If you remember them, they will deceive your languid hours, when your lover is diſtant; and the youth of your heart will appear in your memory.'

'We ſtood together upon the green graſs, when the damſel, with beauteous locks, and ſweet countenance, embracing me with her arms, weeped bitterly; and, with linnen whiter than ſnow, wiped the thick-falling tears from her radiant eyes.'

The Scandinavians had alſo ludicrous and ſatyric poetry; of which good ſpecimens may be found in the Edda of Sæmund, as the *Ægis-drecka*, or Feaſt of Æger at which Lok appears, and tells all the gods and goddeſſes preſent their faults; and other pieces ſimilar.

Of Gothic or Scandinavian Muſic we know little. In battle the horn was chiefly uſed, as in Scotland, down to the Fourteenth century. The harp was a Gothic inſtrument, firſt invented in Aſia, and paſſing with the Goths to the extremities of Europe, and into the Celtic countries. The ancient Iriſh harp was ſmall, like the Gothic. The bag-pipe, ſo fooliſhly thought a peculiar old Highland inſtrument, was uſed by the Greeks and Romans, as we know from many marbles, coins, &c. and Roman authors. From Procopius we learn, that in the ſixth century it was the inſtrument of war among the Roman infantry, as the trumpet was among the horſe [w]. Hence there is little

[v] From Gunlaug's Saga.

[w] Lib. II, c. 22, he deſcribes the bagpipe as εκ δυρσης τε, και ξυλου υπηραγαν λεπτου, 'made of leather, and thin wood.' Nero uſed to perform on the bagpipe, and there is a coin of his with that inſtrument on the reverſe: See Sueton. in Nerone, c. 14. and Voſſii Lexicon Etym. in voce *Utricularius*; where he obſerves that Varro calls it Pythaula; and above

little doubt began its warlike uſe in Britain and in other countries ſubject to the Romans.

Diviſion II. Private Manners.

I. BIRTH, MARRIAGE, DEATH. Among the Goths, children were dipped in a ſtream, or lake, ſoon after the birth; and a name was given them. This was conſidered as an holy office, for all waters were held ſacred. Expoſition of children was cruelly allowed, as among the early Greeks and Romans. If the father deſired that the child ſhould be preſerved, he took it in his arms, or put it on his knee. Expoſition, tho always very rare, continued lawful in Scandinavia till 1024[x]. Men of eminent ſcience often educated children gratis, from infancy to manhood.

In marriage i cannot diſcover a ſhadow of any ſacred ceremony among the Goths[y]. The bridegroom preſented a preſent to the damſel's father, or guardian; which has been ſtrangely interpreted by ſuperficial theoriſts, as if he bought his bride. It was a mere token of reſpect, uſual on this occaſion among the Greeks and Romans; and Tacitus tells us, that the German Goths gave and

all Blanchini de tribus generibus muſicæ veterum organicæ, Romæ, 1742, 4to. The bagpipe is ſtill familiar among the Greek and Italian ſhepherds. In Scotland and Ireland it ſeems quite modern, for Giraldus Cambrenſis, tho ſo full on the muſic of theſe countries, does not mention it. See his *Top. Hib.*

[x] See a long and curious memoir *De expoſitione infantum* at the end of Gunlaug's Saga.

[y] Judge Blackſtone obſerves in his Commentaries, Vol. I. that marriage was totally a civil contract, till Pope Innocent III. about the year 1210, ordained it's celebration in the church.

took

took preſents upon many occaſions. Women were held in ſuch adoration among the Goths, that to have bought a wife would have ruined the richeſt of them. The bride alſo gave a preſent to the huſband. The parties and friends being met, the father ſolemnly delivered the bride to the bridegroom, with a form of words. After which the marriage feaſt, the chief part of the ceremony, followed.

Bodies of common people, and of enemies, were buried; thoſe of chiefs burnt, if opportunity ſerved; if not, they were buried. When burnt, the aſhes were put in earthen urns, as among the Greeks and Romans; and a barrow of earth, in proportion to the rank, was thrown up. That of a beloved king was ſometimes like a little hill.

II. EATING AND DRINKING. Pork was a favourite food of the Scandinavians; and boars' fleſh the main article of Odin's Feaſt. In Iceland, when firſt planted, herds of ſwine, and of ſheep, are often mentioned[z]. Horſe fleſh was uſed in Scandinavia and Iceland till the eleventh century, when it was forbid by the Chriſtian miſſionaries. A curious relict of the old Scythian manners deſcribed by Herodotus! The chief drink of the Goths was ale. Wine and meed were occaſionally uſed. They drank out of horns, as the ancient Thracians and other Scythians. I have ſeen a Scandinavian drinking-horn, carved, painted, and adorned with ſilver; with a whiſtle made of bone at the ſmall end, in order to call ſervants. Cæſar deſcribes ſuch horns as uſed by the Germans.

III. HOUSES AND DRESS. The houſes of the common people in all the countries of Europe, were at firſt wooden; and continued ſo till within theſe two centuries. Among the Goths, the houſes

[z] Iſlands Landnama. The Chriſtianity of the dark ages induced an horror for ſwine's fleſh, as the goſpel repreſents the devils entering into the ſwine.

of the kings, and great men, were alſo of wood: conſiſting of many apartments on a floor, ſurrounded with a wooden paliſade, forming within a *curtis*, or court. The womens' apartment was ſeparate from the reſt, and often fortified with another ditch, and paliſade, to prevent their being carried off in theſe barbarous times[a]. The eating room, or hall, was the chief part of the houſe. At an entertainment, the gueſts ſat on large benches, on either ſide the hall, and in the midſt of each bench was an high chair, or ſeat of honour, for the chief perſons, with one oppoſite for the next in rank[b]. The floor was ſprinkled with ſtraw, a cuſtom continued in the Royal Palaces in England, till the Sixteenth century. The fire was in the middle of the hall; and all along it's wall were boxed beds, yet much uſed in Scotiſh villages. The gueſts ſat juſt before their beds, ſo as they could ſtep into them with eaſe. A vaſt veſſel of ale was placed on the floor, whence to fill the horns.

The Dreſs of the early Goths, conſiſted only in a ſkin thrown over the ſhoulders. But the chiefs even then wore a cloſe jacket and trouſers. The laſt habit in time became common to the people. In the column of Trajan, the Daci are ſo repreſented; and ſuch was the early Icelandic habit. Breeches were the peculiar habit of the Goths, and unknown to the Celts, from the beginning to this day. Gallia Braccata, or Breeched Gaul, was infallibly inhabited by Gothic-German Gauls, as it's poſition might alſo ſhew. The mantle was alſo a part of dreſs among the chiefs. The ancient German women wore only a cloſe ſhift of linnen, often ſtriped with purple. It had no ſleeves; and a part of the neck was left bare. In the Icelandic poetry, *clothed in linnen* is a frequent epithet for

[a] See Cleffel. Ant. Germ. and the Northern Antiquaries, for an account of the *ſkemmur*, or womens' apartments.

[b] Curious prints and deſcriptions of old Iſlandic houſes may be found in Gunlaug's Saga.

the

the women. But in the earlieſt times the linnen ſhift was a dreſs of rank; and the other women roamed naked, like dryades, among the German woods, glittering in the natural ſplendor of a ſnow-white ſkin, roſy cheeks, and a prodigious length of golden hair. For the hair of the Gothic women was often ſo plenteous, as when they combed it to cover them all around, and reach the ground as they ſat. In winter, a ſkin of ſome beaſt was thrown over their ſhoulders, and faſtened before with a thorn, or other rude pin. As the ſkin was of no uſe without ſuch pin, the antiquiſts may hence derive the neceſſity and origin of pin-money. In time the women alſo adorned themſelves with glaſs beads, which they procured from foreign merchants, as the Indians do now. Such beads of moſt colours are found in urns in Germany; with hair-pins, and hair-rings, to faſten on the ringlets with the pins, as an ornament. Such articles diſtinguiſh a woman's urn; as braſs razors do a man's: for we learn from the ancients, that the German men ſhaved their beards, and only wore muſtachios.

IV. OCCUPATIONS. It is well known that the early Gothic occupations were hunting, fiſhing, and paſturage: and in time agriculture. From Tacitus it appears, that the German Goths had orchards. But war was the grand occupation of the Goths.

V. ARTS AND SCIENCES. Herodotus, and other ancients, pronounce the Scythians the wiſeſt of mankind: and wiſdom is the parent of true art and ſcience. They had philoſophers, and were ſkilled in aſtronomy. Tacitus deſcribes the German houſes as built of rude materials, without mortar or tyles. He mentions not the materials; but another ancient[c] tells us, they were of wood. But Tacitus adds, that ſome of them were done over with an

[c] Herodian VII. 5.

earth,

earth, ſo pure and ſplendid, that it reſembled painting. This cuſtom continued a long time; and the earth uſed was called *rothe erde*, red earth, and *Engliſche erde*, becauſe they brought it from Britain[d]. The only genuine ſpecimens of the earlieſt Gothic architecture, are the Piks houſes, ſingular exertions of barbaric art. The old Scandinavians were remarkable for carving, with a knife, little figures of wood, or bone, and ſuch have been found in Scotland; particularly a little image of a king, on a throne, dug up near Dunſtafnage, and probably a Norwegian work, done when theſe people were poſſeſſed of the Hebud Iles, and part of the weſtern coaſt. On the Gothic arts and ſciences, much might be ſaid; but it is the greatneſs of the ſubject, which forces me not to enter on it here.

VI. AMUSEMENTS. Cheſs was the favourite amuſement of the Gothic nations, and known among them in the earlieſt times, and in all their moſt barbaric poſſeſſions. Tacitus deſcribes the Germans as paſſionately addicted to gaming. In Iceland, cheſs was general; and in the eleventh century we find Gunlaug the ſcald playing at cheſs with the beautiful Helga, whoſe love ſo excited him and Raſen, another ſcald, that they fought, and fell by mutual wounds[e]. Converſation was another chief amuſement; and was employed principally in narrating the acts of great men, in propoſing and ſolving ænigmas, and in trials of poetic ſkill. But news were a perfect feaſt of the rude Goths. In Iceland, when a foreign ſhip arrived, it was a privilege of the chief men to hear the earlieſt news; and the vulgar were not allowed to approach till they were ſatiated. Their counſels were often guided by ſuch intelligence as chance ſupplied. An exact picture of the Gothic Gauls,

[d] Cleffel. Ant. Germ. p. 168.

[e] See that beautiful Northern love-tale, Gunlaug's Saga.

as

as deſcribed by Cæſar. The polite Athenians were alſo remarkable for this love of news. But I have already exceeded the bounds propoſed in the ſketch of early Gothic manners, whereby to illuſtrate thoſe of the Piks, and muſt begin another chapter.

CHAP-

CHAPTER XII.

Pikiſh antiquities in Scotland.

IT is much to be lamented that accuracy and penetration are ſo rare in works written upon antiquarian ſubjects. In every country, if the moſt fooliſh books were to be named, it is believed that the antiquarian claſs would be immediately condeſcended on. One would imagine that, in ſuch ſubjects, quite a different mode of reaſoning is allowed, than is employed in treating any other branch of ſcience. Inſtead of facts, we find mere imagination: inſtead of argument, only groundleſs conjecture, ſupported by ſuch incoherent and inconcluſive ſophiſtry, as muſt argue a deranged underſtanding, if exerted on any other literary department.

Perhaps it may be ſaid, that the very ſubject of antiquities can only admit of opinion, and conjecture; and never of real ſcience: that we want grounds for certain knowlege: that of courſe the mind, having no fixt barriers, roams at pleaſure in the wilds of conjecture, without any path to conduct it to the temple of truth.

But it muſt be anſwered that the ſtudy of antiquities ſtands exactly on the ſame ground with that of hiſtory. It is impoſſible indeed to write the antient hiſtory of a country, without being an antiquary. Nay an hiſtorian muſt be an antiquary, if he ventures on the hiſtory of any country, two centuries before his own time; elſe he will err moſt grievouſly, in narrating facts, founded on cuſtoms, and language, different from thoſe of his own times.

times. The ſtudy of hiſtory is thus ſo intimately connected with that of antiquities, that it becomes almoſt the ſame. But eſpecially no man can treat of the antiquities of a country, without knowlege of it's hiſtory. The origin of any law, or cuſtom, the occaſion and nature of any monument of antiquity; can never be diſplayed, without knowing what nations held the country, and what events happened in it. The foundations of antiquarian ſcience, therefor, reſt ſolely on the ground of hiſtory.

Now in hiſtory, it is believed, none can deny that there are fixt principles, whereby to diſtinguiſh truth from falſehood, and opinion from ſcience. In ancient hiſtory, the accounts of ancient authors form the ſole ground; and leave no room for opinion or conjecture. We muſt abide by their teſtimonies; and, when they differ among themſelves, abide by the moſt ancient, or beſt informed.

But ancient monuments generally eſcape the notice of ancient hiſtories; and we learn nothing from Herodotus, or Cteſias, that can particularly illuſtrate the ruins of Perſepolis. We only know in general that they muſt be remains, either of the Aſſyrian empire, a part of which exiſted in the Babylonic, after the Median held the north of preſent Perſia, or of the Perſian. And as Perſian coins and gems preſent us with the ſame dreſſes, and ſymbols, as are found on theſe ruins, it muſt follow that they belong to the Perſian empire, which began ſo late as 570 years before Chriſt.

To apply this example to the preſent ſubject, it is certain from ancient authors, and from preſent evidence, that the Celts firſt poſſeſſed Britain and Ireland, till the Scythians, or Goths, came in and vanquiſhed them. No trace of any other nations than the Celts, and the Goths, can be found in theſe ilands, either from the teſtimony of ancient writers, or from that infallible evidence, the language. The civilized Romans, and their monuments, are here out of the queſtion; as their remains

mains are perfectly marked, and known. The only queſtion, therefor, among antiquaries, is, whether to impute our barbaric monuments to the Celts, or to the Goths?

It is well known that Stonehenge, as it is one of the fineſt barbaric monuments in the world, has afforded the greateſt room for antiquarian conteſtation. Inigo Jones, when he wrote a work to ſhew it Roman, only gave a lamentable proof of that truth, too much experienced in all countries, that antiquities, like law, medicine, moral philoſophy, natural philoſophy, form a peculiar and diſtinct branch of ſcience, only attainable by laborious ſtudy, and experience in the ſubject; and that he who ventures on them, without any claim to the character of an antiquary, muſt err beyond all exceſs, however great his talents may be in other reſpects. Indeed, it may ſafely be ſaid that good antiquaries are ſtill more rare than even good hiſtorians: and any great library will afford convincing proofs of the aſſertion. Dr. Charleton, who imputed Stonehenge to the Danes, becauſe many monuments of that kind are found in Denmark, came very near the mark; but reflected not that the Danes were ſo late a people in England, that it's erection could hardly eſcape hiſtoric notice. Such monuments are alſo common in Germany, ſo that it might as plauſibly have been given to the Saxons. At laſt, the Celts and Druids becoming faſhionable in this century, Dr. Stukeley aſſigned Stonehenge to the Druids.

From this inſtance, and innumerable others, it is perfectly known, that the only debate, concerning the rude monuments in Britain and Ireland, is, whether they are Celtic, or Gothic. There being indeed no end of conjecture, ſome French writers have lately dreamed of a primitive people, as they call them, to whom ſuch monuments belong. It ſuffices to ſay, that there is not a trace to be found of this primitive people, but in imagination, all hiſtory being quite mute: and

it

it is a certain rule, *de non apparentibus, et non exiſtentibus, eadem eſt ratio.* Not to mention that thoſe writers, ſo ſkilled in the ideal part of antiquities, always ſhew groſs ignorance of the real. Their reaſoning is alſo truly antiquarian, and inconſiſtent. From a ſimilarity of barbaric monuments, from Japan to Britain, they reaſon that they are all remains of one people: totally forgetting the ſimilarity of mental, and manual, powers thro the whole extent of human nature. Nay the very ſimilarity they find is chiefly imaginary; and no greater than between an Engliſh ſteeple, and a Chineſe pagoda. A writer[a], who deſerves to be mentioned with reſpect, but who is capable at times of dealing in all the nonſenſe of genius, as a late work[b] of his deplorably proves, has lately ſtarted an idea of a people now loſt, to whom all nations are indebted for their arts and ſciences. This people he places in Tartary, becauſe he found that the oldeſt aſtronomical obſervations indicated their being made in that clime. Following M. de Buffon's ſyſtem, that the earth is a piece of the ſun, ſtruck off by a comet; and muſt have cooled firſt, and been firſt inhabited at the poles; he concludes this people to have come from the north pole, down to Tartary. In Britain, immediately irradiated with the light of Newton, M. de Buffon's ſyſtem has appeared, and will ever appear, a fanciful *reverie*, unworthy of confutation, as it has no grounds whatever, either to reaſon on, or be reaſoned againſt. M. Bailly's argument from old aſtronomical obſervations is curious; but may be anſwered, by granting the opinion of many an-

[a] M. Bailly Lettres a M. Voltaire ſur l' origine des Arts, &c.

[b] Lettres ſur l' Atlantide; a work built on an Egyptian fable told by Plato, in utter forgetfulneſs that the Egyptians were noted for falſehood. Did M. Bailly believe the Egyptian ſtory, that the ſun had riſen in the weſt, and reverted twice to the eaſt, in the memory of their annals? Which was the weſt, and which the eaſt, when the Atlantic affair happened?

cient and modern philoſophers, that this globe has ſuffered a change in it's poſition. A comet may change the poſture of the earth, far more eaſily than it could daſh off all our planetary ſyſtem from the ſun. If you grant one conjecture, why not grant another to confute it? But perhaps it is too much to allow M. Bailly's idea of the ancient aſtronomical obſervations ſolid, for the greateſt aſtronomers have uſed theſe obſervations before, without any ſuch diſcovery. And it may be that theſe obſervations are forged by the Greek authors, who preſerve them; Greece being in the ſame climate with Tartary, tho not with Babylon and Arabia, generally reputed the very parent countries of aſtronomy, till M. Bailly controverted their claim. As to M. Bailly's argument, that the north of Aſia was once a warm climate, becauſe elephants bones are found there; he muſt allow his conjecture to be anſwered by another, that there was a breed of elephants in remote ages, peculiar to a cold, as the preſent is to a warm climate; juſt as Arabia, a hot climate, produces a peculiar and beautiful breed of aſſes[c]. Of conjectures there is no end; and he who deals in them, muſt expect to be confuted by them. His idea, that the riches found in Tartaric tombs belong to this primitive people in Tartary, only ſhews his total ignorance of antiquities; for it is perfectly known, that they are, for the moſt part, Perſian ſpoils, won by Genghis Chan, and Timur, in their expeditions, as appears from their fabric: and that the fragments, really Tartaric, are of no older date than the firſt of theſe conquerors, who firſt brought wealth into Tartary. In ſhort, his idea of a primitive people in Siberia and Tartary, from whom the arts ſprung, is not only oppoſite to all ancient hiſtory, but is confutable from the certain fact, that no ruins, coins, nor reliques of any kind, uſed by a civilized people, can be found in

[c] Niebuhr Deſcript. d' Arabie.

theſe

theſe countries, but what are of very late date: and it is not to be ſuppoſed that this civilized people, from whom arts and ſciences ſprung, would be ſtrangers to thoſe arts which mark the reſidence of civilized nations. But of this too much.

For my part, who never venture further than hiſtory will carry me, i have nothing to do with the primitive world, nor with any primitive nation; but ſhall leave literary Quixotes to conquer ſuch ilands on dry land for their Sanchos. From ancient Greek and Roman writers, it is perfectly known that the weſt of Europe was anciently inhabited by two grand races of men, the Scythians and the Celts: the later being indigenes, the former an Aſiatic people. When Cæſar entered Britain, and firſt diſcloſed it to hiſtoric authority, he found the indigenes, or Celts, confined to the interior, or diſtant parts of the iland; while the Belgæ, a German progeny, as he informs us, had all the maritime parts. The Celts were, as he ſays, ſtrangers to agriculture, and lived by hunting and their flocks; while the Belgæ were an agricultural people. Britain again remained unviſited by the Romans for a century longer, when Claudius began the conqueſt[d]. During that century, the Belgæ had been always gaining ground, as civilized colonies do among ſavages. In Ptolemy's time, it is clear that the Belgæ had all the ſouth and eaſt of preſent England. In the north the Piks were a Gothic people, as the Belgæ in the ſouth: but the Piks had expelled a Celtic people from the north, as the Belgæ had from the ſouth.

Thus hiſtory ſo far illuſtrates the barbaric monuments in Britain, as to make it certain, that they muſt be either Celtic or Gothic. The firſt and grand enquiry therefor, among antiquaries, ought to have been, whether they are Celtic or

[d] See the authorities produced, Part II. c. 1.

Gothic; or which are Celtic, and which Gothic? But moſt unhappily they have taken them all for Celtic, while the truth is quite on the other ſide. It is indeed the peculiar defect of antiquaries to take, as ſure foundations, thoſe very points which are entirely falſe and deluſory. Thus Pelloutier, Mallet, and others, regard the Celts and Goths as all one people: and, without uſing a ſingle authority or argument upon the ſubject, aſſume, as granted, a groſs error; building vaſt edifices upon a moraſs, without once examining the foundation, tho that foundation ought to have been their principal care. In like manner none of our antiquaries has ever examined, if our barbaric remains be really Celtic, or Gothic: but they have taken it for granted that they are Celtic, nay, that they are Druidic, as they facetiouſly call them, without ever uſing a ſingle argument or authority on the ſubject. This error is indeed chiefly owing to their groſs ignorance of the ancient hiſtory of their country, which leads them to regard the whole inhabitants of Britain and Ireland as Celts, till the Saxons entered England: whereas all Britain and Ireland were conquered, and in a great meaſure poſſeſt, by the Goths, two centuries before the birth of Chriſt, as ſhewn, or to be ſhewn, in theſe volumes. Indeed the French antiquaries, tho infinitely ſuperior to ours in all other reſpects, have to this hour ſhewn little knowlege of the conqueſt of Gaul, and population of one third of it, by the Belgæ, a Gothic people; but whom they regard as being themſelves Celts. In all ſcience error has firſt appeared, by the natural propenſity of the human mind to falſehood; but not without beneficial effects, for truth is never firm, till erected upon the ruins of error. Malebranche preceded Locke; and Deſcartes, Newton. May hiſtory keep pace with other ſciences in England; and be erected upon the ruins of foreign error!

Another

Another radical cauſe of this error is, that antiquaries regard the Druids, and their rites, as univerſal among the weſtern nations in Germany, Scandinavia, Gaul, Britain, Ireland. Here they again take for granted a foundation, not only to be proved, but impoſſible to be proved, and utterly falſe. Cæſar tells us expreſſly of the Germans, *neque Druides habent*, 'they have no 'Druids:' Tacitus, in his long and valuable account of Germany, ſays not one word of Druids: nor is there *one* authority in all antiquity for Druids being at all known, except in Gaul and Britain. Even in theſe two countries they were only known among the Celts of the weſt. For Cæſar tells us, the Belgæ of Gaul were Germans of quite different ſpeech, laws, and manners, from the Celts; and, as Germans, it follows from his expreſs teſtimony, that they had no Druids. The Belgæ of Britain are exactly in the ſame predicament. When the Romans attacked Angleſey, they found Druids; but there is not one authority for their exiſtence among the Britiſh Belgæ, nay direct authorities, as above ſeen, againſt it. The Caledonians Tacitus calls Germans; and Beda, with other proofs above given, evince them Scandinavians; and it is of courſe impoſſible that they could have Druids. In Ireland there is not a ſhadow of an authority for the very name of Druid being known; and antiquaries might, with equal reaſon, give us Bonzes and Derviſes in Ireland. Cæſar tells us, that Druidiſm was invented in Britain, and paſſed to Gaul; and there is reaſon to conclude, that it was originally taught by the Phœnicians to the people of Cornwall, where they traded for tin, as it's deities and mythology are clearly Phœnician. The god Belinus, or Baal, the myſtic egg, &c. are mere tranſcripts of Phœnician theology; and, if we had much light on the Druidic ſyſtem, there

is room to infer that the reſemblance would be complete; but all we have from the ancients concerning the Druids would not fill a page. As to the dreams of French and Britiſh antiquiſts on the ſubject, they are only fit for laughter; and *Druidic* is beginning to be a term for the moſt nonſenſical nonentity of antiquiſm. The cuſtoms of all nations and languages are huddled together, to make out a maſs of Druidiſm; while there is no authority at all for Druids being known beyond preſent North Wales on the north, and the river Garonne, the bound of the Celtæ in Gaul on the ſouth. A line drawn by the Severn in Britain, and Seine in Gaul, forms the eaſtern bound, while the ocean forms the weſtern. Pliny tells us, that Tiberius aboliſhed the Druidic religion, which he could not have done, had it ſpred ſo wide as we dream. But in Nero's time there were Druids found in Mona, or Angleſey, by Suetonius Paullinus; which would ſeem to have been their laſt refuge: and Paullinus deſtroyed their groves [e] to root up a ſuperſtition ſo deteſtable to good government, from the power of its prieſts above kings, and to civilized manners from its human ſacrifices. But as ſuperſtitions are not eaſily eradicated, ſome individuals continued their veneration of Druidiſm to a late period. It is alſo remarkable that after that event only female Druids are mentioned [f].

That

[e] Præſidium poſthac impoſitum victis, exciſique luci ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri; nam cruore captivo adolere aras, et hominum fibris conſulere deos, fas habebant. Tacit. Annal. xiv.

[f] So the Britiſh Druideſs foretold the fate of Diocletian. Aurelian conſulted *Gallicanas Druidas*, Vopiſ. in Aur. *Silvano ſacr. et nymphis loci, Arete Druis Antiſtita, ſomno monita, D.* Inſcr. apud Gruter. p. 58, n. 9, found near Metz, where this Druideſs perhaps attended a Gallic cohort in the wars againſt Germany; if the ſtone was not carried thither by chance, either in ancient or modern times.

The

That our old barbaric monuments are Celtic or Druidic, not one authority or argument has been uſed to prove. That they are not Celtic, but Gothic, may be ſhewn from the following authorities and arguments.

1. They are found all over Germany and Scandinavia, nay in Iceland [g], where it is certain no Celts nor Druids exiſted. As it is perfectly known that the Gothic inhabitants of Britain came from Germany and Scandinavia, while no Celts nor Druids ever went there, the inference is direct and obvious.

2. The Celts, from all ancient accounts, and from preſent knowlege, were, and are, a ſavage race, incapable of labour, or even rude arts. They were indigenes of Europe; as are the Fins; and no ſtone monuments can be traced among the Fins. The Goths, on the contrary, were only a barbaric race, with barbaric arts from the beginning; and originated from Aſia, where the rude, as well as the cultivated, arts firſt began.

3. The moſt remarkable barbaric monuments in Europe are thoſe circles of erect ſtones, which antiquiſts of this century call Druid temples. Nothing can be more certain from all the ancients, who mention the Druids, than that they had no temples, but worſhipped in groves. Had theſe been Druid temples, the Romans, when they aboliſhed Druidiſm, would have deſtroyed them in the very firſt place; whereas many remain in the ſouth of Britain, as well as in the north. Tacitus, who ſpecially mentions the deſtruction of

The lateſt mention of Druids is by Ammianus Marcellinus, *lib.* xv. but he ſpeaks of them as paſt, *viguere*, &c. as does Auſonius to Patera.

> Tu Baiocaſſis ſtirpe Druidarum ſatus,
> Beleni ſacratum ducis e templo genus.

This place was in Celtic Gaul. See Edit. Var.

[g] Worm. Mon. Dan. Keyſler, Coxe's Travels, &c. &c. &c.

the Druidic groves, could not have avoided mentioning that of the temples, had any ſuch exiſted.

4. In no Celtic author is there any mention of ſuch edifices, or their uſe. Nennius thought Stonehenge a work of Merlin's magic. But Scandinavian writers ſpecially mark the uſe of theſe circular monuments, namely, to hold parliaments and courts of Juſtice; which, as all know, were among the Goths always held in open air, to a late period. In Iceland, which retained it's pagan cuſtoms long, a native of Iceland, Mr. Thorkelin, profeſſor of hiſtory at Copenhagen, informs me the very date of erecting ſome of theſe circular monuments is known. And the uſe of them is retained in the old annals and laws of the country: as well as their names ſtill in the popular mouth, namely, *ting*, or court. Iſlands Landhama, a work of the thirteenth century, ſays, *Oc thar hia er ſa dombringr er their dæmdu menn til blota. Thar ſetti Thordr Geller fiordungs thing, med radi allra fiordungſmanna* [h]; 'A judicial circle ſtands there, where men were doomed for ſacrifice. There Thorder Geller erected a court for one quarter, by the conſent of all that quarter's men.' Adam of Bremen ſays, the Danes called a council of the nation *Warph* or *Thing* [i]. Theſe courts occur of all ſizes, from the national council down to the court of the diſtrict. Twelve ſtones were often ſet for the twelve judges to ſit under, in chief courts of juſtice. But national councils had larger ſpace, and more ſtones; and courts for a diſtrict, from their confined juriſdiction, had fewer judges, and ſtones. A rope drawn around the ſtones impannelled the court, and keeped off the croud.

[h] P. 94. Havniæ, 1774, 4to. In the ſame work, p. 257, is mention of rock-idols worſhipped by one Eyvind; and it affords innumerable other lights on Gothic antiquities.

[i] So *Upſalating*, *Landſting*, *Allting*, *Almenting*, &c. Loccen. Ant. Sueo Goth. p. 73, 74.

Greek

Greek and Roman writers afford us no light concerning theſe monuments, which is indeed ſurpriſing, eſpecially in Tacitus, who mentions the courts of the Germans held in open air. But the vaſtneſs of the Roman works made them look upon monuments, which ſtrike us with ſurprize, as beneath notice. The Iſlandic writers are indeed late: but the argument hinges upon this, that they mark the uſe of theſe monuments, as familiar to their people; whereas not one Celtic writer gives any hint concerning their uſe. The argument is therefor clear and fair, that theſe monuments are Gothic, not Celtic. And theſe four arguments muſt be allowed convincing, when it is reflected that not *one* authority, or argument, can be uſed on the other ſide.

A reſpectable writer [k], but whoſe work betrays crude and inaccurate reading, and want of judgment, in eternally blending authors of the firſt and ſixteenth centuries, that is, authorities with no authorities; and mingling the whole with a maſs of tradition, etymology, and vague conjecture; has condeſcended on the following as Druidic monuments. 1. Single ſtones erect. 2. Rock idols, and pierced ſtones. 3. Rocking ſtones, as ordeals. 4. Sepulchres of two, three, or more, ſtones. 5. Circular temples. 6. Barrows or tumuli. 7. Cromlechs, or heaps of ſtones. 8. Rock baſons for Druids expiations. 9. Caves for retreat in war.

Moſt of theſe ſorts are found in Scandinavia and Germany, as every one who has glanced at the works of Wormius and Keyſler, not to mention many other German and Scandinavian antiquaries, muſt perfectly know. Diviſions 2. *Rock idols, and pierced ſtones*; 3. *Rocking ſtones*; 8. *Rock baſons*, I muſt confeſs, do not ſeem, as far as I recollect, to have been remarked in Scandina-

[k] Borlaſe's Cornwall.

via

via and Germany. Indeed antiquaries of theſe countries, being little addicted to viſions, ſeem to have conſigned theſe articles to the naturaliſts, as there is great room to infer them of the *luſus naturæ*. Natural philoſophy now informs us, that gravel and ſand are only comminuted rock; and, in the courſe of this comminution, the hardeſt parts of the rocks remain entire; and may, in ſome inſtances, form odd ſhapes. Theſe odd ſhapes are rock idols in ſome caſes: in others one hard part of a rock is left ſuſpended on another, as if by human art, whence ſome rocking ſtones; tho others may be real monuments of battles, &c. as are the ſingle ſtones. But for their being ordeals, there is no proof; but puerile conjecture. As to ſtones pierced, either horizontically, or excavated on the top into apparent baſons, both caſes proceed from local ſoftneſs in the rock, as the former two from local hardneſs. But as the whole ſcheme of Borlaſe reſts upon his confounding the Gothic with the Celtic nations; and his opinion upon this ſubject has been confuted by a writer of real and ſolid learning [1]; it is unneceſſary to attack parts of a work, which ſtands altogether on a falſe foundation, That rocking ſtones were ſepulchral among the early Greeks may appear from a paſſage of Apollonius Rhodius, hitherto, ſo far as i remember, not produced on this ſubject.

Τηνω εν αμφιρυτη πεφνεν, και αμησατο γαιαν
Αμφ' αυτοις; στηλας τε δυω καθυπερθεν ετευξεν,
Ὡν ἑτερηθαμβος, θεριοσσιον ανδρασι λευσειν,
Κινυται ηχηεντος ὑπο ῳνοιη βορεαο [m].

'He ſlew them in ſea-ſurrounded Tenos, and 'raiſed a hilloc about them; and placed two

[1] Dr. Percy, pref. to Northern Antiquities.

[m] Argon. I. M. d'Hancarville ſays, rocking ſtones are found from Japan to Britain. Apollonius alſo mentions a cromlech, or altar of looſe ſtones, *lib.* II.

'ſtones

'ſtones on the top: of which one (the admira-
'tion of men) moves to the ſonorous breath of the
'northern wind.'

But it may be ſaid, if theſe monuments be Gothic, how came they to be found in the weſt of England, and in Ireland, peculiar ſeats of the Celts, tho the eaſt and north of Britain were in the hands of the Goths two centuries before Chriſt? Be it anſwered that the Belgæ had not only peopled the eaſt of England, but alſo the ſouth of Ireland: and, as we know from Strabo [n], that they not only held all the eaſt of Gaul, but had colonies in the furtheſt weſt, ſuch may be preſumed to have been the caſe with Britain and Ireland [o]. The people of Wales and Cornwall muſt in the courſe of four centuries, that the Romans held South Britain, have been mixed with Romans and Belgæ. Not to mention that many of theſe monuments may be Daniſh; for the Danes, in the Ninth century, conquered Ireland, as univerſally known. And from Borlaſe himſelf, p. 42, 43, 372, it is clear that the Danes, in 787, ſettled in Cornwall, and that the Cornwallians remained under their protection till 938, when conquered by Athelſtan, who firſt brought them under the Saxon yoke. Yet Borlaſe never thinks of aſſigning theſe monuments to the Pagan Danes! In Wales the Danes had alſo frequent alliance, intercourſe, abode. But it is moſt probable that in Ireland, Wales, Cornwall, moſt of theſe remains are really Belgic.

The erection of ſuch vaſt ſtones, and the placing of one upon another, occaſions great ſurprize. A work upon Barbaric Arts would be curious and

[n] *Lib* IV. The Veneti were Belgæ.

[o] Menapia in Wales was doubtleſs founded by the Menapii of Ireland, and of Belgic Gaul. Cæſar ſpeaks as if all the *maritime* part of Britain was poſſeſt by the Belgæ. If ſo, they held all the ſhores; but he can only be truſted as to the part ſeen.

intereſting.

intereſting. In Peru the erection of regular edifices, with ſtones of equal ſize, is certainly matter of more wonder [p]. It has lately been ſhewn that all our difficulties, concerning the barbaric monuments in Europe, may be done away by a ſimple proceſs. Whole armies and tribes were employed in erecting ſuch monuments; and what could not be done by art was effected by the numbers employed. Large mounds of earth were thrown up, with a gentle declivity, along which the ſtone was forced with wedges of wood, and the ſtrength of ſucceſſive parties. When got to the top, it was forced over an aperture, at the further and precipitous end of the mound. Another ſtone, if required, could be placed on it's top, by the ſame method. For circles ſucceſſive mounds were made, and removed; and patience and numbers compenſated the want of machines and of art.

But let us paſs more immediately to our preſent ſubject. The antiquities of the Piks, the Gothic inhabitants of Scotland, may be reduced to theſe claſſes.

I. Single Stones erect; being 1. Sepulchral. 2. Memorial. 3. Boundaries.

II. Barrows, or ſepulchral hillocs.

III. Temples, and Places of Judgment.

IV. Caſtles.

V. Caves.

VI. Entrenchments.

I. SINGLE STONES. Plain erect ſtones are common in Scotland, as in moſt other countries.

II. BARROWS. There is no authority, and no reaſon to believe, that the Celts ever uſed to raiſe hillocs over their illuſtrious dead. The plain cromlech, or little heap of ſtones, was more conſonant to their ſavage indolence; and it is well

[p] Voyage of Ulloa.

known,

known, that they uſed it till a late period. Barrows are certainly Gothic, as they were ancient Scythian. Many ſuch have lately been opened in England, with laudable curioſity. Sometimes urns are found, ſometimes ſmall ſtone coffins, in which the bones were put; ſometimes entire ſkeletons: ſo that it is inferable that burning, or burial, was uſed as opportunity ſerved, or as ſuperſtition dictated. Among the Romans, burning the dead ceaſed in the third century. Among the Goths it continued to be occaſionally uſed till their converſion to Chriſtianity. There is no room to believe that the Celts ever burned their dead at all. In Scandinavia ſepulchral mounts are frequent. They are ſometimes ſurrounded with ſtones at the bottom, and have ſometimes a ſtone on the top. The tombs of the old Swediſh kings near Upſal are all conic mounts: as are others in the ile Biorkoo.

Mr. Pennant, Vol. III, p. 155. deſcribes a ſingular Cairn in the pariſh of Fettercairn, of vaſt ſize, which he conſiders as ſepulchral, an opinion which his deſcription renders dubious. But a large barrow near Inverneſs was alſo diſcovered to be a pile of ſtones and ſands, covered with ſod. This was a Scandinavian mode, as may be ſeen in Dahlberg's Suecia Antiqua et Hodierna, plate 323.

III. TEMPLES, AND PLACES OF JUDGMENT. It is ſingular that no ancient writer mentions thoſe circles of vaſt ſtones, which ſtrike us with ſo much ſurprize. Had they been Druidic temples, ſurely, in the ancient accounts we have of the Druids, their uſing ſuch remarkable temples would not have been omitted. But the ancients mark groves as the only Druidic temples. Theſe circles are therefore, in every appearance, chiefly Courts of Juſtice. They are Gothic; and are found in Scandinavia, and in Iceland: in the laſt country a place

a place of this kind is called *Dom-thing*, implying a Court of Judgment [q]. In the middle is a ſtone for the judge to ſacrifice, who in the pagan times was always a prieſt; as among the Greeks, prieſt and king, or chief magiſtrate, were generally united in one perſon. Hence theſe places were in fact regarded as both temples and courts of juſtice: and it was no unuſual thing in pagan Iceland for a human victim to be ſacrificed, before proceeding to hear cauſes, and adminiſter juſtice. There is reaſon to conclude that Stonehenge, and other ſuch monuments of enormous ſtones, were uſed for the ſame purpoſe The magnificence of Stonehenge, and ſuch fabrics, may ariſe from their being Supreme Courts, in which the king ſat, and rude parliaments were held; the chiefs being within, the people without the circle. For all Courts were anciently held in the open air; and the rude parliaments eſpecially, in which, as Tacitus expreſſly tells, the whole people had a vote. The ſtones acroſs the top of two others were apparently conveniences for the chiefs to get up, and ſpeak to the people, who, as Tacitus deſcribes, diſſented by murmurs, or applauded by claſhing their ſhields. Stonehenge may have been the Supreme Court of the Belgic Britons. For the Belgæ, properly by ſuperiority ſo called, are by Ptolemy and Richard placed in that very tract: and Sorbiodunum, their capital, was Old Sarum, as all agree. That Stonehenge, and ſuch monuments, might eaſily be erected by a ſimple proceſs of raiſing mounts has been lately ſhewn; ſo that there is no occaſion to have recourſe to giants, beings of imagination. This opinion that Stonehenge was really a barbaric Parliament Houſe, being it is believed new [r], it is, after

[q] Alſo *Dombring*, 'circulus judicialis.' Iſl. Landn. p. 94.

[r] I ſince find the ſame opinion expreſſed by M. Brotier, in his Tacitus, where at the words of the Germania, *conſi-*

dunt

after the various opinions of ſo many great men concerning this wonderful monument, moſt humbly ſubmitted to the reader's candour. The noble circle at Claſſernis in Lewis [s] may alſo be of this kind; an ancient Gothic Court, in which great affairs were decided: the avenue, &c. being mere pieces of rude magnificence, as the double circle is at Stonehenge, and others.

We are not, however, to imagine that every ſmall circle of ſtones is a court of juſtice. Some ſuch were family burying places: others, temples erected to ſeveral ſmall deities. Some large ones were ſolemn to the election of the king, or chief; and ſuch have commonly twelve ſtones in a circle, and a large one in the middle, upon which the king was placed and crowned, or acclaimed [t]. But all kinds are Gothic, and abound in Scandinavia. It is no wonder indeed that, while our writers take for granted that all Britain was poſſeſſed by Celts, they ſhould regard theſe monuments as Celtic. This is only a lamentable proof, among many, that they have begun at the wrong end; and pretended to illuſtrate antiquities, without knowlege of hiſtory, that is, they have attempted to ſee without light.

IV. CASTLES. The Pikiſh caſtles, as appears from ſome remains, conſiſted of round ramparts of earth with ditches [u].

V. CAVES. Subterraneous retreats in war are common to moſt early nations. Tacitus [v] tells us

dunt armati, he refers to Mallet for the courts in Scandinavia; and mentions Stonehenge, and the *Champs de Mars, et de Mai*, and *Etats Generaux*, among the Francs.

[s] See Martin's Weſtern Iles.

[t] Wormius Mon. Dan. That ſome were burying places appears from Olaus Magnus, lib. I. *laxa, ordine ſphærico, familiarium deſignantia ſepulturas:* and ſee Dahlberg Suecia Ant. et Hod. vol. III.

[u] Gordon's Itin. Sept.

[v] In Germania.

they

they were uſed by the Germans. In Picardy there is a moſt remarkable vaſt excavation, in the form of a St. Andrew's croſs; of which a print and deſcription are publiſhed [w]. In the Hebud Iles, and other parts of Scotland, artificial caves are found [x]. Thoſe of Hawthornden, near Edinburgh, are remarkable, being cut out of a free ſtone rock, in ſeveral apartments. Some think them Pikiſh: but they may be ſuſpected Roman, as a ſimilar work in Cumberland ſeems to be [y].

VI. ENTRENCHMENTS. There is no proof that the ancient Gauls, Germans, or Scandinavians, ever fortified their camps as the Romans. Cæſar ſeems to mention as ſingular, and a firſt inſtance, that the Gauls fortified their camp. The Gauls preceded the Germans, Britons, and Scandinavians, near three centuries, in every art, as is clear from Cæſar's whole work. That great man tells us, that when the Britiſh Belgæ raiſed a rampart of felled trees, they called it a town. Oval and round intrenchments are found in Scotland; and are generally termed Daniſh and Pikiſh camps. The Danes uſed to fortify tops of hills in their invaſions, tho they remained but for a ſhort time, as the Saxon Chronicle obſerves. Cater-thun, and other artificial entrenchments in Scotland, of an oval and round form, ſeem Pikiſh works, on the model of the Roman entrenchments, round their military ſtations; but not ſquare as the Roman always are.

[w] Mem. de l'Acad. des Inſcrip.

[x] Martin's Weſtern Iles. Cordiners Ant. & ſc. for thoſe in Roſs-ſhire.

[y] Pennant's Scotland, II. 69, 70.

APPEN-

APPENDIX

TO

The First Volume.

APPENDIX

To Volume I.

Number I. *Ptolemy's Geography of North Britain, collated with the Palatine MS. and with the Latin Editions* 1462, *and* 1490.

BEGINS at the North (really the Weſt), going Eaſt (North) ſtops at Orcas Prom.—Then begins the Weſt ſide, going South, from Mull of Galloway to Cape of Cornwall—Thence along the South to Kent. —Then the Eaſt, beginning at the North, Orcas Prom. going South to Kent.—In this circuit he only marks the rivers and promontories.

He then proceeds to the names of the nations, beginning at Galloway, on the North-weſt extremity, as he ſuppoſes. He then goes Eaſt (North), and enumerates progreſſively Weſt, North, and Eaſt, the nations in North Britain, till he comes down to the Brigantes in Yorkſhire. After which, going South, he enumerates the nations in South Britain, till he ends in Cornwall.

He concludes with mentioning the ilands on the North and South of Britain. Thoſe on the Weſt he gives at the cloſe of his account of Ireland, in the preceding chapter.

Αρκτικης πλευρας περιγραφη, ης υπερκειται Ωκεανος καλουμενος Δουκαληδονιος (*Pal. habet* λλ).

Νουαντων (*Pal.* Νοουαντων) χερσονησος, και ομωνυμον ακρον	κα : - ξα : γο *
Ρεριγονιος κολπος . .	κ : Lϯ-ξ : Lγ
Ουιδυταρα (*Pal.* Ουιδογαρα) κολπος .	κα : γ - ξ : L

* The Greeks divide the degree only into twelve parts of the As or whole. An explanation of theſe fractions of the degree may be found in the Preface of Bertius.

† This mark ſtands for half a degree.

Κλωτα εισχυσις . . .	κβ :	δ :	νθ :	γο
Λελαανονιος (*Pal.* Λεμαανονιος) κολπος	κδ :	- ξ :		γο *
Επιδιον ακρον . . .	κγ :	- ξ :		γο
Λογγου ποτ. εκβολαι . .	κδ :	- ξ :		γο
Ιτυος ποτ. εκβολαι . .	κζ :	- ξ :		
Ουολσας κολπος . .	κθ :	- ξ :		L
Ναυαιου ποτ. εκβ. (*Pal.* Ναβαιου) .	λ :	- ξ :		L
Ταρουιδουμ ἡ και Ορκας ακρα (*Pal.* Ταρουεδουμ) . . .	λα :	γ - ξ :		δ
Δυσμικης πλευρας περιγραφη, ἡ παρακειται ὁ τε Ιουβερνιος Ωκεανος και ὁ Ουιεργιουιος, μετα την Νουαντων χερσονησον ἡ επεχει . . .	κα :	- ξα :		γο
Αυραουαννου (*P.* Αβρανανου) ποτ. εκβολαι	ιθ :	γ - ξα :		
Ιηνα εισχυσις . . .	ιθ :	- ξ :		L
Δηουα ποτ. εκβολαι . .	ιη :	- ξ :		
Νοουιου ποτ. εκβολαι . .	ιη :	γ - νθ :		L
Ιτουνα εισχυσις . .	ιη :	L - νη :		Lδ

(*Cætera hujus lateris, et* MERIDIONALIS *ad Angliam pertinent.*)

Των εφεξης προς ἑω και μησημβριαν πλευρων περιγραφη αἱς παρακειται Γερμανικος Ωκεανος.

Μετα το Ταρουεδουμ ακρον η Ορκας ὁπερ ειρηται.

Ουιερουεδρον ακρον . . .	λα :	- ξ :		-
Βερουβιουμ ακρον (*Pal.* Ουερουβιουμ)	λ :	L-νθ :		γο
Ιλα ποτ. εκβολαι . .	λ :	- νθ :		γο
Οχθη ὑψηλη . . .	κθ :	- νθ :		γο
Λοξα ποτ. εκβολαι . .	κη :	L-νθ :		γο
Ουαρα εισχυσις . . .	κζ :	L-νθ :		γο
Τουαι εισχυσις (*Pal.* Ταουαις) .	κζ :	- νθ :		
Κελνιου ποτ. εκβολαι (*Pal. ut semper* εκβολη) . . .	κζ :	- νη :		Lδ
Ταιζαλον ακρον . .	κζ :	L - νη :		L
Διουα ποτ. εκβ. . . .	κς :	- νη :		L
Ταουα εισχυσις . .	κε :	- νη :		L
Τιννα ποτ. εκβολαι . .	κδ :	L-νη :		Lδ
Βοδερια εισχ. . .	κβ :	L-νη :		Lδ

(*Cætera Angliæ sunt.*)

* Sic: sed Latinæ edit. melius hîc tantum ξ. et Ιτυοσποτ. ξ: γο.

Οικουσι

Οικουσι δε τα μεν ωαρα την αρκτικην ωλευραν υπο μεν την ομωνυμον χερσονησον ΝΟΥΑΝΤΑΙ. Παρ οις εισι και ωολεις αι δε.

Λουκοπιβια	ιθ	— ξ	γ
Ρετιγονιον	κ	ς-ξ	γο

Υφ ους ΣΕΛΓΟΥΑΙ ωαρ οις ωολ. (*Pal. addit* αιδε.)

Καρβαντοριγον	ιθ	— νθ	γ
Ουξελον	ιη	L-νθ	γ
Κορδα	κ	— νθ	γο
Τριμοντιον	ιθ	— νθ	—

Τουτων δε ωρος ανατολας ΔΑΜΝΙΟΙ μεν αρκτικωτεροι, εν οις ωολεις (*P. addit* αιδε).

Κολανια	κ	L-νθ	ς
Ουανδουαρα	κα	γο-ξ	—
Κορια	κα	L-νθ	γ
Αλαινα	κβ	Lδ-νθ	γ
Λινδον	κ	— νθ	L
Ουικτοριά	κγ	L-νθ	—

ΓΑΔΗΝΟΙ δε αρκτικωτεροι.

ΩΤΑΔΗΝΟΙ δε μεσημβρινωτεροι, εν οις ωολεις (*P. addit* αιδε.)

Κουρια (*P.* Κορια)	κ	ς-νθ.	—
Βρεμενιον (*P.* Αρεμενιον)	κα	— νη	Lδ

Μετα δε τους Δαμνονιους ωρος ανατολας αρκτικωτεροι μεν, απο του Επιδιου ακρου ως ωρος ανατολας ΕΠΙΔΙΟΙ.

Μεθ' ους ΚΣΡΟΝΕΣ. (*P. inf.* ειτα ανατολ. ΚΡΕΟΝΕΣ.)

Ειτα ΚΑΡΝΟΝΑΚΑΙ.

Ειτα ΚΑΡΗΝΟΙ.

Και ανατολικωτεροι και τελευταιοι ΚΟΡΝΑΒΤΟΙ.

Απο δε του Λαιλαμνονιου κολπου μεχρι της Ουαραρ εισχυσεως ΚΑΛΗΔΟΝΙΟΙ.

Και υπερ αυτους ὁ Καληδονιος δρυμος.

Ων ανατολικωτεροι δε ΚΑΝΤΑΙ.

Μεθ ους ΛΟΓΟΙ συναπτοντες τοις ΚΟΡΝΑΤΙΟΙΣ.

Και ὑπερ τους Λογους ΜΕΡΤΑΙ.

Ὑπερ δε τους Καληδονιους ΟΤΑΚΟΜΑΓΟΙ παρ οἷς πολεις.

Βανατια	κδ : — νθ : L
Ταμεια	κε : — νθ : γ
Πτερωτον στρατοπεδον . .	κζ : δ - νθ : γ
Τουεσις . . .	κς : Lδ - νθ : ς

Ὑπο δε τουτους δυσμικωτεροι μεν ΟΤΕΝΙΚΟΝΤΕΣ, εν οἷς πολεις.

Ορρεα	κδ : — νη : Lδ

Ανατολικωτεροι δε ΤΕΞΑΛΟΙ.

Και πολις Δηουανα . .	κς : δ - νθ : Lδ

(Tunc redit ad Brigantes, et Angliam.)

ΝΗΣΟΙ δε παρακεινται τη Αλουιωνος κατα μεν την Ορκαδα ακραν

Οκητις νησος . . .	λε : γο - ξ : Lδ
Δουμνα νησος . . .	λ : — ξα :

Ὑπερ την ΟΡΚΑΔΕΣ, περι τριακοντα τον αριθμον ὡν το μεταξυ επεχει μοιρας . . λ : — ξα : γο

Και ετι ὑπερ αυτας ἡ ΘΟΥΛΗ ἡς τα μεν

δυσμικωΐαΐα επεχει μοιρας . .	κθ : — ξγ :
Τα δε ανατολικωτατα . .	λα : γο - ξγ : —
Τα δε αρκτικωτατα . .	λ : γ - ξγ : δ
Τα δε νοτιωτατα . .	λ : γ - ξε : γο
Τα δε μεταξυ . .	λ : γ - ξγ : —

INSULÆ OCCIDENTALES *ex lib.* II. *c.* 2. *de Hibernia.*

Ὑπερκεινται δε νησοι της Ιουερνιας, ἅιτε καλουμεναι ΕΒΟΥΔΑΙ, ε τον αριθμον, ὡν ἡ μεν δυτικωτερα καλειται Εδουδα

	ιε : — ξε : —
Ἡ δε ἑξης αυτων προς ανατολας ὁμοιως	
Εδουδα . . .	ιε : γο - ξε : —
Ειτα Ρικινα . .	ιζ : — ξε : —
Ειτα Μαλεος . . .	ιζ : L - ξε : —
Ειτα Επιδιον . . .	ιη : L - ξε : —

TRANSLATION.

*** *The Greek MSS. differ much; and the* Editio Princeps, *Basil.* 1533, *is not published from a good MS. In collating with the Palatine, Sylburgius has forgotten the degrees. The Latin Translation is generally preferable to the Greek text, being taken from better MSS.*

SEPTENTRIONALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod alluit Oceanus qui vocatur Deucaledonius *.

Novantum Chersonesus, et ejusdem nominis promontorium	21	—	61	40
Rerigonius Sinus	20	50	60	45
Vidotara (*Pal.* Vidogara) Sinus [a]	21	20	60	30
Clota [b] æstuarium	22	15	59	40
Lelaannonius Sinus (*Pal.* Lemaannonius [c])	24	—	60	—
Epidium prom.	23	—	60	40
Longi fluvii ostium	24	30	60	40
Ityis fluvii ostium	27	—	60	40
Volsas Sinus	29	—	60	30
Nabæi fluvii ostium	30	—	60	30
Tarvidum [d], quod et Orcas Promontorium (*Pal.* Tarvedum)	31	20	60	15
OCCIDENTALIS LATERIS descriptio, quod Ibernicus ac Vergivius alluit Oceanus. Post Novantum Chersonesum quæ habet	21	—	61	40
Auravanni (*P.* Abranani [e]) fluvii ostium	19	20	61	—
Iena [f] æstuarium	19	—	60	30
Devæ [g] fluvii ostium	18	—	60	—
Novii fluvii ostium	18	20	59	30
Ituna æstuarium [h]	18	30	58	45

[*The remainder of this, and the south-side, belong to England.*]

ORIENTALIS deinde, ac AUSTRALIS, PLAGÆ LATERA, quæ Germanico alluuntur Oceano, describuntur sic.

Post Tarvedum, quod et Orcas Promontorium, jam dictum.

* In collating with the Latin editions, 1. denotes that of 1462; and, 2. that of 1490.

[a] Vindogara, 1.
[b] Clatis, 1.
[c] Lemanonius, 1.
[d] Tarvedi 24 — 7 / Orcas 31-60 } 1
[e] Abravani, 1. 2.
[f] Ion, 2.
[g] Dubæ, 2.
[h] Itucæ æstus, 2.

Virvedrum promontorium	31 [i] —	60 —	
Veruvium prom.	30	30 [k]	59 40
Ila fluv. oſtia	30	—	59 40
Ripa alta	29 [l]	—	59 40
Loxæ fluvii oſtium *	28 [m]	30	59 40
Vara æſtuarium	27	30	59 40
Tuæſis æſtuarium	27	—	59 —
Celnii fluvii oſtium	27	—	58 45
Taizalum prom.	27 [n]	30	58 30
Divæ fluvii oſtium	26	—	58 30
Tava æſtuarium	25 [o]	—	58 30
Tinæ [p] fluvii oſtium	24	30	58 45
Boderia [q] æſtuarium	22	30	58 45

[*The reſt belong to England.*]

Juxta Septentrionale latus, ſub Cherſoneſo eodem appellati nomine, NOVANTÆ habitant apud quos urbes hæ:

Lucopibia	19	—	60 20
Retigonium	20 [r]	10	60 40

Sub eis SELGOVÆ, apud quos urbes hæ:

Carbantorigum	19	—	59 20
Uxelum	18	30	59 20
Corda	20	—	59 40
Trimontium	19	—	59 —

His verſus ſolis ortum, magis ſeptentrionales, DAMNII ſunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Colania [s]	20	30	59 10
Vanduara [t]	21	40	60 —
Coria	21	30	59 20
Alauna	22	45	59 20 [u]
Lindum	23	—	59 30
Victoria	23	30	59 —

* Palatinus Varum æſtuarium præponit oſtio Loxæ amnis, et ſic ed. 1. [i] 30 — 59⅓, (1).
[k] 31½, (2.) [l] 29, (1. 2.) [m] 27, (1.) [n] 28 — 58½, (1.)
[o] 27, (1.) [p] Tiva, 2. [q] Bogderiais, 1. Bogderia, 2.
[r] 26, (1). [s] Colanica, 2. [t] Vandogara, 2. [u] 23-58 ⅓ (1.)

GADENI

GADENI vero magis Septentrionales.
OTADENI autem magis auſtrales ſunt, in quibus urbes hæ:

Curia	- -	20[v] 10	59 —
Bremenium [x]	- -	21 —	58 45

Poſt Damnonios, verſus ſolis ortum magis Septentrionales, quaſi ad ortum vergentes ab Epidio prom. EPIDII ſunt.
Poſt quos CERONES: inde Orientaliores CREONES.
Deinde CARNONACÆ [y].
Deinde CARENI [z].
Et Orientaliores, ultimique, CORNABII [a].
A Lælamnonio autem ſinu uſque ad æſtuarium Varar ſunt CALEDONII.
Et ſupra eos CALEDONIA SYLVA.
Quibus magis Orientales ſunt CANTÆ.
Poſt quos LOGI [b] contigui Cornabiis.
Et ſupra Logos [b] MERTÆ ſunt.
Sub Caledoniis autem VACOMAGI [c]; apud quos hæ ſunt urbes:

Banatia	- -	24 —	59 30
Tamia	- -	25 —	59 20
Alata Caſtra	- -	27 15	59 20
Tueſis	- -	26 45	59 10

Sub iis qui magis Occidentales ſunt habitant VENICONTES [d]: In quibus urbs.

Orrea [e]	- -	24[f] 15	58 45

Deinde qui magis Orientales ſunt TEXALI.

Et urbs Devana	-	26 15	59 45[g]

[*He then returns to the Brigantes, and England.*]

INSULÆ antem adjacent Albioni juxta Orcada prom.

Ocetis inſula	- -	32 40	60 45
Dumna inſula	-	30 —	61 —
Supra quam Orcades Inſulæ ſunt numero xxx. circiter; quarum medium gradus habet	-	30 —	61 40
Et ſuper ipſas Thule eſt: cujus inſulæ pars quæ maxime ad occaſum tendit gradus habet		29 —	63 —

[v] 26, (1.) [x] Aremenium, 1. [y] Cornonacæ, 1. [z] Terini, 1. Cerini, 2. [a] Carnavii, 1. [b] Lugii, Lugos, 1. [c] Raconagi, 1. [d] Vernicomes, 1. [e] Orrhea, (1.) [f] 24, (1.) [g] 26 ½ 59, (1, 2.)

Quæ

Quæ maxime ad ortum -	31	40	63 —
Quæ maxime ad arctos -	30 h	20	63 15
Quæ maxime ad auſtrum -	30 h	20	62 40
Medium Inſulæ	30 h	20	63 —

[*The Weſtern Iſlands, from book* II. *c.* 2. *Ireland.*]

Hiberniæ ſuperjacent quinque inſulæ, Ebudæ nomine: quarum occidentalior vocatur

Ebuda	15	—	62 —
Deinde quæ ad ortum extenditur ſimiliter Ebuda -	15	40	62 —
Poſtea Rhicina - -	17	—	62 —
Poſt Maleos - -	17	30	62 10
Poſt Epidium - -	18	30	62 —

*** The Latin tranſlation in the beſt edition of Ptolemy, that of Bertius, Amſt. 1618, is often incorrectly printed in the numerals, and varies from the Greek: thus *Veruvium prom.* in the Greek has 30: 50 in the Latin 39: 50—*Ripa Alta* in Gr. 29, Lat. 39—*Orrea* Gr. 24. 15=58. 45, Lat. 26. 15=59. 45—*Devana*, Gr. 26. 15=59. 45, Lat. 19. 15=57. 45—*Thule* on eaſt 31 in Gr. 21 in Lat. Theſe ſhameful inaccuracies may ſhew how much a new edition of Ptolemy is wanted; for they are mere errors, and not variations of the old Latin tranſlation.

The author has peruſed this part of Ptolemy in 13 or 14 editions: but the only other remarkable variations are in that of 1482, or the ſecond edition. To *Deva* it gives 17° for 18°—to *Lindum*, with all the Latin editions, it aſſigns 23°, tho the Greek erroneouſly has 20°—and between *Curia* and *Bremenium* it introduces a ſecond *Alauna*, 23°—58⅔°: it is believed rightly, for the Geographus Ravennas has another Alauna, as preſently to be mentioned. The ed. 1482 has thus two Alaunas, but the old copiers ſeem to have omitted the ſecond, as thinking it only the firſt miſplaced. For *Ocetis* it reads *Scetis*, as does a fine Latin MS. in the Muſæum, of Angelo's tranſlation about 1450; that of Boetius is unfortunately loſt. In both Greek and Latin *Devana* has 59—45, but it muſt be corrected 58—45, as all the maps bear, or 59, as edd. 1, 2.

NUMBER II. *Extracts from the* Notitia Imperii, *and the Anonymous Geographer of Ravenna.*

NOTITIA.

BRITANNIARUM PROVINCIÆ Quinque—Maxima Cæsarienſis. Valentia. Britannia Prima. Britannia Secunda. Flavia Cæſarienſis.

EQUITES intra Britannias cum viro ſpectabili COMITE Britanniarum—Equites Catafractarii Juniores. Equites Scutarii Aureliaci. Equites Honoriani Seniores. Equites Stableſiani. Equites Syri. Equites Taifali.

Sub diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis VICARII Britanniarum. Conſulares—Maximæ Cæſarienſis. Valentiæ—Præſides—Britanniæ Primæ. Britanniæ Secundæ. Flaviæ Cæſarienſis.

Officium autem habet idem vir ſpectabilis Vicarius hoc modo: Principem de ſchola Agentum in rebus ex Ducenariis. Cornicularium. Numerarios duos. Commentarienſem. Ab actis. Curam Epiſtolarum. Adjutorem. Subadjuvas. Exceptores. Singulares et reliquos Officiales.

Sub diſpoſitione viri ſpectabilis Comitis Britanniarum. Provincia Britanniæ.

Officium autem habet idem vir ſpectabilis Comes hoc modo: Principem ex officio Magiſtri Militum præſentalium alternis annis. Commentarienſem, &c.

Sub

Sub dispositione viri spectabilis Ducis Britanniarum. —Præfectus legiones sextæ. Præfectus equitum Dalmatarum, *Præsidio*. Præfectus equitum Crispianorum, *Dano*. Præfectus equitum Catafractariorum *Morbio*. Præfectus Numeri Barcariorum Tigrisiensium, *Arbeia*. Præfectus Numeri Nerviorum Dictensium, *Dicti*. Præfectus Numeri Vigilum, *Congangios*. Præfectus Numeri Exploratorum *Lavatres*. Præfectus Numeri Directorum Veterum. Præfectus Numeri Defensorum, *Braboniaco*. Præfectus Numeri Solensium, *Maglovæ*. Præfectus Numeri Pacensium, *Magis*. Præfectus Numeri Longovicariorum, *Longovico*. Præfectus Numeri Derventiensis, *Derventione*.

Item per lineam Valli.

Tribunus cohortis quartæ Lergorum, *Segeduno*. Tribunus cohortis Cornoviorum, *Ponte Ælii*. Præfectus alæ primæ Astorum, *Conderco*. Tribunus cohortis primæ Frixagorum, *Vindobala*. Præf. alæ Savinianæ, *Hunno*. Præf. alæ secundæ Astorum, *Cilurno*. Trib. cohortis primæ Batavorum, *Procolitia*. Trib. cohortis primæ Tungrorum, *Borcovico*. Trib. coh. quartæ Gallorum, *Vindolana*. Trib. cohortis primæ Astorum, *Æsica*. Tr. coh. secundæ Dalmatarum, *Magnis*. Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Dacorum *Amboglanna*. Præf. alæ Petrianæ, *Petrionis*. Pr. Numeri Maurorum Aurelianorum, *Aballaba*. Tr. coh. secundæ Lergorum, *Congavata*. Tr. coh. primæ Hispanorum, *Axeloduno*. Tr. coh. secundæ Thracum, *Gabrosenti*. Tr. coh. primæ Æliæ Classicæ, *Tunnocelo*. Tr. coh. primæ Morinorum, *Glannibanta*. Tr. coh. tertiæ Nerviorum, *Aliono*. Cuneus Armaturarum, *Bremetenraco*. Præf. alæ primæ Herculeæ, *Olenaco*. Tr. coh. sextæ Nerviorum *Virosido*.

Officium autem habet idem vir spectabilis Dux hoc modo. Principem ex officiis Magistrorum, &c.

GEOGRA-

GEOGRAPHUS RAVENNAS.

THIS geographer ſeems to have lived in the eighth century. His work, tho written in the moſt barbarous ſtyle, is curious and valuable, but ſtands in need of an able and learned commentator.

In deſcribing Britain, he mentions the arrival of the Saxons under Anſchis, (Hengiſt); and ſays, the Gothic philoſophers, that is Aithanarid, Heldebald, and Marcomir, whom he often quotes in his accounts, called this iland a microcoſm. He then gives a liſt of many *civitates et caſtra*, 'towns and camps', in Britain.

Tho he obſerves not much order in this liſt, yet he palpably begins with the ſouthern part of Britain, and after paſſes to the north; as appears from many of his names to be found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and Imperial Itinerary. His arrival at the north is marked by his firſt giving us many names together, to be found in the preceding *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia, as *Gabrocentio*, *Derventione*, *Magnis*, *Vindolande*, *Cogangis*, &c. and next by his ſaying "Iterum ſunt civitates in ipſa Britannia quæ recto tramite de una parte in alia, id eſt de oceano in oceano, et Siſtuntiaci dividunt in tertia portione ipſam Britanniam, id eſt Serduno, Conderco, Vindovala, Onno, Celunno, Brocoliti," &c. For all theſe names are to be found in the above *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia; only here they are corrupted, like the other names in the book, to a kind of Italian: and the Siſtuntii, as well known, were in preſent Cumberland, cloſe to Hadrian's wall.

Horſley in his Britannia Romana has therefor rightly put the following names as belonging to preſent Scotland.

"Clidum, CARBANTIUM, Tadoriton, Maporiton, Alitacenon, Loxa, Locatrene, Canibroiana, Smetri, UXELA, LUCOTION, CORDA, Camuloſeſſa, PRÆSIDIUM, Brigomono, Abiſſon, Ebio, Coritiotar, Celerion, Itucodon, Maremago, Duabliſis, Venutio, TRIMUNTIUM,

TIUM, Eburocaſlum, BREMENIUM, Cocuneda, ALAUNA, Oleiclavis, Ejudenſca, Rumabo. Iterum ſunt civitates in ipſa Britannia ubi plus anguſtiſſima de oceano in oceano eſſe dinoſcitur. Id eſt Velunia, Volitanio, Pexa, Begeſe, COLANICA, MEDIO, Nemeton, Subdobiadon, Litana, Cibra, Credigone. Iterum eſt civitas, quæ dicitur Iana, Manlion, Demeroſeſa, Cindocelum, Cermo, Veromo, Matovion, Ugrulentum, Ranatonium, IBERRAN, Prætis, TUESSIS, Ledone, Litinomago, DEVONI, Memanturum, Decha, Bograndium, Ugueſte, Leviodanum, Pareo Claſſis, Levioxana, Cermium, VICTORIÆ, Marcotaxon, Tagea, Voran."

The following ilands, from his account, clearly belong to the Hebudes in part.

"Iterum ipſi oceano occidentali ponuntur diverſæ inſulæ, ex quibus aliquantas nominare volumus; id eſt Corſula, MONA, REGAINA, Minervæ, Cunis, MANNA, Botis, Vinion, Saponis, Suſura, Birila, Elaviani, Sobrica, Scetis, Linnonſa."

He then adds the following ilands, which may perhaps be the Scilly ilands, or ſome others in the weſtern ocean, for none of their names ſeem to infer any of the Hebudes. "Item ad aliam partem dicitur inſula Maganica, Anas, Cana, Atino, Elete, Daroecla, Eſſigradena, Maiona, Longis, Cirimon, Exoſadeos, ubi et gemmæ naſcuntur." He immediately adds, "Legimus ut in ipſo oceano jam expleta parte occidentali, tanquam ad partem ingredientes meridianam, ſunt inſulæ numero triginta tres, quæ et Dorcadas appellatur." This intelligence that the Orkneys lay on the ſouth of the weſtern ocean is ſingular: but this writer alſo ſays, that the Orkneys are on the eaſt of Britain; Gaul and the Pyrenees on the weſt; Ireland on the north; and Germany on the ſouth!

But errors in the greater parts of geography invalidate not his names of places in Britain, which deſerve a few remarks. The towns put in capital letters are found in Ptolemy, the Notitia, and the Itinerary given by Richard of Cirenceſter. The others are unknown. Horſley conjectures that *Clidum* is Glaſgow, upon no grounds, it being put among the towns near the wall of Hadrian. For it is clear from the author's mention of the Siſtuntii, and from his after paſſing to the towns ſituated where Britain is narroweſt, that is at the wall of Antoninus, that he underſtood the *Per lineam Valli* of the Notitia to refer

refer to the wall of Hadrian. This seems to confirm Horsley's account of the stations, controverted in p. 51. of this volume. At same time it serves to establish that curious fact, that the Roman walls were not the utmost bounds of their power in Britain; for while they held Valentia, still the stations were at the southern wall, that is this wall was the real fortified barrier. *Carbantium* is palpably the *Carbantium* of Richard, and *Carbantorigum* of Ptolemy, now thought to be Kircudbright. *Uxella* is the *Uxellum* of Ptolemy. *Lucotion* the *Lucopibia*. *Corda* is the southern *Coria* of Ptolemy. *Trimuntium* is the *Trimontium* of Ptolemy. *Bremenium* lay near it, but in present England. The *Alauna* here seems evidently a station on the river Alauna near Bremenium; if the geographer has not confounded the river itself with a station; for it cannot be Alauna on the north of Forth, the other names all lying near the southern wall, as the author says, and as evident from those known. Horsley's conjectures that Alitacenon is Elgin; Loxa, Innerlochy; Celerion, Calendar; Duabliſis, Duplin; &c. are therefor ridiculously absurd, and founded merely on an imagined resemblance of names.

The geographer next passes to the places near the narrowest part of Britain, that is near the wall of Antoninus between Clyde and Forth. Of these *Colanica*, or *Colania*, is found in Ptolemy and Richard, and thought to be present Lanerk. *Medio* is found in Richard's Itinerary, nine miles on the north of Orrea, or near the Tay: but possibly there was another in the middle of the wall of Antoninus. The other names here are quite unknown.

Our author then passes to other places, which, as we can judge from the few known, were more to the north than the former. *Tuessis* and *Victoria* are known from Ptolemy. *Iberan* seems the *Hierna* of Richards. *Devoni*, the *Devana* of Ptolemy. *Tagea*, the *Tamea* of Ptolemy. The dreams of Horsley on the rest are beneath notice.

Of the ilands *Mona* is Anglesey. *Manna*, Maun. *Regaina* is surely the *Ricina* of Ptolemy, the *Racina* of Richard, or *Rachlin*. *Botis* seems Bute. *Scetis*, Scia or Skey. The rest can hardly be guest at.

NUM-

NUMBER III. *Deſcription of Caledonia, from Richard of Cirenceſter*, Book I. c. 6.

VESPASIANA, or ROMAN CALEDONIA.

EXTRA murum ſita provincia VESPASIANA. Hæc eſt illa Caledonia, regio a Romanis nimium quantum et deſiderata, militibus et incolis valde defenſa. Negotium cujus amplam Hiſtoriæ Romanæ, alias nimis de iſtiuſmodi rebus ſilentes, mentionem faciunt. Hic fluvium Tavum conſpicere licet, qui longo curſu regionem in duas quaſi partes diſſecare videtur. Hic quoque arduum atque horrendum jugum Grampium offendimus, quod Provinciam iſtam biſariam ſecabat. Atque hæc eadem erat regio quæ, a commiſſo inter Agricolam et Galgacum prælio, Romanis utiliſſimo, famam in annalibus habet inſignem. Hic vires eorum, vetereſque caſtramentationes, hodieque magnitudo oſtendit mænium. Nam in loco ubi ingens ſupradictum prælium habitum erat, quidam ordinis noſtri, hanc viam emenſi, affirmant ſe immania videſſe caſtra, aliaque argumenta Taciti relationem confirmantia.

Nationes vero Romanis hic ſubjectæ ordine jam ſequentur. Ultra iſthmum uſque ad Tavum gens erant HORESTII, quorum urbes poſt prætenturam quidem extructam (prius enim Damniis accenſebantur) fuerunt *Alauna*, *Lindum*, et re non minus quam nomine reliquis glorioſior *Victoria*, ab Agricola ad flumen Tavum XX. milliaria ab ejuſdem in mare exitu ædificata, memoriæ proditum dicunt.

Supra hos ultra Tavum, qui limites conſtituit, erant VECTURONES, ſive Venricones, quorum urbs primaria *Orrea*, fluvii vero *Æſica* et *Tina*.

Oceani littus ultra horum fines accolebant TAIXALI. His urbium princeps *Divana:* fluvii autem *Deva* et *Ituna*. Pars Grampii montis, quæ ut promontorium late ſe in oceanum, quaſi in Germaniæ occurſum, extendit, ab illis nomen mutuatur.

His

His contermini ad occidentem, interveniente montium Grampiorum ſerie, extitere VACOMAGI qui ampliſſimam regionem tenebant, quorum urbes *Tueſſis*, *Tamea*, et *Banatia*. Romanorum autem ſtatio, ſimulque Provinciæ urbs primaria, erat ad oſtium fluvii *Varar* in littore ſitum, *Ptoroton*. Notiores hujus regionis fluvii præter Vararem, qui Provinciam terminabat, fuerunt *Tueſis* et *Celnius*.

Infra Vacomagos, Tavunique, habitabant DAMNII-ALBANI: gentes parum notæ, et intra lacuum montiumque clauſtra plane reconditæ.

Inferius adhuc Clottæ ripas accolebant ATTACOTI, gens toti aliquando olim Britanniæ formidanda. Maximus hic viſitur lacus, cui nomen olim *Lyncalidor*; ad cujus oſtium condita a Romanis urbs *Alcluith*, brevi tempore a duce *Theodoſio* nomen ſortita, qui occupatam a barbaris provinciam recuperaverat: cum hac comparari potuit nulla; utpote quæ poſt fractas cæteras circumjacentes provincias impetum hoſtium ultimo ſuſtinuit.

Hæc Provincia dicta eſt in honorem familæ Flaviæ, cui ſuam Domitianus Imperator originem debuit, et ſub quo expugnata, VESPASIANA. Et ni fallor ſub ultimis imperatoribus nominata erat THULE, de qua Claudianus vates his verſibus facit mentionem:

> ——— incaluit Pictorum ſanguine Thule;
> Scotorum cumulos flevit glacialis Ierne.

Sed non tam diu ſub aquila ſuopte tenuerunt Romani, ut poſteritati innoteſcerent ejuſdem et nomina et ſubjectio. Curſorio hucuſque oculo qualis ſub Romanorum Imperio erat Britanniam luſtravimus: reſtat ut parili compendio Caledoniorum terras luſtremus.

De Caledonia.

LICET tota ultra isthmum prædictum Britanniæ non improprie dici potest Caledonia, ipsi tamen Caledonii ultra Vararem sedem habuere; unde ducta linea terminum Romani in Britanniam imperii accurate satis ostendit. Citerior vero insulæ pars alio atque alio tempore ab illis possessa fuit: reliqua ut supra meminimus a Britonibus barbaris occupata. Hucusque et proficiscentibus lumen aliquod fænerant antiqua historiarum monumenta. Trajicientes autem Varar flumen extincto lumine, in obscuro quasi versamur; et (quamvis non nobis ignotum sit extructas ibi pro limitibus Imperii Romani fuisse aras, Ulyssemque tempestate fluctibusque jactatum heic vota persolvisse,) siquidem condensæ arboribus sylvæ, cum perpetuis montium saxetis, ab ulteriori nos scrutatione prohibent. Relationem sequentem a mercatoribus Britonibus fugitivis acceptam, posteriisque relictam, ut sufficientem æstimemus necesse est.

Ad Occidentem igitur Vararis habitabant Caledonii, proprie sic dicti; quorum regionis partem tegebat immensa illa Caledonia Sylva.

Littus incolebant minores quidam populi; ex quorum numero, ultra Vararem, et erectas supradictas aras ad *Loxam* fluvium, habitabant Cantæ; in quorum finibus promuntorium *Penoxullum*.

Huic ordine proximus est fluvius *Abona*, ejusdemque accolæ Logi. Hinc *Ila* fluvius; et ad illum siti Carnabii, Brittonum extremi, qui ab Ostorio Propretore subjugati, jugum Romanum indigne ferentes, adscitis in societatem Cantiis, ut referunt traditiones, trajectoque mari ibi sedem eligunt. In varia heic promuntoria sese extendit Britannia, quorum primum antiquis dictum *Vinvedrum*; tum *Verubrium*, aut extremitas Caledoniæ.

Post illos Catini. Deinde interiores, Logisque proximi Mertæ siti sunt. In his oris *promuntorium Orcanum* positum. Cui adjacebant Orcades insulæ. Ulterius

terius manabat *Nabæus* fluvius, qui terminus erat Carnabicæ juriſdictionis.

Ad inferiorem hujus regionis partem habitabant CARNONACÆ; in quorum finibus *promunturium Ebudum*, ad cujus extrema eximium Oceanus ſinum efformat, qui olim *Volſas* appellatus. Ad inferiorem iſtius ſinus ripam tendebant CERONES; et infra *Ityn*, CREONES. Ad *Longum* uſque procurrit inde, Oceanum inter et ſinum *Lelanum*, dictum ab incolis EPIDIIS *promunturium*.

Provectus jam ultra flumen Vararis idem illud remetiri non poſſum, quin in tranſgreſſu admirer Romanos, aliàs ſatis expertos judicio atque experientia, heic quaſi deſtitutos, tam perabſurda opinione laboraſſe ut iſtam Britanniæ partem, quæ jam armis ipſorum intacta quieſcebat, reliquam jam ſubactam atque poſſeſſam longe majori et longitudine et latitudine metirentur, quam tamen eos foviſſe opinionem ſatis ſuperque conſtat. Qui enim ea qua par eſt mente inſignem Romanorum ambitionem, atque inſatiabilem regnándi cupidinem, conſideraverit; et quo hoſtem, vix ira ipſorum et notitia nedum timore dignum, excluderent, ſtupenda iſta, quæ totum orbem in admirationem ſui facile trahunt, opera erexiſſe. In hoc, ut in cæteris quam plurimis, magnam ſummi Numinis merito providentiam veneremur, cui ut omnia ſubjecta ſunt regna, ita et ſempiterna ab incolis gloria debetur et erit. Amen.

Lib. I. c. 7. ITER VIIII. A Luguballio Plorotonim uſque ſic: Trimontio m. p. . . . Gadanica m. p. . . . Corio m. p. . . . ad Vallum m. p. . . . Incipit Veſpaſiana. Alauna m. p. XII. Lindo VIIII. Victoria VIIII. ad Hiernam VIIII. Orrea XIIII. ad Tavum XVIIII. ad Æſicam XXIII. ad Tinam VIII. Devana XXIII. ad Itunam XXIIII. ad montem Grampium . . . ad Selinam . . . . Tueſſis XVIIII. Ptorotone . . . .

ITER X. Ab ultima Ptorotone per mediam inſulam Iſca Damnoniorum uſque. Sic. Varis m. p. VIII. ad Tueſſim XVIII. Tamea XXVIIII. . . . . m. p. XXI. In Medio VIIII. Orrea VIIII. Victoria XVIII. ad Vallum XXXII. Luguballia LXXX. &c.

NUMBER IV. *Dio's Account of the Expedition of Severus into Caledonia.*

A Fragment of Dio in the excerpts of Theodoſius, publiſhed by Leunclavius, bears the following ſhort notice concerning the Caledonians, juſt before the battle between Severus and Albinus, or the year of Chriſt 198. "Then alſo in Britain, beauſe the Caledonii did not abide by their engagements, but were prepared to defend the Mæatæ, while Severus at that time was intent on the approaching war, Lupus was forced to purchaſe peace of the Mæatæ, by paying a large ſum of money, getting back however a few captives." It is well known that there are more coins of Commodus with BRITANNIA, or VICTORIA BRIT. than of Antoninus Pius or Severus: and it appears that Marcellus, the general of Commodus in Britain, ſubdued the Mæatæ, and forced the Caledonians to the above mentioned engagements, about the year 183.

But before Severus went into Britain his generals there had obtained ſome advantage, for Dio mentions his anger that he could not ſeize Bulas the robber, "while by the help of others he ſubdued his foes in Britain." Then follows the account of his celebrated expedition into Britain, as excerpted by Xiphilin, for the greater part of Dio's hiſtory is loſt.

"After this Severus proceeded into Britain with his army, perceiving that his ſons were intemperate, and that the legions diſſolving in eaſe became corrupt. This expedition he entered upon, tho he knew that he ſhould never return, by conſidering the ſtars under which he was born: and whoſe appearance he had cauſed to be painted in the cieling of the hall in the palace, where he gave judgment, evident to all; except as to the hour of his birth by the Greeks called horoſcope, for this he delineated on both ſides in different ways. He alſo knew his fate from the ſooth-ſayers. For a thunderbolt ſtruck that gate, thro which he was to lead his army, and daſhed out three letters of his name. Severus therefor,

as

as was foretold by the ſooth-ſayers, never did return, but died the third year after, having amaſſed great treaſures."

"Of the [barbaric] Britons there are two great nations, called Caledonii and Mæatæ; for the reſt are generally referred to theſe. The Mæatæ dwell near that wall which divides the iland into two parts. The Caledonians inhabit beyond them. They both poſſeſs rugged and dry mountains, and deſert plains full of marſhes. They have neither caſtles nor towns; nor do they cultivate the ground; but live on their flocks and hunting, and the fruits of ſome trees; not eating fiſh, tho extremely plenteous. They live in tents, naked and without buſkins. Wives they have in common, and breed up their children in common. The general form of government is democratic. They are addicted to robbery; fight in cars; have ſmall and ſwift horſes. Their infantry are remarkable for ſpeed in running, and for firmneſs in ſtanding. Their armour conſiſts of a ſhield; and a ſhort ſpear, in the lower end of which is a brazen apple, whoſe ſound, when ſtruck, may terrify the enemy; they have alſo daggers. Famine, cold, and all ſorts of labour they can bear, for they will even ſtand in their marſhes for many days, up to the neck in water, and in the woods will live on the bark and roots of trees. They prepare a certain kind of food on all occaſions, of which taking only a bit the ſize of a bean, they feel neither hunger nor thirſt. Such is Britain, and ſuch are the inhabitants of that part, which wars againſt the Romans. That it is an iland has been ſhewn before. Its length is ſeven thouſand one hundred and thirty-two ſtadia: its utmoſt breadth two thouſand three hundred and ten ſtadia; its leaſt breadth three hundred ſtadia."

"Of this iland not much leſs than the half is ours. Severus wiſhing to reduce the whole under his power entered into Caledonia. In his march he met with unſpeakable difficulties, in cutting down woods, levelling eminences, raiſing banks acroſs the marſhes, and building bridges over the rivers. He fought no battle, the enemy never appearing in array, but adviſedly placing ſheep and oxen in the way of our troops, that while our ſoldiers attempted to ſeize them, and by the fraud were drawn into defiles, they might be eaſily cut off The lakes likewiſe were deſtructive to our men, as dividing them, ſo that they fell into ambuſcades; and

while they could not be brought off, were ſlain by our army, that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. Owing to theſe cauſes, there died no leſs than fifty thouſand of our troops. Severus however did not deſiſt till he had reached the extreme part of the iland, where he diligently remarked the diverſity of the ſolar courſe, and the length of the nights and days in ſummer and winter. At laſt, after having been carried thro moſt of the hoſtile land, (for becauſe of his weakneſs he was generally borne in an open litter), he returned to the friendly part of Britain, the [barbaric] Britons being forced to conclude an alliance, on condition that they ſhould yield up no ſmall part of their country."

Xiphilin from Dio then relates that Severus, in a conference with the Caledonians, had almoſt been ſlain by his ſon Antoninus Caracalla. He then adds:

"After this the Britons again revolted; upon which Severus aſſembling his army, ordered them to invade the country, and to give no quarter; repeating theſe verſes:

> Let none eſcape your hands, and cruel ſlaughter,
> Not even the babe yet guiltleſs in the womb.

And finding that the Caledonii as well as the Mæatæ had ariſen, he prepared to conduct the war himſelf, but was prevented by death." Xiphilin laſt mentions as happening during the ſhort truce, the noted reply of a Caledonian lady to Julia the empreſs,

NUMBER V. *The fabulous account of Britain given by Procopius tranſlated.*

Procopius de Bello Gothico, lib. IV. cap. 20.

ABOUT that time * the warlike people who inhabit the iland called BRITTIA, fought with the *Varni*; the war having ariſen from this cauſe: The *Varni* dwell beyond the river *Iſter* †, and extend to the Northern Ocean, and to the river *Rhine*, which divides them from the *Franks*, and other neighbouring nations. Of the nations who anciently inhabited either bank of the Rhine, each had its peculiar name. Of theſe nations one is now called Germans, a name formerly common to all. The ile of BRITTIA is ſituated in this ocean, not more than two hundred ſtadia from the continent, and oppoſite the mouth of the Rhine, being between BRITAIN and the ile THULE. But BRITAIN, lying toward the ſetting ſun, where it is oppoſite to furtheſt Spain, is about four thouſand ſtadia from the continent. BRITTIA is oppoſite to the furtheſt parts of Gaul, which ſtretch to the ocean, being on the northern ſide of SPAIN and BRITAIN. THULE, ſo far as mortals can diſcover, is removed to the extreme of the Northern Ocean. But i have ſpoken of BRITAIN and THULE in former books.

The ile of BRITTIA is inhabited by three moſt numerous nations, each under its proper king, namely, the ANGLI, FRISONES, and the BRITTONS ſynonymous with the ile. So great is the multitude of its people, that every year, not a few, with their wives and children, migrate into *France*, where habitations in deſert grounds are aſſigned them: whence it is ſaid the *Franci* claim ſome right to the iland itſelf ‡. Certainly the king of the *Franci*, not long ago, when he

* Ch. 17. Silk-worms brought to the weſt, 22 &c. wars of Narſes with Totilas, A. D. 550.

† Procopius wrote in Paleſtine.

‡ Accurate reaſoner!

ſent ſome of his familiar ſervants ambaſſors to Juſtinian the emperor, joined ſome ANGLI to their train; proudly ſhewing that he alſo commanded this iſland. So much for the iland BRITTIA.

Not long ago HERMEGISCLUS reigned over the *Varni*. He deſiring to ſtrengthen his kingdom, had married the ſiſter of THEODEBERT, king of the *Franci*; his former wife, who left him one ſon, called RADIGER, being lately dead. Him the father eſpouſed to a virgin of BRITTIA, whoſe brother was then king of the ANGLI, and in the name of marriage-gift HERMEGISCLUS ſent her a great ſum of money. On a time, riding in the fields with the chiefs of the *Varni*, he ſaw a bird ſitting on a tree, and croaking diſagreeably. Then, either that he underſtood the ſong of the bird, or pretended to know an omen from it, he immediately ſaid to his company, that he ſhould die in forty days, as he learned from the augury of the bird; then added, "But i have exerted all my prudence that you ſhould "live in ſafety and eaſe, and for that cauſe have con- "tracted an affinity with the *Franci*, having married my "wife from their race, and eſpouſed my ſon to a wife "from BRITTIA. Yet now, when i know that i ſhall "ſhortly die, nor have received either male or female "offspring from my laſt marriage, nor is my ſon's "marriage yet conſummated, hear my advice, and if "you ſee good, follow it as ſoon as i depart this life. "I think then that the affinity of the *Franci* is of more "importance to us *Varni*, than that of the ilanders; for "the BRITTII cannot enter into commerce with us, "but with difficulty; while only the river Rhine ſepa- "rates us from the *Franci*. Wherefore while theſe laſt "are near, and very powerful, they can eaſily do us "good or evil, when they pleaſe: and muſt be our ene- "mies unleſs joined by affinity. For ſuch is the nature of "men, that they hardly bear the power of a neighbour "greater than their own; and thus are ready to injure, "for a ſtrong neighbour eaſily finds occaſions of war. "Wherefore ſend to the iland-bride of my ſon, and "whatever money ſhe has received from us as a mar- "riage gift, let her keep it, to atone for the ignominy, "as the common law of mankind orders. But let "RADIGER, my ſon, marry his ſtep-mother, ſince the "law of our country permits."

Having

Having ſpoken thus he died, the fortieth day after the prediction. The ſon of HERMEGISCLUS ſucceeding to the kingdom of the *Varni*, by the advice of the chiefs of that barbarous nation, followed the counſel of the deceaſt king; and immediately renouncing his bride, married his ſtep-mother. Which when his bride heard, impatient of the indignity, ſhe eagerly deſired revenge. For theſe barbarians value modeſty ſo much, that a woman ſeems to have forfeited it who is betrothed but fails of marriage. And firſt by ſome of her familiar friends, whom ſhe ſent to RADIGER, ſhe enquired the cauſe why ſhe was ſo baſely left, when ſhe had in no ſhape violated her faith. But this way availing nothing, with a manly mind ſhe prepared for war. Immediately therefore making ready four hundred ſhips, filled with at leaſt ten thouſand ſoldiers, ſhe herſelf led this army againſt the *Varni*: having taken with her, to aſſiſt in the management of her affairs, one of her brothers, not the king, but a private man. But theſe ilanders are, of all the barbarians we know, the braveſt. They fight on foot, not only ignorant of riding, but ignorant what a horſe is, the image of one being never ſeen in that country. For this animal is never beheld in BRITTIA; and if at any time theſe ilanders, on account of an embaſſy, or the like, have any buſineſs with the *Romans*, or *Franci*, or any other people uſing horſes, and muſt then of neceſſity ride, they know not how to leap on a horſe, but are lifted up by others; and when they wiſh to diſmount, are helped down. The *Varni* are alſo not horſemen, but all fight on foot. Such are theſe barbarians. All are rowers aboard their veſſels; and no other ſea-ſervice is required; for they uſe no ſails, but always navigate with oars.

After they landed on the continent, the virgin-general raiſing a rampart near the mouth of the Rhine, remained there with a few troops; and deſired her brother to lead the reſt againſt the enemy. Then the *Varni* formed their camp, not far from the ſea and mouths of the Rhine, where, when the ANGLI ſoon arrived, battle was joined, and the *Varni* defeated with great ſlaughter, the ſurvivors flying with the king. The ANGLI purſuing them but a little way, as foot-men could do, returned to their camp. The virgin bitterly reviled them, and loaded her brother with reproaches; affirming

affirming that they had done nothing, who had not brought RADIGER to her alive. Having then choſen a band of the braveſt, ſhe ordered them to uſe every means to take him. They obeying her carefully, ſearched all the region round, till they found RADIGER lurking in a thick wood, and brought him bound before the virgin, while he ſtood trembling in expectation of immediate death. But ſhe, beyond hope, neither puniſhed him capitally, nor ſeverely; but thinking it enough to reproach him for his conduct, ſhe aſked him the cauſe why, breaking his faith, he had wedded another, and that while his bride was free from fault? He, excuſing the deed, pleaded the command of his father, and the advice of his chiefs: and with earneſt entreaty, aſcribing his crime to neceſſity, he promiſed to be her huſband if ſhe would, and to atone for his faults by future offices. The maid conſenting, RADIGER was freed from his chains, and kindly treated. Soon after having ſent back the ſiſter of THEODEBERT, he married the virgin of BRITTIA. So ended this matter.

In that iland, BRITTIA, the ancients built a long wall, which divides a great part of it from the other; becauſe that the affections of the ſoil and ſky, and all things elſe, differ much in theſe two parts. For the region which reaches from the wall to the riſing ſun, enjoys a healthy heaven, and juſt ſeaſons; the ſummer being temperately hot, the winter moderately cold; and it abounds with inhabitants who live like other people. The trees ſhine with fruits in their ſeaſons, and happy harveſts riſe, as elſewhere; the land is alſo peculiarly bleſt with wealth of water. But on the weſt all is quite the contrary, ſo that a man could not live there half an hour. Vipers, innumerable ſerpents, and venomous beaſts of all kinds, obtain that region. Nay, what is very remote from common ideas, the BRITTI relate that if any man paſſes over the wall, he that moment expires, oppreſt with the peſtilent gale. Animals alſo who go beyond the wall are ſeized with inſtant death. And ſince i am fallen upon this part of hiſtory, it becomes neceſſary to commemorate a matter very like a fable. Which however i do not think true, tho related by many people, who aſſerted their being on the ſpot where it happens, and their hearing what was ſaid. Nor do i think proper to paſs this, leaſt in deſcribing the affairs of the ile BRITTIA, i ſhould ſeem ignorant of any one of them.

They

They relate therefore that the ſouls of dead men are accuſtomed to be carried there: and the manner this is done i ſhall ſoon declare, as i have heard it from the inhabitants of theſe parts, who related it very ſeriouſly: which, however commonly told, i imagine to be deluſions of ſleep. Many villages croud the ſhore of the region oppoſite to the iland BRITTIA; in which villages dwell fiſhers, farmers, and others, who navigate into that iland for the ſake of trade. They are ſubject to the kings of the *Franci*, but always free from tribute, being relieved of old from this burden, on account of ſome ſervice of which i ſhall now ſpeak. The natives tell, that they have power, each in his turn, of bringing ſouls into this other world. Wherefore they, who are to enjoy that privilege next night, going to their houſes fall aſleep, expecting the preſident of the buſineſs. Late at night they hear knocking at their doors, and an obſcure voice ſummon them to the taſk. Rejecting all delay, they riſe from their beds, and go to the ſhore, ignorant by what force they are driven, but yet abſolutely forced. There they ſee boats ready, not their own, but others, and empty. Entering them they ſeize the oars, and perceive the veſſels quite full of paſſengers, ſo that they are immerſt to within an inch of the water. They ſee nobody; nor do they take more than an hour to reach BRITTIA, altho when they uſe their own veſſels, and oars alone without ſails, they hardly paſs thither in a day and a night. Arriving at the ile, as ſoon as they find their paſſengers landed, they depart; the veſſels being ſuddenly unloaded, and ſo emergent that the keels alone are under water. They ſee none, either navigating or leaving the ſhip; only they aſſert they hear a voice which ſeems to repeat the name of each paſſenger, his former ſtation of life, and the name of his father. If any women are with them, the names of their huſbands are alſo called. So the natives report. But i return to my ſubject.

NUMBER VI. *Some Paſſages in Adomnan's Life of Columba, omitted in the printed Copies.*

ADOMNANI VITA COLUMBÆ, *Bib. Reg.* 8 D. IX.

Lib. I. *Poſt* c. 6. *ſuſceperit.*

De bellorum fragoribus longe commiſſorum beati prophecia viri.

POST bellum Culedrebene, ſicuti nobis traditum eſt, duobus tranſactis annis, quo tempore vir beatus de Scotia peregrinaturus primitus enavigavit, quadam die, hoc eſt eadem hora qua in Scocia commiſſum eſt bellum, quod Scotice dicitur *Ondemone*, idem homo Dei coram CONALLO rege filio COMGIL in Bryttania converſatus, per omnia enarravit; tam de bello commiſſo, quam etiam de illis regibus, quibus Dominus de inimicis victoriam condonavit. Quorum propria vocabula ANMORIUS filius SCETNI; et duo filii MAICERCE, DOMNALLUS et FORCUS. Se et de rege *Cruithniorum*, qui ECHUVISLAID vocitabatur, quemadmodum victus, currui inſidens, evaſerit, prophetizavit ſimiliter ſanctus.

C. 7. *De bello Miathorum.*

C. 8. De tribus filiis ſuis regnaturus, ARCURIUS an ECHODIUS FIND, an DOMINGARTUS.

Euchodius, leg. ECHODIUS BUIDE.

Adimpleta ſunt, adde: Nam ARTURIUS (*ſic*) et ECHODIUS FIND, non longo poſt temporis intervallo *Micitorum* (*ſic*, *lege* Miatorum) ſuperius memorato in bello trucidati ſunt. DOMINGARTUS vero in Saxonia, bellica in ſtrage interfectus eſt. ECHODIUS autem BUIDE poſt patrem in regnum ſucceſſit.

C. 9. 'Ad S'tum Columbam in Dorſo Cetæ per nutritores adductus eſt.'

Poſt c. 10 (De Scandlano.)

De Duobus aliis regnatoribus, qui duo nepotes MUIRETHACHI *vocitabantur*, BAITANUS *filius* MAICERCE, *et* EUCHUDIUS *filius* DOMNAIL, *beati prophecia viri.*

Alio in tempore, per aſperam et ſaxoſam regionem iter faciens, quæ dicitur *Ardamuircol* et ſuos audiens comites,

comites, LAISRANUM utique filium FERADACHI, et DERMICIUM miniſtratorem, de duobus ſupra memoratis regibus in via ſermocinari, hæc ad eos verba depromit, "O filioli, quare inaniter de his ſic confabu-" lamini? Nam illi ambo reges de quibus nunc ſermo-" cinamini nuper ab inimicis decapitati diſperiere. In " hac quoque die aliqui de Scocia adventantes nautæ " hæc eadem vobis de illis indicabunt regibus." Quod venerabilis viri vaticinium eadem die de Hybernia navigatores, ad locum qui dicitur *Muirbolc paradiſi* pervenientes, ſupraſcriptis ejus bini comitibus, et in eadem navi cum ſancto navigantibus, de hiſdem interfectis regibus expletum retulerunt.

De OINGUSIO *filio* AIDO COMANI, *Sancti prophecia viri.*

Hic namque de patria, cum aliis duobus fratribus, effugatus, ad Sanctum in Brittania peregrinantem, exul venit. Cuique benedicens hæc de eo prophetizans ſancto promit de pectore verba. " Hic juvenis, de-" functis ejus ceteris fratribus, ſuperſtes remanens " multo eſt regnaturus in patria tempore, et inimici " ejus coram ipſo cadent. Nec tamen ipſe unquam in " manus tradetur inimicorum; ſed morte placida ſenex " inter amicos morietur." Quæ omnia juxta ſancti verbum plene ſunt adimpleta. Hic eſt OINGUSIUS cujus cognomentum BRONBACHAL.

De filio DERMITI *regis, qui* AIDUS SLANE *lingua nominatus eſt Scottica, prophecia beati viri.*

Alio in tempore, cum vir beatus in Scocia per aliquot demoraretur dies, ad ſupradictum AIDUM (ad ſe venientem) ſic prophetice locutus ait. "Precavere debes, " fili! ne tibi a Deo tocius Hiberniæ regni prerogati-" vam monarchiæ prædeſtinatam, paricidali faciente " peccato, amittas. Nam ſi quandoque illud commi-" ſeris, non toto patris regno ſed ejus aliqua parte in " gente tua, brevi finieris tempore." Quæ verba ſancti ſic ſunt expleta, ſecundum ejus vaticinationem. Nam poſt SUIBNEUM filium COLUMBANI dolo ab eo interfectum, non plus ut fertur, quam quatuor annis, et tribus menſibus, regni conceſſa potitus eſt parte.

De

De Rege RODERCO *filio* TOTAIL, *qui Petra Cloithe regnavit, beati viri prophecia.*

Alio IDEM in tempore, ut erat Sancti viri amicus, aliquam ad eum occultam per LUGBEUM MOCUMIN, legationem misit, scire volens si ab inimicis esset trucidandus, an non. At vero LUGBEUS a Sancto interrogatus, de eodem rege, et regno, et populo ejus, respondens, quasi misertus dicit: "Quid de illo inquiris "misero, qui qua hora ab inimicis occidatur nullo "modo sciri potest?" Sanctus tum deinde profatur: "Nunquam in manus tradetur inimicorum; sed in "sua, super suam plumatiunculam, morietur domo." Quod sancti de rege RODERCO vaticinium plene adimpletum est. Nam juxta verbum ejus domo sua morte placida obiit.

(*Tunc, c.* 11. *et post.*)

De COLGIO AIDO, DRAIGNICHE *filio, a nepotibus* FECHUREG *orto, et de quodam occulto matris ejus plecato, prophecia Sancti.*

Alio in tempore supra memoratum COLGIUM apud se in Hyona commorantem insula, Sanctus de sua interrogat genitrice, si esset religiosa, an non. Cui ipse inquiens ait bene moratam, &c.

De LAISRANO ORTHOLANO *homine sancto.*

Vir beatus quendam de suis monachum, nomine TRENANUM, gente MOCURUNTIR legatum ad Scotiam, &c.

(*Post. c.* 12.)

De quodam BAITANO, *qui cum ceteris, desertum marinum appetens, enavigaverat, Sancti prophecia viri.*

Alio in tempore quidam BAITANUS, gente nepos MATHALOIRC, benedici a sancto petivit cum ceteris in mari heremum quesiturus, &c.

De

De NEMANO *quodam ficto penitente.*

Poſt 13. *De i vocali litera.*
De libro in aquarum vas ſicuti prædixerat cadente.
De corniculo attramenti inaniter defuſo.
De alicujus adventu hoſpitis, quem ſanctus pronunciavit.
De aliquo miſerabili viro qui ultra ſupradictum clamitabat fretum.

Tunc 14. Romani juris civitas.
C. 19. pro *Scocia* lege *Scia.*
Poſt 19. 3 fol. et inter alia.

Sed et illud non eſt tacendum quod aliquando de tali incomparabili vocis ejus ſublevatione, juxta Brudei regis municionem, accidiſſe traditur. Nam ipſe ſanctus cum paucis fratribus, extra regis municionem dum veſpertinales Dei laudes ex more celebraret, quidam magi ad eos propius accedentes, in quantum poterant prohibere conabantur, ne de ore ipſorum divinæ laudis ſonus inter gentiles audiretur. Quo comperto ſanctus quadrageſimum et quartum pſalmum decantare cepit. Mirumque in modum ita vox ejus in aere eodem momento, inſtar alicujus formidabilis tonitrui elavata eſt, ut et rex et populus intolerabili eſſent pavore perterriti.

De quodam divite qui LUGUDIUS CLODIUS *vocitabatur.*

(Poſt. c. 30.)
De bello quod in municione Cethirni poſt multa commiſſum eſt tempora; et de quodam fonticulo ejuſdem terrulæ proximo; ſancti preſcientia viri.

Alio in tempore vir beatus cum poſt regum in *Dorſo Cetæ* * condictum, AIDI videlicet filii AMMIRECH, et AIDANI filii GABRANI, ad campos reverteretur equoreos, ipſe et COMGELLUS abbas, quadam ſerena eſtivi temporis die, haud procul a ſuper memorata municione reſident. Tum proinde aqua de quodam proximo, ad manus lavandas, fonticulo ad ſanctos in eneo defertur vaſculo, quam cum COLUMBA accepiſſet ad abbatem COMGELLUM a latere ſedentem ſic profatur. "Ille fonticulus, O COMGELLE, de quo hæc "effuſa nobis allata eſt aqua, veniet dies quum nullis

* Drumkeat in Hibernia.

"uſibus

" usibus humanis aptus erit." " Qua causa," ait COMGELLUS, " ejus fontana corrumpetur unda?" Sanctus tunc COLUMBA: " Quum humano," inquit, " cruore " replebitur. Nam mei cognitionales amici, et tui se- " cundum carnem cognati, hoc est, NELLIS nepotes, et " CRUTHINI populi, in hac vicina municione *Cechirni*, " belligerantes, committent bellum. Unde insuper " memorato fonte aliquis de mea cognitione trucidabi- " tur humuncio; cujus cum ceteris interfecti sanguine " ejusdem fonticuli locus replebitur." Quæ ejus veridica, suo tempore, post multos vaticinatio expleta est annos. In quo bello, ut multi norunt populi, DOMNALLUS AIDI filius victor sullimatus est: et in eodem, secundum sancti vaticinium viri, fonticulo quidam de parentela ejus interfectus est homo. Alius michi ADOMNANO Christi miles, FINANUS nomine, qui vitam multis anachoreticam annis juxta *Roboreti* monasterium *Campi* irreprehensibiliter ducebat, de eodem bello, se presente commisso aliqua enarrans, protestatus est in supradicta fonte truncum cadaverinum vidisse, eademque die ad monasterium sancti COMGELLI, quod Scottice dicitur *Cambas*, commisso reversum bello, quia inde prius venerat; ibidemque duos sancti COMGELLI monachos reperisse. Quibus cum de bello coram se acto, et de fonticulo humano cruore corrupto, aliquanta enarravit, illi consequenter: " Verus est propheta " COLUMBA," aiunt " qui hæc omnia quæ hodie de " bello, et de fonticulo, expleta enarras, ante mul- " tos annos futura nobis audientibus coram sancto " COMGELLO, juxta *Cethirin* sedens municionem, præ- " nunciaverat."

LIBER II.

Cap. 32. *De FENTENI filii AIDO, in extremis positi sanitate.*

Alio quoque in tempore sanctus, cum trans *Britanicum* iter ageret *Dorsum*, quidam juvenis, unus comitum, subita molestatus egrimonia ad extrema usque perductus, nomine FENTENUS. Pro quo commilitones sanctum mœsti rogitant ut oraret. Qui statum eis compaciens, sanctas cum intenta oratione, expandit ad cælum manus, egroque

egroque benedicens, ait: "Hic, pro quo interpellatis "juvenculus, viva vivet longa; et poſt omnem noſtrum, "qui hic aſſumus, exitum ſuperſtes remanebit, in "bona moriturus ſenecta." Quod beati vivi vaticinium plene per omnia expletum eſt. Nam idem juvenis, illius poſtea monaſterii fundator quod dicitur *Kailli An find*, in bona ſenectute preſentem terminavit vitam.

Cap. 47. Pictorum plebe et Scottorum Britanniæ, quos utroſque *Dorſi* montes *Britannici* diſtermiñant.

A great plague thro all the world in Adomnan's time, noſtris temporibus—Piks and Scots of Britain only excepted. Nos—et in Saxonia regem Alfridum viſitanter amicum, adhuc non ceſſante peſtilentia, et multos hinc inde vicos devaſtante, ita tamen nos Dominus, et in prima poſt bellum Egfridi viſitatione, et in ſecunda interjectis duobus annis, in tali mortalitatis medio deambulantes periculo liberavit.

*** Theſe few paſſages are only given as illuſtrative of this work. The others to be found in this MS. are too numerous for inſertion.

NUMBER VII. *The* CONTENTS *of, and* EXTRACTS *from, the Regiſter of the Priory of St. Andrew's* *.

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM DE MAGNO REGISTRO PRIORATUS S'TI ANDREÆ.

MS. Harl. 4628.

PARS I.

CONTENTA REGISTRI.

In Regiſtro Prioratus S'ti Andreæ ſunt:

1. INSTRUMENTUM electionis Johannis de Haddington in priorem S'ti Andreæ
2. Carta per Gilbertum priorem, facta Ricardo filio Rogeri de Fedmohe.
3. Alia Carta per Walterum priorem, dicto Rogero, quæ terræ fuerit in carta ſecunda limites deſignatæ. *(ſic.)*
4. Relatio quid acciderit de contraverſia poſt mortem Willielmi Phraſer Epiſcopi, et inſtrumentum de eo, 1209.
5. *Antiqua Alluſio de numero Septenario, et Interpretatio loci Apocal. de 7 Sigillis.*
6. Deciſio contraverſiæ inter Keledeos et Epiſcopum de juriſdictione agri, per Thom. Ranulphum, Guardianum citra Mare Scoticum, A° 1309.
7. *Tractatus de Dictionibus Bibliæ*; uſque ad fol. 44.

* This Regiſter has been miſſing ever ſince 1660, when it was laſt ſeen in the hands of James Nairn, miniſter at the abbacy of Holyroodhouſe. *Dalr. Coll. p.* 106.

Theſe Contents and Extracts had however been taken, and paſſed into the library of Sir R. Sibbald, who communicated part to Innes. They are now publiſhed entire from a MS. in the Harleian Library, N° 4628; written after 1708, for it contains a piece of Lord Cromarty's, dated that year, and tranſcribed in the ſame hand-writing. There are ſeveral other MSS. on Scotiſh affairs in the ſame library, written by the ſame hand. (Query, If Anderſon's, the publiſher of the Diplomata?)

From Sir R. Sibbald's Hiſtory of Fife, and from Inneſes account, this copy is clearly taken from the one in Sir R. Sibbald's library.

8. Bulla

8. Bulla Innocentii 4. Papæ, confirmans terras et donationes et privilegia facta prioratui S'ti Andreæ, 1248. Anno 5to Innocentii 4ti.

9. *Nomina Regum Scotiæ et Pictorum*, a fol. 46 ad fol. 49.

10. Oblatio Alexandri Primi Regis et Sybillæ uxoris ejus, *fol.* 49.

11. Petitio Kelideorum, et ſubjectio eorum Epiſcopo S'ti Andreæ.

12, *Proverbia Catonis, Pamphyli, Maximiani, Annani, Ovidii*, ad fol. 55.

13. *Relatio quo David, filius Roberti Regis, factus fuit Miles, Anno* 1331, *per Thomam Ranulphum Comitem Moraviæ, per licentiam Comitis de Fyfe; et poſtea coronatus fuit per Jacobum Ben, Epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ, apud Scone, Dominica proxima.*

14. *Conſecratio magnæ Eccleſiæ per Epiſcopum Willielmum de Lamberton, in preſentia Roberti Regis, et* 6 *Epiſcoporum, et multorum Comitum et Baronum, Anno* 1328, 3 *Nonas Julii; et Oblatio Regis, et Epiſcoporum, illo die.*

15. Cartæ Ricardi Regis Angliæ de Reſtitutione Bervici, et Roxbrugh, Willielmo Regi Scotiæ, et omnium Cartarum quos pater Ricardi extorſit a dicto Willielmo, per ejus captionem, ita ut omnia ſunt in poſterum ut erant tempore Malcolmi Regis.

16. *Genealogia Regum Angliæ ab Henrico 2do aſcendendo ad Noah per Matrem*, fol. 56.

17. *HISTORIA Originis Scotorum ex Egypto ad Hiſpaniam in Hiberniam, breviter inde in Britanniam*, fol. 57; *et Genealogia Stæ Margaretæ uxoris Malcolmi*, fol. 57.

18. *HISTORIA.* A fol. 58 ad fol. 99.

19. *Conſtitutiones Davidis Epiſcopi de Regendo Clero.*

20. Carta facta per Jacobum Priorem S'ti Andreæ de Lochleven, A° 1396.

21. Confirmatio Eccleſiæ de Errol, monachis de Cupro.

22. — Eccleſiæ de Lauder, Abbati de Driburgh.

23. — Eccleſiæ de Hillemineſin, Hoſpitali de Lochlevin, et aliorum privilegiorum conceſſorum Hoſpitali de Lochleven.

24. Conceſſio Arnot, eidem Hoſpitali.

25. Confirmatio Eccleſiæ de Bambeith, &c. facta Canonicis de Dunkeld, per Hugonem Epiſcopum Dunkeld.

26. Confirmatio Wilelmi Epiſcopi S'ti Andreæ, ſuper eccleſiis in Coldingham, et reliquis ſpectantibus ad Epiſcopum Dunelmenſem; cum concordia inter eos de piſcaria in Berwick.

27. — Eccleſiæ de Kethems.

28. Confirmatio Rogeri Epiſcopi S'ti Andreæ Eccleſiarum de Durhame, de piſcaria in Perth, et vicaria in Perth.

29. — de Fedinche.

30. — de Roſinclerach.

31. — de eccleſia de Kilcontach, conceſſa per Davidem Epiſcopum monialibus de North Berwick.

32, — de eccleſia de Kircaldy, conceſſa Abbati de Dumfermline per eundem Epiſcopum.

33. Confirmatio eccleſiarum datarum abbati S'tæ Crucis per epiſcopos S'ti Andreæ, Anno 1240. Eccleſiæ ſunt de Caſtello, S'ti Curthberti, cum capellis eccleſiarum de Erth, de villa Levin, de Kumeil, de Kareden, de Gamer, de Hanel, de Bathket, de Boultoun, de Egliſbrek quæ Varia Capella dicitur, de Monte Laodoniæ, Capella de Pentland, et medietatibus decimarum garbalium eccleſiæ de Kingorn; quas eccleſias Robertus, Arnaldus, Ricardus, Hugo, Willielmus, et David, Epiſcopi dederunt.

34. Confirmatio terrarum de Hulotſton condatarum in Carta.

35. Taxatio Vicariarum in eccleſiis S'tæ Crucis.

36. Carta capellæ de Wederly, facta per David epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ Abbati de Kelcho.

37. Carta duarum particarum terræ, in villa de Dunde, facta Radulfo Corbrige.

38. Carta terræ in Clachmanan, facta Murivo filio Gilmumelmi, pro redditione unius carri, vel 2 ſolidorum, cum ædificatione hoſpitii.

39. Carta facta Abbati de Driburgh, de Vicariorum ſuſtentatione.

40. Carta eccleſiæ de Reſtenet per David epiſcopum, Abbati de Jedword 1242, et confirmatio ejuſdem.

41. Carta eccleſiæ de Aberlemni iiſdem facta, per eundem Davidem.

42. Carta maritagii Thomæ de Lidel, cum terris de Incheraye Midmor.

43. Confirmatio eccleſiæ de Kuledon, facta Abbati de Kelſo.

44. Carta

44. Carta terrarum de Cure in Forfar, facta Nicolao Burgenſi.

45. Compoſitio inter Abbatem de Culroſs, et Rectorem de Kylmany, ſuper decimis de Zachtulit infra parochiam de Kilmarin, facta per Davidem Epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ.

46. Carta per Davidem Epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ, facta fratribus de * * * Scotiæ, terrarum in dicta carta diverſarum et condatarum, viz. Kelgad, &c.

47. Carta terrarum de Pethmulin Ricardo Monepenny, cum libertate molend. grana apud molendinum de Puthekin ſine multura.

48. Carta eccleſiæ de Dumanum, per eundem epiſcopum facta abbati de Jedworth.

49. Carta duarum perticarum terræ, in burgo de Linlichco.

50. Carta per Walterum priorem S'ti Andreæ, facta Willielmo Giffard, et heredibus ſuis, de capella de Aldcathyn. Reddendo eccleſiæ de Linlichco dimidium Marcæ, et xvi denarios, et etiam conceſſit capellam de Laneditum et capellam de Polganeltyn.

51. Carta Adæ filii Odonis de maritagio.

52. Carta eccleſiæ de Duminam facta abbati de Jedworth.

53. Carta terrarum de Kniſpinethyn, et Finegally, et Dundinauch, facta per Davidem epiſcopum Malcolmo de Kniſpineth, 1247.

54. Confirmatio eccleſiarum de Innerwych, et Liggardiſwood, facta abbati de Paſlay, per Willielmum et Davidem epiſcopos S'ti Andreæ.

55. Renunciatio actionis de terris de Pethpont.

56. Compoſitio inter monachos de Cupro, et eccleſiam de Errol.

57. Taxatio vicariarum de Aberbrothock.

58. Carta terræ de Adel, facta per Davidem epiſcopum Willielmo de Breichen, 1249.

59. Carta eccleſiæ S'ti Cuthberti, de eccleſiis et capella de Brighen, et de Merſington, et de Letham, facta monialibus de Eccles, 1250.

60. Carta eccleſiæ de Bucham, facta monialibus de Eccles per eundem Davidem epiſcopum.

61. Carta eccleſiæ de Smalam, facta per epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ decano et capitulo Glaſguenſi, 1265.

62. Carta vicariæ eccleſiæ de Eggles, quæ vocatur Kirktown, facta abbati de Cambuſknel.

63. Compoſitio de annuo redditu, de fermis de Ardmoir, debitis priori S'ti Andreæ.

64. Carta terrarum de Ardmoir, facta per priorem S'ti Andreæ dominæ Margaretæ Lindſay, anno 1285.

65. Carta eccleſiæ et terræ de Logindunde, per Ricardum epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ abbati de Scone.

66. Alia carta per Hugonem epiſcopum, confirmans donationes per predeceſſores ſuos factas, viz. Eccleſiarum de Skone, cum capella de Kinfans, de Cragy, et de Rate, de Liff, et de Innergowry, de Kankiſmuch, de Lachor, de Bermount, abbati de Skone.

67. Alia carta earundem per Willielmum epiſcopum.

68. Confirmatio eccleſiæ S'ti Servani, in inſula de Lochlevin, per Gamelum epiſcopum S'ti Andreæ, apud Inchmauhat, anno 1248.

69. Alia carta facta per Joh. priorem de inſula in Lochlevin.

70. *SUCCESSIO in Prioratu*, fol. 118, 119.

71. Pars cartæ cujuſdam de diviſione de Seck, facienda per præpoſitum capellæ S'ti Andreæ epiſcopo S'ti Andreæ.

72. Carta de Roſſiclerack, facta per priorem Jacobo de Perth.

Et ſic finitur Regiſtrum fol. 121.

PARS II.

EXCERPTA QUÆDAM EX DICTO REGISTRO.

§ 1.

Nomina Regum Scotorum et Pictorum, ſupra in Contentis, N° 9.

Hic articulus ab Inneſio publici juris eſt factus in Appendice, p. 797. *ſeqq.* ſed hoc MS. paululum diſcrepat in ſequentibus.

P. 797. Innes Sluaghmuner, MS. Sluaghmaner.
Ordo regum variat: nam hîc 5. Conal 14—8. Heoghedbud 16—7. Kineth Ker 3 menſes—6. Edan fil. Garan. Ultimus poni debet ante Heoghedbud: *transferri debet*, annotat tranſcriptor.

798.

798. 11. Dovenald Durn, MS. Dovenal Dunn.
13. Heoghed Rinnavel fil. Dovenghart, filii Dovenald Brec. MS. Heoghed Monanel fil. Dondqhart, fil. Donavald Bick.
17. Heoghan fil. M. 3 an. MS. Geoghan fil. M. 2 an.
18. Hethfin fil. Heoghed Rinnevale, MS. Heſchel Ramele.
20. Selvhanc, MS. Icalulanc.

799. 6. Deootheth, MS. Deokleth.
10. Umpopneinet, MS. Wmpopniall.
12. Canatulmel, MS. Canatulmet.
13. Dinornacht, MS. Donarmocht.
14. Feodat Finleg, MS. Feredak filius.
17. D. f. Urb, MS. D. f. Irb.
20. D. Gormot, MS. Gernot.
21. Galam, 15 an. MS. Gulam 25 an.
23. Hydroſſig, MS. Hudreſſeg.
26. Mordeleg, MS. Madolei.

800. 31. N. fil. Ub. MS. fil. Irb.
32. Kinel, MS. Kinet.
36. T. f. Amfrude, MS. T. f. Confrud.
40. Amfredech, MS. Amſedeth.
42. Nectan frater ejus, MS. Ferthin frater ejus.

801. 54. Duſtalorg, MS. Druſtelorg.
55. Eoganan, MS. Coganan.
59. Fotel, MS. Fetal.

Ibid. Reg. Scot.

25. Roith in Veramont, MS. Raith Inverameat.
28. Girg Mac Dungal, MS. Carus Mac Dungal.

802. 32. Inverculan, MS. Inertolen.
34. Laudonia, MS. Laodana.
35. Finellæ filiæ Cunechat, MS. Finele Cunnuchar comitis de A.—— Dunfinoen, MS. Duniſmoen.
36. Malcolm I. MS. Malcolmi.

803. 37. Girgh, MS. Girus.
39. Bothgouanan, MS. Bothganenan.
44. Macloen, MS. Mackcolm.

804. 46. Craſleti, MS. Cinſleth.
Poſt 49. Willelmus, inſere, "Summa annorum a Kinat Mac Alpin ad regnum Alexandri 501 annis:" error pro 371.
51. Zabulo ſeminante, MS. diabolus ſeminatus.

§ 2.

Succeſſio Priorum. (No. 70, ſupra?)

Anno 1140, *Robertus*, primus prior, per Robertum epiſcopum vocatus; hic obiit anno 1197. Cui ſucceſſit *Walterus*, qui propter infirmitatem demiſit prioratum. Et ſucceſſit *Gilbertus*, qui poſt duos menſes obiit apud Clackmahan, adhuc vivente *Waltero* qui reſumpſit prioratum. et quantum poterit preſtitit, ſed obiit anno 1200. Ei ſucceſſit *Thomas*, qui propter fratrum impietatem dimiſſo prioratu, factus eſt no'mtun Iraba (*ſic*) de Cupro. Huic ſucceſſit *Simon*; hic etiam reliquit prioratum et cepit prioratum inſulæ de Lochlevin. Huic ſucceſſit *Henricus* de *Norham*, anno 1226. Huic ſucceſſit *Joannes Prior*; hic obiit anno 1258. Huic ſucceſſit *Gilbertus*; hic obiit anno 1263. Huic ſucceſſit *Joannes de Haddingtoun*; hic obiit anno 1304. Huic ſucceſſit *Adam de Manchan*; hic obiit anno 1313. Huic ſucceſſit *Joannes de Forfar*.

§ 3.

Hiſtoria beati Reguli, et fundationis eccleſiæ Sancti Andreæ: adjiciuntur quædam de Keledeis; et alia ad dictam eccleſiam pertinentia *. [ſcripta cir. A. 1140.]

Anno ab Incarnatione Domini noſtri Jeſu Chriſti 345, CONSTANTINUS, nepos Conſtantini filii Helenæ, congregavit exercitum magnum ad depopulandum Patras civitatem, in vindictam ſuſpenſionis beati ANDREÆ Apoſtoli Chriſti, et ut inde auferat Reliquias ipſius. Tertia autem nocte, antequam Imperator cum exercitu intraret civitatem, Angelus Dei deſcendens de cœlo apparuit ſanctis viris, qui cuſtodiebant Reliquias Sancti Andreæ Apoſtoli, et præcepit ſancto epiſcopo REGULO,

* This ſeems to be the HISTORIA, No. 18, of the contents. There is no room anywhere elſe in the contents for this piece; and no other title to which it can refer. The *Hiſtoria* of the contents has 41 folios; but how widely written? for nothing is ſo common in MSS. of this kind, written by various hands, as extreme variety in the ſize, and wideneſs, of the writing. Beſides, this *Hiſtoria* ſeems to extend quite to the end of theſe excerpts: and the many charters after mentioned ſeem to have been given at full length in the original; for they belong to the hiſtory of the Priory, and are not found in the contents.

ut

ut ipse cum clericis suis iret ad sarcophagum, in quo erant recondita ossa beati Andreæ, et inde tolleret tres digitos manus dextræ, et brachium inter cubitum et humerum, et patellam genu illius, et unum ex dentibus suis. Ipsi vero has partes de reliquiis tollentes, sicut Angelus illos jusserat, in loco secretissimo reposuerunt Die vero sequente post harum reliquiarum repositionem, sub ortu solis, venit Imperator CONSTANTIUS (*sic*) cum exercitu suo, et urbem depopulavit, et provinciam; et secum Romæ asportavit Scrinium, in quo cætera ossamenta Sancti Apostoli invenit reposita. Quo adveniens depredavit Insulam Tyberis, et Colossiam, et inde tulit secum ossa S'ti Lucæ Evangelistæ, et Timothei discipuli Beati Pauli Apostoli, usque ad Constantinopolim cum reliquiis Beati Andreæ.

Tunc temporis HUNGUS, filius FERLON, magnus rex Pictorum, congregavit exercitum suum contra ADHELSTANUM regem Saxonum, et castrametatus est ad ostium fluminis Tyne *. Nocte vero ipsa, ante congressionem duorum exercituum, Beatus ANDREAS apperuit Regi Pictorum HUNGO in somniis, dicens ei quod ipse Apostolus, in die sequente, inimicum exercitum ita expugnaret, ut ipse HUNGUS plene de inimicis triumpharet. Cui rex ait, "Quis es tu? et unde venis?" Beatus Andreas respondens ait "Ego sum Andreas Apostolus Christi, et nunc de cœlo veni a Deo "missus revelare tibi, quod in die crastino expugnabo "inimicos tuos, et tibi subjugabo; et læta victoria "potitus ipse cum exercitu tuo incolumis reparabis. "Et in regnum tuum Reliquiæ meæ afferentur; et locus ad quem deferentur cum omni honore et veneratione celebris erit, usque in ultimum diem seculi." Rex autem, ex somno evigilans, enarravit omnibus suis ea quæ dormienti revelaverat Beatus Andreas. Quibus auditis Pictorum populus exhilaratus, jurejurando affirmavit, perpetuo cum omni diligentia se Beato Andreæ venerationem exhibiturum, si ea quæ Regi suo monstraverat ad effectum ducerentur. Die autem postero Picti, ex sponsione Apostoli letificati, prælium pararunt; et, diviso exercitu, circa Regem suum septem agmina statuerunt. Saxones vero suum dividentes exercitum, Regem suum ADHELSTANUM bis septem constipat sunt agminibus. Facto autem congressu, Saxones omni virtute illico destituti, Deo

* Fabricatio lepida! Saxones in Britannia, A. D. 345!

volente,

volente, et Sancto Apoſtolo Andrea pro Pictis interveniente, in fugam detorſi ſunt. Regis autem Saxonum ADHELSTANI capite amputato, innumera Saxonum facta eſt cædes. Rex vero HUNGUS victoria potitus, cum exercitu non modico in terram ſuam rediens, caput ADHELSTANI ſecum precepit adferri, et in loco qui dicitur *Ardchinnechun*, infra portum qui nunc dicitus *Portus Reginæ*, ligno fecit affigi. Poſt iſtam ope coeleſti adeptam victoriam, in Pictos poſtmodum non auſi ſunt inſurgere Saxones.

Poſt hujus belli felicem victoriam non multis evolutis diebus, Angelus Dei iterum, de coelo venit ad Beatum Epiſcopum REGULUM, quem ita alloquitur: "Ex Dei ſummi præcepto partes Aquilonares adire "non differes, adverſus ſolem orientem, cum Reliquiis diſcipuli Chriſti Andreæ; quos ex monitu "noſtro jamdudum reſervaſti. Et quocunque loco navis illa, quæ te et tuum vehet per mare conventum, "conquaſſata fuerit, te cum Sociis ſalvo et incolumi "ibi in nomine Domini et Apoſtoli ſui Andreæ, jace "fundamentum Eccleſiæ. Locus enim ille vobis erit "per ſeculum requies, et ibidem erit reſurrectio in die "extremi examinis." REGULUS vero epiſcopus, juxta præceptum Angeli, Sanctis Viris comitatus, cum reliquiis S'ti Apoſtoli, erga Aquilonem tendit navigio. Et, per unius anni ſpatium et dimidii, multis tempeſtatum jactus procellis, per Inſulas Greci Maris quocunque appulſus fuit, oratorium in honorem S'ti Andreæ conſtituit.

Innumeros itaque Sancti Viri labores perpeſſi, per marina littora, Deo ducente, in Aquilonem vela direxerunt, et in terra Pictorum, ad locum qui *Muckros* fuerat nuncupatus, nunc autem *Kylrimont* dictus, nocte S'ti Michaelis, applicuerunt. *Muckros* vero *nemus porcorum* dicitur. Navi vero qua vehebantur ad ſcopulos conquaſſata, crucem quandam, quam ſecum de Patris portaverant, ibidem ſibi erectis papilionibus in terra fixerunt, in ſignum quod portaverant ſacrorum, et contra demonum inſidias curamentum. Et ibidem per dies ſeptem et totidem noctes manſerunt. Ibidem dimiſſis ſenioribus S. DAMIANO, et fratre ſuo MERINACH, in ipſius loci cuſtodiam, REGULUS, et cæteri viri, cum ſanctis Reliquiis Sanctiſſimi Apoſtoli Andreæ ad *Forteviet* perrexerunt. Et illic tres filios Regis HUNGI reperierunt, ſciz. HOWONAM, et NECHTAN, et

et PHINGUINEGHERT. Et quia pater illorum in expeditione in partibus *Argathelicæ* tunc temporis extitit, de cujus vita filii multum soliciti erant, Deo et S'to Andreæ dederunt decimam partem de urbe *Forteviet*. Ibidem vero cruce quadam erecta, loco et loci habitatoribus Regis filiis, benedixerunt. Inde perrexerunt *Moneclatu* qui nunc dicitur *Monichi*, et ibi Regina FINCHEM Regi HUNGO filiam enixa est quæ MOUREN vocata est. Corpus illius virginis MOUREN apud *Kylrimont* sepulta est, nullo ante hoc ibidem sepulto. FINCHEM vero Regina domum in qua filiam MOUREN pepererat dedit Deo, et Sancto Andreæ, et totum atrium Regale perpetuo. Inde transierunt montana, seu *Moneth*, et venerunt ad locum qui vocabatur *Doldencha*, nunc autem dictus *Chondrochedalvan*. Ibi HUNGUS Rex sublimis de expeditione rediens, viris sanctis obvenit, et coram Reliquiis S'ti Andreæ Apostoli sibi ostensis, cum omni humilitate et reverentia se prostravit; Pictis omnibus qui cum illo erant, similiter cum Rege humili, prostratis coram Reliquiis. Rex vero locum illum, seu *Doldancha*, dedit Deo et Sancto Andreæ Apostolo, et ecclesiam ibi ædificavit ubi Reliquæ sibi nudæ ostensæ erant. Inde Rex cum sanctis viris montana, seu *Moneth*, transiens venit usque ad *Monichi*. Ibidem et in honorem Dei et beati Apostoli ecclesiam ædificavit. Et ita venit Rex cum sanctis viris ad *Fortevieth*; et ibi Deo et Apostolo basilicam ædificavit.

Postea vero Rex HUNGUS, cum sanctis viris, venit *Chylrimont* *, et magnam partem loci illius circumiens obtulit illam Deo et S'to Andreæ Apostolo, ad ædificandum ibi basilicas et oratorias. Locum vero ipsum, nota evidente designatum, ex magna devotione septies circumierunt. Rex HUNGUS, et ipse Episcopus REGULUS, et viri cæteri, circuitione et perambulatione ita dispositâ septena præcessit Episcopus REGULUS, super caput suum cum omni veneratione Reliquias S'ti Apostoli deferens, suo sacro conventu Episcopum cum comitibus hymnidicis sequente. Illos vero devotus secutus Rex HUNGUS est pedentim, Deo intimas preces et gratias fundens devotas. Regem vero secuti sunt viri optimates, totius regni nobiliores. Ita locum ipsum Deo com-

* Kylrimont vere fundata est ecclesia ab Ungusio II. rege Pictorum circa Annum 825, ut ex Wintono et aliis patet. Forsan Regulus eidem contemporaneus fuit. Reliqua de locis ad ecclesiam S'ti Andreæ pertinentibus, &c. videntur esse verissima.

mendarunt, et pace Regia munierunt. In ſignum vero Regiæ commendationis, per loci circuitum diviſim 12 cruces lapideas viri ſancti erexerunt; et Deo coeli humiliter ſupplicabant, ut omnes in illo loco mente devota, et intentione pura, orationis ſuæ petitionis efficaciam obtinerent.

Poſtea Rex HUNGUS Baſilicæ S'ti Apoſtoli in parochiam dedit quicquid terræ eſt inter Mare quod *Iſhundenema* dicebatur, uſque ad Mare quod *Sletheuma* vocabatur; et in adjacienti provincia per circuitum de *Largaw*, uſque ad *Siren* canum; et de *Sireis* uſque ad *Hyhatnoughten Mochebirb*, quæ tellus nunc dicitur *Hadnachten*. Rex vero dedit hunc locum ſc. *Chilrymonth* Deo, et Sancto Andreæ ejus Apoſtolo, cum aquis, pratis, cum agris, cum paſcuis, cum moris, cum nemoribus, in eleemoſynam perpetuo; et tanta libertate locum illum donavit, ut illius inhabitatores liberi et quieti ſemper exiſterent de exercitu, et de operibus caſtellorum, et pontium, et de inquietatione omnium ſæcularium exactionum. REGULUS vero Epiſcopus Deo cantavit orationem Allej, ut Deus locum iſtum in eleemoſinam datum in ſempiternam protegeret, et cuſtodiret in honorem Apoſtoli. In memoriale datæ libertatis Rex HUNGUS ceſpitem arreptum, coram nobilibus Pictis, hominibus ſuis, uſque ad altare S'ti Andreæ detulit; et ſuper illud ceſpitem eundem obtulit. In præſentia Teſtium horum hoc factum eſt, Thalarg filii Ythernbuthib, Nactan filii Chelturan, Garnach filii Doſnach, Druſti filii Urthroſt, Nachtalich filii Gighergh, Shinah filii Lutheren, Anegus filii Forchate, Sheradach filii Finleich, Phiachan ſui filii, Bolge, Glunmerach filii Taran, Demene filii Aunganena, Duptalaich filii Bergib. Iſti Teſtes ex Regali Proſapia geniti ſunt.

Poſtea in *Chilrymont* ſancti viri SEPTEM conſtruxerunt ECCLESIAS. Unam in honorem *ſancti Reguli:* Secundam in honorem *Sti Aneglas* Diaconi: Tertiam in honorem *S'ti Michaelis* Archangeli: Quartam in honorum *S'tæ Mariæ* Virginis: Quintam in honorem *S'ti Damiani:* Sextam in honorem *S'tæ Brigidæ* virginis: Septimam in honorem *Muren* cujuſdam virginis; et in illa eccleſia fuerunt 50 virgines, de ſemine regio procreatæ, omnes Deo dicatæ, et velatæ undecim annis; et ſepultæ ſunt omnes in orientali parte ipſius eccleſiæ.

Hæc

Hæc ſunt nomina illorum ſanctorum virorum qui ſacras reliquias S'ti Andreæ Apoſtoli attulerunt in Scotiam. *S'tus Regulus* ipſe. *Gelaſius* Diaconus. *Mattheus* Heremita. *S. Damianus* Preſbyter: et *Merinachus* frater ejus. *Nervius* et *Criſemus* de Nola Inſula. *Mirenus:* et *Thuluculus* Diaconus. *Nathabeus*, et *Silvius* frater ejus. Septem Heremitæ de Inſula Tiberis, *Felix*, *Juranus*, *Mauritius*, *Madianus*, *Philippus*, *Eugenius*, *Lunus*. Et tres virgines de Coloſſia, ſciz. *Kiduana*, *Potentia*, *Cineria*. Hæ virgines ſepultæ ſunt ad eccleſiam S. *Anaglas*.

THANA FILIUS DUDABRACH HOC MONUMENTUM SCRIPSIT REGI PHERATH FILIO BERGETH * IN VILLA MIGDELE.

Hæc, ut præfati ſumus, ſicut in veteribus Pictorum libris ſcripta reperimus, tranſcripſimus. Affirmant plerique Scotorum Beatum Apoſtolum Andream viventem in corpore, ibidem fuiſſe, hoc argumentum aſſertionis ſuæ aſſumentes, quod terram Pictorum ſc. Scythicam, in ſortem prædicationis accepit; et ideo locum iſtum præ cunctis locis earum habebat; et quod non explevit vivus expleat carne ſolutus. Quod quia ſcriptum non reperimus, in neutram partem, negando, vel affirmando, nimium inclinamus: ſed quoniam de virtutibus et miraculis, quæ per ſanctum Apoſtolum ſuum Deus et fecit, et facit, facta eſt mentio, unde et quædam illorum ſcribendi obtulit ſe occaſio, quæ vel ſcripta reperimus, vel a veridicis audivimus relatoribus, vel etiam ipſi perſpeximus, ſcribere Deo donante diſpoſuimus: et hoc non fratres poſtulaverunt. Interim antem diſtulimus donec inceptum compleamus.

* Vered filius Bargot fuit rex Pictorum ab A° 839 ad 842. Si per *hoc monumentum* intelligitur omnis fabula, putidum eſt mendacium monachorum Sti Andreæ, nam impoſſibile eſt talem fabulam venditari intra quindecim annos poſt veram fundationem eccleſiæ S'ti Andreæ ab Unguſto II. Sed per *hoc monumentum* forſan intelligere debemus verba Chartæ fundationis ſciz. *Rex Hungus Baſilicæ*, &c. Utcumque ſit veſtigia Geographiæ priſcæ, et Morum antiquorum, hoc in fragmento facile apparent.

DELETO

DELETO igitur funditus Pictorum regno, et a Scotis occupato, viciſſim res et poſſeſſiones eccleſiæ creſcebant, aut decreſcebant, prout reges et principes devotionem ad ſanctum apoſtolum habebant. De quibus non eſt dicendum modo per ſingula, ſed quæ ad nos ſpectant compendioſe tractanda. Erat autem regia urbs *Ryment Regius Mons* dicta, quam præfatus Rex HUNGUS Deo et Sancto Apoſtolo dedit. Sublatis vero a preſenti vita Sanctis, quorum ſupra mentionem fecimus, qui cum Reliquiis beati Apoſtoli advenerant, et eorum Diſcipulis atque Imitatoribus, cultus ibi religioſus deperierat, ſicut et gens barbara et inculta fuerat.

Habebantur tamen in eccleſia S'ti Andreæ, quota et quanta tunc erat, tredecim per ſucceſſionem carnalem quos KELEDEOS appellant, qui ſecundum ſuam æſtimationem, et hominum traditionem, magis quam ſecundum ſanctorum ſtatuta patrum, vivebant. Sed et adhuc ſimiliter vivunt, et quædam habent communia pauciora ſciz. et deteriora; quædam vero propria plura ſciz. et potiora; prout quiſque ab amicis ſuis aliqua neceſſitudine ad ſe pertinentibus, viz. conſanguineis et affinibus, vel ab iis quorum animæ charæ ſunt, quod eſt amiciarum amici, ſive aliis quibuſlibet modis, poterit quis adipiſci. Poſtquam KELEDEI effecti ſunt, non licet eis habere uxores ſuas in domibus ſuis, ſed nec alias; de quibus mala oriatur ſuſpicio mulieris. Perſonæ nihilominus ſeptem fuerunt, oblationes altaris inter ſe dividentes; quarum ſeptem portionum unam tantum habebat epiſcopus; et hoſpitale unam: quinque vero reliquæ in quinque cæteros dividebantur, qui nullum omnino altari vel eccleſiæ impendebant ſervitium, præterquam peregrinos et hoſpites, cum plures quam ſex adventarunt, more ſuo hoſpitio ſuſcipiebant, ſortem mittentes quis quos vel quot reciperet. Hoſpitale ſane ſemper ſex, et infra, ſuſcipiebat. Sed quod nunc, donante Deo, poſtquam in manum Canonicorum devenit, omnes ſuſcepit eo advenientes. Statuerunt etiam Canonici ut ſi quis eo æger deveniat, vel infirmatus ibi fuerit, cura ipſius agatur in omnibus neceſſariis, juxta domus facultatem, uſque dum convaleſcet, vel moriatur. Si quid autem habuerit, faciat inde quod voluerit; et diſponit ad libitum ſuum, quoniam in domo illa nihil exigetur ab illo. Conſtitutus eſt etiam a Canonicis capellanus, qui et infirmatorum et morientium curam agat. Et duo patres, qui cuſtodiunt domum, et hoſpites ſuſcipiunt,

cipiunt, atque infirmis ministrarent; qui tamen ibi neque comedunt, neque bibunt, neque induuntur. Ad hoc quoque concesserunt Canonici decimas propriorum suorum laborum, et reliquias ciborum suorum. Si quid vero necessarium sive sanis sive infirmis in cellario eorum fuerit, quod de hospitali haberi non poterit, sine contradictione donetur.

Personæ autem supra memoratæ redditus et possessiones proprias habebant; quas, cum e vita decederent, uxores eorum, quas publice tenebant, filii quoque, vel filiæ, propinqui, vel generi, inter se dividebant. Nihilominus altaris oblationes, cui non deserviebant, quod prohibuisset dicere, si non libuisset eis facere. Nec potuit tantum auferri malum, usque ad tempus fœlicis memoriæ Regis ALEXANDRI *, sanctæ Dei ecclesiæ specialis amatoris: qui et ecclesiam beati Andreæ apostoli possessionibus et redditibus ampliavit; multisque et magnis muneribus, cumulavit; libertatibus et consuetudinibus, quæ sui regii muneris erant, cum regali possessione donavit. Terram etiam quæ *Cursus Apri* dicitur, quam cum allatæ fuissent reliquiæ beati Andreæ apostoli, rex HUNGUS, cujus supra mentionem fecimus, Deo et sancto apostolo Andreæ dederat, et postea oblata fuerat ex integro instituit; eo nimirum obtentu, et conditione, ut in ipsa ecclesia constitueretur religio ad Deo deserviendum. Non enim erat qui beati apostoli altari deserviret, nec ibi missa celebrabatur, nisi cum rex vel episcopus illo advenerat, quod raro contigebat. KELEDEI namque in angulo quodam ecclesiæ, quæ modica nimis erat, suum officium more suo celebrabant. Cujus donationis regiæ TESTES multi sunt SUPERSTITES. Quam donationem et comes David, frater ejus, concessit; quem rex heredem destinaverat, et in regno successorem †, SICUT EST HODIE. Ob cujus etiam donationis monumentum, regium equum Arabicum, cum proprio freno, et sella, et scuto, et lancea argentea, opertum pallio grandi, et pretioso, præcepit rex ‡ usque ad altare adduci; et de prædictis doniis, libertatibus, et consuetudinibus omnibus regalibus, ecclesiam investiri: arma quoque Turchensia diversi generis dedit, quæ cum ipsius scuto et sella in memoriam

* Nominis I. 1107—1124.

† A.D. 1124—1153.

‡ Alexander I. Ritus hîc descriptus est singularis, et cujus in historiis medii ævi difficiliter exemplum reperies.

regiæ

regiæ munificentiæ, uſque hodie, in eccleſia S'ti Andreæ conſervantur. Quæ undecunque advenientibus populis oſtenduntur, ne oblivione ullatenus delentur, quod tam crebro ad memoriam revocatur. Hujus nempe regis ALEXANDRI diebus, prope vitæ temporalis finem, dominus ROBERTUS primus Sconenſis eccleſiæ prior, (quam et idem rex Canonicis dederat, et multis donis atque poſſeſſionibus ditaverat,) in Epiſcopum Scotorum electus fuit. Sic quippe, ab antiquo, epiſcopi S'ti Andreæ dicti ſunt. Et in ſcriptis tam antiquis, quam modernis, inveniuntur dicti Summi Archiepiſcopi, ſive Summi Epiſcopi Scotorum. Unde et conſcribi fecit in theca evangelii Fothet epiſcopus, maximæ vir authoritatis, verſus iſtos:

Hanc evangelii thecam conſtruxit aviti,
Fothet qui Scotis ſummus epiſcopus eſt.

Sic et nunc quoque in vulgari et communi locutione *Eſcop Alban*, i. e. Epiſcopi Albaniæ, appellantur. Sic et dicti ſunt, et dicuntur per excellentiam, ab univerſis Scotorum epiſcopis; qui a locis quibus præſunt appellantur.

Sed ante ipſius electi conſecrationem memoratus rex ALEXANDER, ad extrema deductus, fratrem ſuum regem DAVID, qui ſolus ex fratribus ſupererat, et SUPEREST, non tam regni quam devotionis erga Dei eccleſiam, et pauperum tutelam, reliquit heredem. Satagit enim, et ſataget, ut quod frater ejus rex, ſæpe dictus, inceperat, ipſe ad finem Deo juvante perduceret. Plures et eccleſias, et plura monaſteria, tam monachorum, quam canonicorum, necnon et ſanctimonialium conſtituit; quibus et multa beneficia contulit. Præterea in ſervos et ancillas Chriſti multa operatus eſt opera miſericordiæ; quæ non eſt noſtræ facultatis evolvere. Impetravit autem conſecrari antiſtitem eccleſiæ S'ti Andreæ jam dictum D. ROBERTUM, a piæ memoriæ THURSTINO Eboracenſi archiepiſcopo, ſine profeſſione, vel qualibet exactione; ſalva duntaxat utriuſque eccleſiæ dignitate, et ſanctæ atque apoſtolicæ ſedis authoritate. Ordinatus igitur epiſcopus, atque ad ſedem propriam reverſus, quod anhelabat in pectore, exercere ſtudebat in opere, ut eccleſia, viz. ampliaretur, et cultui divino dedicaretur. In multis tamen, et ante ordinationem, et poſt, adverſatus eſt ei Satanas. Multas ſuſtinuit injurias, et contumelias, juxta quod ait Apoſtolus *Omnes qui volunt pie vivere in Chriſto perſecutionem patiuntur.*

tur. Portiunculam autem septimam altaris, quæ in eum contigebat, et quam de propriis usibus suis substrahebat, in ecclesiæ opus expendebat. Sed quoniam impensa erant modica, modice erigebatur et fabrica: donec Domino cooperante, et proxime rege David annuente, oblationes in manibus laicorum, tam virorum quam mulierum, exceptæ, in usus ecclesiæ sunt receptæ. Dein ubi magis quod daret ad manum haberet, magis ac magis opus accelerabat.

Basilica igitur in fundamentis inchoata, et ex majori jam parte consummata, domibus quibusdam ita exactis, cum clausstro ut jam possint habitationes introduci, qui non nimia quærerent, et interim per patientiam expectarent D. ADEBOLDUM episcopum Carleolensem expetiit, tam per literas, quam per missalios per vivam quoque vocem, regi DAVID sibi concedere ecclesiam S. *Oswaldi*, cui ipse episcopus jure prioris præerat, personam quam in partem sui laboris assumeret, et Canonicis, quos in ecclesia S'ti Andreæ statuere disponebat, Priorem constitueret. Familiarius siquidem sibi videbatur, et dulcius de ipsa ecclesia ubi se Deo devoverat, et habitum religionis susceperat, unde et Sconensi ecclesiæ primus Prior destinatus fuerat: de qua, ut prefati sumus, in Episcopum electus, et assumptus erat; quam aliunde personam accipere. Nec tamen quamlibet postulavit personam, sed fratrem ROBERTUM, non quidem fama notum, vel conversatione, sed tantum nomine, quem juxta quod ab amicis et familiaribus suis qui eum noverant ad hoc idoneum estimabant. Petiit ergo eum et accepit, nec enim ei de ipsa ecclesia negare poterat, vel debebat, quia quid rationabiliter postularet.

Memoratus autem frater ROBERTUS ex præcepto D. Episcopi aliquandiu apud S'tum Andream conversatus est, et sine Canonicis, non tamen sine Clericis, prebente Domino Episcopo necessaria sibi et suis. In ecclesiam vero nullam habebat, nec habere volebat, potestatem, donec ei Dominus procuraret quam optabat ad Dei servitium societatem. Nihil tamen de se presumerit; sed totum se Deo deferens, et se ordinationi submittens, Deum sedulo deprecabatur ut eum visitari et consolari dignaretur, aut tale donaret, se religionis fundamentum ponere, supra quod constructum edificium firmum esset, et stabile. Sicut enim in corde statuerat nequaquam in alienos labores intrare volebat, quod fortasse sibi facile foret de aliis et diversis ecclesiis, sibi

fratres ſociare, ne forte diverſi diverſa ſentientes, dum qui eſſent videri appeterent, in unitatem non convenirent; et ſic antequam jaceretur fundamentum, pateretur fabrica detrimentum. Si quos tamen, modo quo ipſe diſponebat vivere paratis, ei Deus adduceret, eos benigne ſuſciperet.

Interea fratre ROBERTO ex præcepto Epiſcopi ut dictum eſt ibidem commorante, D. Epiſcopo autem circa inceptum ſegnius agente, venit Rex *, una cum filio ſuo HENRICO Comite, et Rege Deſignato, ad Sanctum Andream, orationis gratia; multique cum iis Comitum et Potentium terræ. In craſtino autem, andita miſſa, et horis ex more et oblatione factis, veniens Rex in clauſtrum, quale illud tunc erat, ſimul cum iis qui ſecum venerant; et reſidentibus cunctis, primum multa quæ nihil attinet, tandem cauſam pro qua precipue venerat apperuit Rex. Convenit igitur Epiſcopum cum ſicut diſpoſuiſſe dixerat, et Rex Alexander conſtituerat opus, et ſervitium Dei non acceleraret, ut in Eccleſia Beati Andreæ religionem conſtitueret. Cumque poſt multas contraverſias cauſareter D. Epiſcopus poſſeſſionem Epiſcopii non licere ſibi minuere, vel diſpergere, ne forte a ſucceſſore ſuo, a ſervis Dei, auferret, in quod ipſis ab eo conferretur. Reſpondet Rex, et dixit, ut de terra illa quæ *Curſus Apri* dicitur, quæ de Epiſcopatu non erat, quam Rex ALEXANDER frater ejus, propter hoc Deo et S'ti Andreæ devoverat, ut in eccleſia ejus religio conſtitueretur, ſufficienter eis tribueret; et tam ipſe quam filius ejus concederent, et ad inſtaurandam terram auxilium ferrent. Quod et fecerunt; et alios quoſdam cum jurando juvare compulerunt. Tunc D. Epiſcopus, quaſi ſponte coactus, de terris perſonarum quæ abeuntibus eis in manum ejus obvenerant, quam libuit portionem, conſilio et aſſenſu Regis et filii ejus, et ceterorum Baronum qui aderunt, fratri ROBERTO in manum tradidit; unde fratres ut Dei ſervitium illo venientes interim ſuſtentari debuiſſent. Nec tamen circa opus eccleſiæ ſegnius egit; ſed quo citius conſummaret omnibus modis ſatagit. Ipſa die piæ memoriæ ROBERTUS preſbiter Domini, Epiſcopi frater uterinus, corde voce et opere ſeculum abrenuncians ad Deo deſerviendum, in eccleſia Beati Andreæ ſub canonica regula S'ti Patris noſtri Auguſtini, in manum fratris ROBERTI Prioris ſe reddidit, cum eccleſia ſua de Tinningham, annuente Domino Epiſcopo, ita ſane ut vel eccleſiam illam haberent Canonici, vel L ſolidos per annum.

* David I.

SEQUUN-

SEQUUNTUR Cartæ Donationis Roberti Epiſcopi, Regis David, et Henrici Comitis filii Regis David, anno 1144.

Robertus Epiſcopus ſæpe dictus mortuus eſt 1159; *Arnoldus* Abbas Calchrenſis eligitur 1160; et confirmatus a Willielmo Epiſcopo Moraviæ, ut a Legato Pontificis, et conſecratus.

Anno 1162 fundata eſt nova eccleſia S'ti Andreæ a Rege Willielmo, et Arnoldo Epiſcopo.

Arnoldus Epiſcopus mortuus, et *Ricardus* Canonicus Regis Malcolmi, electus 1163; hic obiit 1178.

Inde ſecuta contentio Canonicis eligentibus Joannem Scotum, et Rege pro Hugone Capellano ſuo intento. Tandem *Hugo* factus Epiſcopus S'ti Andreæ: et Joannes Epiſcopus Dunkeldenſis.

Hugone mortuo, *Rogerus* filius nobilis viri Comitis Leiceiſtriæ, electus 1189, et conſecratus a Ricardo Epiſcopo Moravienſi, aſtante Rege Willielmo: hic quarto poſt anno moritur.

Poſt hunc *Willielmus* Epiſcopus Glaſcuenſis tranſlatus ad St. Andream. Hic vixit et rexit eccleſiam 36 annis.

Longa altercatio ſubſecuta; tandem *David de Benham* Regis Camerarius, electus eſt; et conſecratus 1239; et mortuus 1252.

Willielmus Fraſer Cancellarius electus in epiſcopatum S'ti Andreæ, et conſecratus tempore Alexandri Regis 1270.

FUNDATIO eccleſia de LOCHLEVIN, quæ poſtea data Priori S'ti Andreæ.

BRUDE filius Pictorum, qui ſecundum antiquas traditiones dicitur ultimus Regum Pictorum, dedit inſulam S. Servano et Keledeis.

MACBET filius Finlach dedit eis Kirkneſs, et alias terras ibi bondatas, ad *Saxum Hibernienſium*. Cujus

nominis ratio, hæc eſt. MALCOLMUS Rex filius DUNCANI conceſſit eis Salinagium, quod Scotice dicitur Thonan: et venerunt Hibernienſes ad Kirkneſs, ad domum cujuſdam viri, nomine *Mochan*, qui tunc fuit abſens; et ſolum mulieres domi erant, quas Hibernienſes violenter oppreſſerunt, non tamen ſine rubore et verecundia. Rei autem eventu ad aures prefati *Mochan* perveniente, ſciens domum feſtinavit et invenit ibi Hibernienſes in domo ſua cum matre ſua. Exhortatione autem ſæpe matri ſuæ facta, ut extra domum veniret; quæ nullatenus voluit exire, ſed Hibernienſes protegere, et eis pacem dare, in ultionem tanti facinoris oppreſſores mulierum, et barbaros, et ſacrilegos, in medio flammæ ignis una cum matre civiliter combuſſit. Et ex hac cauſa locus ille *Saxum Hibernienſium* dictus.

Idem Rex MACBETH dedit dictis Keledeis villam de Bolgyn.

EDGARUS filius Malcolm dedit eis Petnemokin.

MALCOMUS Rex, et MARGARETA Regina, dedit eis villam de Balchriſtin.

EDELREUDUS, vir venerandæ memoriæ, filius MALCOLMI Regis Scotiæ, Abbas de Dunkelden, et inſuper Comes de Fyffe, dedit terras de Admoire. Et quia dictus Edelredus erat infra ætatem, donationem hanc confirmarunt duo fratres ejus ALEXANDER et DAVID, in preſentia Conſtantini Comitis de Fife; et Neſſa; et Carmac filii Macbeath; et Mathecther filii Beellan, ſacerdotum de Abernethy: et Mallebride alterius ſacerdotis; et Chuadet; et Anguſtin Sacerdotis Keledeorum; et Berbeadh RECTORIS SCHOLARUM DE ABERNETHY; et coram cætibus totius UNIVERSITATIS tunc de Abernethy, ibidem degentibus; et coram Deo Omnipotente, et Omnibus Sanctis. Et ibi data eſt plenarie et univerſaliter ab omnibus ſacerdotibus, et laicis, maledictio Dei Omnipotentis et Beatæ Mariæ Virginis, et Omnium Sanctorum, ut Dominus Deus daret eum in exterminium et perditionem, et omnes illos quicunque irritarent et revocarent, et diminuerent elemoſinam de Admore; omni populo reſpondente, Amen.

MALDINUS Epiſcopus S'ti Andreæ, dedit eccleſiam de Sconan pro ſuffragiis orationum.

MODOCH filius Malmikel, vir piiſſimæ recordationis, Epiſcopus S'ti Andræ, cujus vita et doctrina tota regio Scotorum eſt luſtrata, contulit eis eccleſiam de Harkindocach.

Iſtæ

Iſtæ ſunt antiquæ Conſtitutiones quas præfatæ eccleſiæ ſolvebant antiquitus; 30 panes decoctos cum antiqua menſura farinæ ibi depoſitæ; et 30 caſeos quorum quilibet facit *chudrem*; et octo mala de Braſco, et Derchedé male, et Chadre male.

Adjudicatio quartæ partis terrarum de Kirkneſs, per nobiles et prudentes viros, a Rege DAVID conſtitutos, quam Robertus Burgonenſis Miles a Keledeis per vim rapuit: quam cum Keledeis reſtituerent victo Roberto Burgonenſi.

Tandem DAVID Rex hanc Inſulam, et omnia prius donata Keledeis in illa morantibus, conceſſit Prioratui S'ti Andreæ.

Terræ conceſſæ Priori et Canonicis S'ti Andreæ per ROBERTUM Epiſcopum, 1144.

Balrimund. Strunuthum. Kinmunnins. Caſt Dovenald. Drukarachin. Leodechin. Strathkimen. Belluca. Rothmanan. Pettulum. Kinnaſtarſi. Balgſa. Kinnamore. Drumſec. Balemacdunethin. Eggliſnamen, Ballochin. Sconin. Hæ omnes ſunt in una carta.

Item Kinninmund in alia Carta ejuſdem Roberti Epiſcopi.

Ex conceſſione RICARDI Epiſcopi.

Terræ utriuſque Struithin. In alia Carta terram de Sludhachhelm in eſcambum de Portmoch et de Arnoch. In alia Carta Dunnoir vel Ferdis, Gartech Menethin, Endorech. Item per aliam Cartam dicti Ricardi, Lethin, Pulhun, Pethnacrem, Douredin, Reſthoch, Pethmulin, Balentagardh, Pethiwenoche, Cremacherrin, Claſſanagaſch.

Et per commutationem ab Archidiacono pro Trathyrim habent terras de Cragne, Pethtendreoch. *Chriſtin Mackgrig* tenet de eis Dunoot aniel, Ballebecklin, carrucatæ terræ infra Curſum Apri proquibus reſpondetur Regi * * * de exercitu et auxilio; et has terras habet in manu ſua:

Radmuneth, Kyndargog, Pentalcin, Ballegone, Kineflair, Kinnemone, Strath Kynnes Martin, Strathkinnes Melſerog, Ballehucke, Drunſel, Ballemoe, Drendguid, Eggles Nammin, Reſcog, Donachre din, Pethunleg, Ballefagard, Crefinakarri, Petengared, Heneteindorech, Elin, Sconin, Caſt Dovenald, Druckerrach,

rach, Leddouchon, Struhythin, Lethim, Cragen, Dunortferdu, Garried, Pelhendrech.

Terræ quas *Adam filius Odonis* tenet de eis.

Kinninmuneth ubi aula eſt. Ballemoedunegin, Peltindreich, Malgaſt, Mædech, Malgaſtamerien, Leodhethin, Ballemohob quod aſcondit Ballerimuned.

Terræ quas *Creſtin Magnus* tenet de eis.

Balleboethin, Dunort aniel.

Archidiaconus tenet Thruthtyrin.

Terræ quas tenent KELEDEI.

Kinkel, Kynnadanfihs, Kynnadin Equ, Lethin, Kerin, Kerneis, Kynninis, Rathmergullum, Syreii, Baletath, Kaleturſe, Baleocherthyn, Pethkenyn, Kingerg.

Iſtas terras tenent EPISCOPUS, et Homines ſui.

Nidin Ardulf, Nidin Ruſticorum, Nidin Eccleſiæ, Clawhan et Burkelin, Kincapel Baleſten, Kynapull Macfindul, Kincapel Bochalin, Balewarryn, Kyncapel Ballonſunnyne, Hynedthyn Infirmorum, Inchmorthal, Baledufgal, Kindaras, Ballewyne, Kyngleſſyn, Puthekyn, Indunnenochen, Balecatelyn, Bale eccles, Balealin, Petendruch, Strathfatha, Balebolin, Dunorge, Macorgetſin, Odoreſterche, Dufnipre, Bladbolg, Balepſin, Keenebaeſenim, Kinehard, Cragginferdis, Barrimont et Galgille, Ballemmigi, Kenebeck Ruſticorum, Gille Michel, Malewan in qua erat Kathimel, et Locoloſag, Item Imbladobus Balareth.

NUMBER

NUMBER VIII. *Contents of the French King's Manuſcript.*

Cat. Bibl. Cod. MS. Regis Galliæ, vol. III. p. 549.

IV MCXXVI.

CODEX Membranaceus olim Colbertinus. Ibi continentur:

1. Innocentii VI. Decretalis contra Fratres Mendicantes, procurata per Magiſtrum Richardum Fitz Rauf, Archiepiſcopum Armachanum.
2. Benedicti XI. Decretalis ſuper privilegiis Fratrum Mendicantium.
3. Bonifacii VIII. Decretalis de eodem argumento.
4. Verſus de præſtantia regni Scotorum.
5. Joannis XXII. Decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.
6. Magiſtri Stephani, Medici Hugonis Epiſcopi Dunelmi, tractatus de quodam prodigio.
7. Verſus de diverſis ſignis et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines: quæ deſcripſit ſanctus Patricius Hiberniæ Epiſcopus.
8. Ejuſdem deſcriptio de rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.
9. Coſmographia Priſciani.
10. Itinerarium maritimum Antonini Auguſti *.
11. Verſus de tribus mundi partibus, et de diſtributione totius orbis montium, et fluminum.
12. Menſura totius terræ, ſecundum Romanos doctiſſimos, gnomonica ratione certiſſime comprobata.
13. Deſcriptio trium mundi partium, excerpta ex Oroſio.
14. Chronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.
15. Chronica regum Scotorum, annos trecentos et quatuordecim complectentia.

* Hoc eſt Itinerarium vulgare quod ſub Antonini nomine circumfertur, ſicuti per ſpecialem inquiſitionem edoctus ſum. J. P.

16. Narratio qualiter acciderit, quod memoria ſancti Andreæ Apoſtoli amplius in regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in ceteris regionibus ſit; et quomodo contigerit quod tantæ Abbatiæ ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi adhuc ſæculares viri jure hæreditario poſſident.

17. Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.

18. Methodii Patarenſis epiſcopi liber de initio et fine ſæculi.

19. Giraldi Cambrenſis topographia Hiberniæ, ſive de avibus, et aliis mirabilibus, et de habitatoribus Hiberniæ, libri tres, ad Henricum II. Angliæ Regem.

20. Alexandri Magni epiſtola ad Ariſtotelem.

21. Ejuſdem Alexandri mors.

22. Metrum in deſtructionem Trojanorum.

23. Daretis Phrygii Hiſtoria Trojana.

24. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojæ.

25. Excerpta e Polychronico Radulphi Ceſtrenſis monachi, ad hiſtoriam Britonum pertinentia.

26. Aliud carmen de excidio Trojano.

27. Galfridi Monemutenſis hiſtoria Britonum, cum præfatione Alfridi Beverlacenſis.

28. Alfridi Beverlacenſis liber de geſtis regum Britanniæ, a Bruto ad Henricum IV.

29. Continuatio ejuſdem hiſtoriæ ad Edwardum III. ſecundum polychronicon Ranulphi Ceſtrenſis monachi.

30. Prophetia Cyrilli, Eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

31. Sanctæ Hildegardis epiſtola ad Colonienſes, de futura tribulatione clericorum.

Is codex decimo quarto ſæculo exaratus videtur.

Contents of the ſame, more fully detailed by M. VAN PRAET*.

Etat des pieces conteñues dans le MS. de la bibliotheque du Roi de France, No. 4126.

Fol. 1 *recto.*

1. Decretalis contra fratres, procurata per magiſtrum Richardum Fitzrauf, Archiepiſcopum de Armagh.

* Here begin the communications of this reſpectable correſpondent, and they extend to N° X. inclusive.

Fol.

Fol. 4 *verſo,*

2. *Sans titre:* Benedicti XI. decretalis ſuper privilegiis fratrum mendicantium.

Fol. 7 *recto,*

3. *Sans titre:* Bonifacii VIII. decretalis de eodem argumento.

Fol. 9 *verſo,*

4. *Piece de* 56 *vers, ſans titre, commençant par ces deux vers:*

Regnum Scotorum fuit, inter cetera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens, *&c.*

Fol. 10 *recto,*

5. *Sans titre:* Joannis XXII. decretalis contra Joannem de Poliaco.

Fol. 11 *recto,*

6. Incipit tractatus magiſtri Stephani, medici Hugonis Epiſcopi Dunelmi, de quodam prodigio.

Fol. 12 *recto,*

7. Incipit de diverſis ſignis, et prodigiis mundi, quæ fecit Deus ut terreret homines; quæ deſcripſit Sanctus Patricius preſbyter, Yberniæ epiſcopus.

Fol. 12 *verſo,*

8. De rebus Hiberniæ admirandis.

Fol. 14 *recto,*

9. Incipit Coſmigrafia Priſciani.

Fol. 19 *recto,*

10. Incipit Itinerarium mar.

Fol. 20 *recto,*

11. De tribus mundi partibus; et de diſtributione tocius orbis moncium et fluminum. *(en vers).*

Fol. 21 *recto,*

12. Menſura tocius terre, ſecundum Romanos doctiſſimos, gnomonica racione certiſſime comprobata.

Fol. 22 *verſo,*

13. Incipit deſcriptio Oroſii de tribus partibus mundi, *&c.*

Fol. 26 *verſo,*

14. De ſitu Albaniæ, quæ in ſe figuram hominis habet; quomodo fuit primitus in ſeptem regionibus diviſa; quibuſque nominibus antiquitus ſit vocata; et a quibus inhabitata.

Fol. 27 *recto,*

15. Cronica de origine antiquorum Pictorum.

Fol. 29 *verſo,*

16. Cronica regum Scottorum ccc. et iiij. annorum.

Fol.

Fol. 31 *recto*,

17. Qualiter acciderit quod memoria S'ti Andreæ (&c. *see former contents.*)

Fol. 33 *recto*,

18. *Sans titre:* Petri Amfulfi doctrina clericalis.

Fol. 45,

19. Hic incipit prologus in libro Methodii martyris.

Fol. 49 *recto*,

20. Giraldus Cambrenſis de mirabilibus Hiberniæ.

Fol. 97 *recto*,

21. *Sans titre:* Alexandri Magni ad Ariſtotelem de mirabilibus Indiæ.

Fol. 106 *verſo*,

22. Incipit metrum in deſtructione Trojanorum.

Fol. 108 *recto*,

23. Hiſtoria Daretis Trojanorum Frigii, de Græco tranſlata in Latinum a Cornelio nepote Saluſtii.

Fol. 119 *verſo*,

24. Vaſtacio Troie. (*en vers*).

Fol. 120 *verſo*,

25. Incipit præfatio in hiſtoria Britannorum, extracta a libro qui dicitur Policronicon.

Fol. 133 *recto*,

26. Verſus de excidio Trojano.

Fol. 133 *verſo*,

27. De primis autoribus, ſive ſcriptoribus hiſtoriarum. (*Id eſt prologus Alfridi.*)

Fol. 134 *verſo*,

28. Cronica Galfridi Monumetenſis. Incipit Yſtoria Britonum.

Fol. 211 *verſo*,

29. Explicit Cronica Galfridi Monumetenſis in Hiſtoriam Britonum. Sequitur Continuacio regum Saxonum ſecundum Cronicas Alfridi Beverlacenſis, et Henrici Huntingdon. ORA PRO POPILTON, QUI ME COMPILAVIT EBORACI.

Fol. 230 *recto*,

Explicit præfatio. Incipiunt excerpciones de Hiſtoriis Anglorum: et unde Angli venerunt, et originem duxerunt. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

30. Explicit Hyſtoria magiſtri Alfridi theſaurarii Beverlacenſis, incipiens ad Brutum, et finiens in Henricum 4tum, annorum duorum milium ducentorum. Sequitur Continuacio Hyſtorie, vel Cronica Ranulphi monachi

chi Ceſtrenſis, in ſuo Policronicon, uſque ad Ewardi Tercii regis tempora. ORA PRO FRATRE ROBERTO DE POPULTON.

Fol. 299 *recto*,

31. *Sans titre:* Prophetia Cyrilli eremitæ de monte Carmelo, interprete fratre Gilberto Anglico.

A la fin de cette piece, qui finit au recto du 312e feuillet, on lit ce qui ſuit.

Qⁱ tn̄ſcⁱpta compilavit.
ego frā Petᵘs Maȳmeti ordīs
bē marie de Carmelo exn̄s ſcola
ris Paryſꝫ illū libellū manu ꝑ
pⁱa ſcⁱpſi et abſtraxi a q̊dā exempla
ri valde antiq̊ et cū dyptongis
ſcⁱpto ī q̊ Cirillus cū ſacⁱs et ſac̄
dotalibꝫ ueſtibꝫ et fr̄ Euſebiꝰ cū
mantello barrato. et ang's veſᵗᵉ
ī pⁱncipio. erāt curioſe et mirabilr̄
depicti. R. Populton̄.*

Fol. 299 *verſo*,

32. *D'une autre ecriture:* Epiſtola Sancte Hildegardis ad Colonienſes, de futura tribulacione clericorum, et de novis religioſis.

* *Id eſt:* Qui tranſcripta compilavit, Ego frater Petrus Maymeti, ordinis beatæ Mariæ de Carmelo, exiſtens Scolaris Pariſiis, illum libellum manu propria ſcripſi, et abſtraxi a quodam exemplari valde antiquo, et cum dyptongis ſcripto, in quo Cirillus cum ſacris et ſacerdotalibus veſtibus, et frater Euſebius cum mantello barrato, et Angelus veſte, in principio erant curioſe et mirabiliter depicti. R. POPULTON.

This certainly refers only to the prophecy of Cyril. And the ſignature of Populton, here and before, fully marks that he was the real writer, and collector of this MS. from various ancient pieces, which he had found; perhaps chiefly in the great library founded at York in early times: the title of No. 29, bearing 'Pray for Populton who compiled me at York:' and the cloſe of that No. and No. 30, expreſs that Robert de Populton was a monk. M. Van Praet thinks the writing French; but ſome fac-ſimilia in my hands teſtify it the common writing uſed in England, in the fourteenth century. Yet that Populton may have been educated, and taught to write, at Paris, is not improbable, ſuppoſing M. Van Praet's idea to be well-founded.

Ce Manuſcrit eſt in folio, ſur velin, du 14*me ſiecle, à deux colonnes, avec les titres en rouge. Il contient* 313 *feuillets, noncompris deux feuillets qui ſont au commencement; et dont l'un renferme une mappemonde, ou ſont principalement marquées les provinces maritimes de France, et des Pays-Bays. Le ſecond contient la table des traités écrite en rouge. Le corps du volume commence au troiſieme feuillet, au bas duquel on lit* Guilielmus Cecilius Mil' d' burghley. *Les abbreviations y ſont fréquentes, et quelque fois difficiles: mais l'ecriture, qui paroit être d'une main Françoiſe, ſe lit avec aſſez de facilité. On peut aiſément en confondre l'*u *avec l'*n: *le* t *avec le* c; ni *avec* m: un *avec* nn, *&c.*

NUMBER IX. *Collation of that MS. with the Pieces publiſhed from it by Innes, in his Appendix.*

Collation du No. I. de l' Appendix d' Innes.

P. 768, l. 3. primitus—fuit primitus.
l. 9. Albanacto—Albanecto.
769, l. 1. Scotti vero—Scotti autem.
l. 3. Malcolmi—Malcolini.
7. Arregathel—Arregarthel.
8. vero—autem.
9. Arregaithel—Arregarthel.
15. et Mar et Buchan—et Mari et Buchen.
27. etiam—enim.
Stradeern—Sradeern.
770, l. 1. Fife—Fif.
16. Dunfermlis—Dunfermelis.
22. Tac, *vel* Tae.
771, l 3. Athrin—Athran.
10. Muref—Muref.
11. fuit—erat.
14. Gaitheli—Gattheli.
15. Gaithelglas—Gatthelglas.
16. applicare—applicari.
772, l. 1. Fergus—Fergius.
4. Inchegall—Inchegal.

No. II. is given next in this Appendix, complete, in the ſpelling of the MS.

Collation du No. III. de l' Appendix d' Innes.

P. 782, l. 4. Kinadius—Cinadius.
783, l. 8. Duanan—Cluanan.
10. Forthuir-tabaicht—
Fothuir-tabaicht.
12. tempora—tempore.
l. 14. Fothur-thabaicht—
Fothiur-thabaicht.
784, l. 1. Kinadi—Cinadi.
10. Coachcochlum—Coachcochlam.
14. nrurin—uturim.

P. 784,

P. 784, l. 15. Ku—Kū, *i. e.* Kun.
16. Kinadi ac fil.—Cinadei ex filia.
785, l. 1. Giricium—Ciricium.
l. 3. Niel—Nœil.
7. Donevaldus—Donivaldus.
8. vaſtaverun—vaſtaverunt.
9. bellum fuit—bellum autem factum.
16. utique anno, *adde*, occiſi ſunt in Fraith h'emi Normanni: ac in vi. an. Conſtantinus rex, et Cellachus.
786, l. 3. (nomen) meruit—meruit nomen.
l. 5. Lagnechois i. Cormac—Laignechos. i. Cormace.
l. 8. Flanni—Flanu *(ſeu* Flami.)
9. Nail—Niall.
Flann—Flanu *(ſeu* Flami.)
14. Dubican—Dubucan.
16. Eochod—Eochaid.
17. decrepita—decrepitus.
20. Malcolm—Maelcolaim.
Domnail—Domnaill.
787, l. 2. albudorum—albidoſorum.
l. 4. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.
7. cum—eum.
8. mortuus autem Conſtantinus in x anno ejus—mortuus eſt autem Conſtantinus in x ejus anno.
12. Indulfus—Idulſus.
15. Sumerlidiorum—Somarlidiorum.
Buchan—Bucham.
16. Maelcolam—Maelcolaim.
19. Dulcalden—Duncalden.
788, l. 1. Culen-rig—Culen-rīg, *id eſt* ring.
l. 4. Maelbrigd—Maelbrigd'.
Ferdulaig—Ferdalaig.
5. Maelbridge—Maelbrigde.
10. uacornax—uacornar, *adde*, Scotti prædaverunt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Derām.

Collation du No. IV.

P. 789, l. 1. Eric—Eric ipſe.
l. 4. Inchegall—Inchegal.
6. Domangart—Domangrat.
7. xxxii—xxxiii.

P. 789,

P. 789, l. 11. Eeohod—Eochid.
13. Fercar fil. Eu.—Fercar fil. eū.
14. Ecohid—Eochid.
790, l. 2. Eochol—Eochal.
l. 10. Selvac—Selvach.
11. Eochal—Fochal.
17. Het—Hed.
18. Dungal—Dunegal.
19. Doneval—Duneval.
21. Malcolin fil. Doneval—Malcolin fil. Dunevald.
791, l. 1. Malcolm—Malcolin.
l. 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
11. Macbeth—Macheth.
13. Malcolm fil. Duncan—Malcolin fil. Dunec̄.
16. Maria—Mariæ.
18. in pauperes, *adde*, et in eccleſias.
792, l. 1. filia M.—filia N.
l. 7. ſponſum—ſponſam.
8. progenitam—progenitum.
11. cujuſque—cujuſcumque.
22. incarnatione—incarnatione Domini.
793, l. 13. acuti—acutum.
l. 14. cella, *adde*, Cluni accenſi, quæ ibi ſita eſt, &c.
17. Dunchad fil. Malcolmi—Dunchahd fil. Malcolin.
18. Edgarus—Eadgarus fil. Malcolin.
23. vigil—vigilus.
794, l. 5. conſerat—conferat.
l. 9. funditus—funditur.
11. puellare—puellarum, *adde*, ſancte Marie et m. puellarum,
14. lychnis—lichinis.
decoratur—decorantur.
15. omnia, *adde*, ipſe.
magnis—magnus.
16. pretioſarum, *adde*, exornavit.
795, l. 3. Malcolm—Malcolin.
l. 8. filii, *adde*, David fili Maelcolain.
10. Maelcolai—Maelcolain.
Domnail—Domnaill.
13. Domnail-bric—Domnail-brie.
14. Domangrat—Dommungrat.
Eirc—Eire.

P. 795,

P. 795, l. 15. Oengus-ſaphir—Oengu-ſaphir.
16. Fedelinthe-ramnaich——
Fedilinthernamnaich.
17. Seanchormaic—Senchormaic.
Cruith-linde—Cruitlinde.
18. Fiachrachcathmail—Fiaerachcathmail.
19. Ecdach-riade—Echdachriada.
Conate—Conore.
Mogalande—Mogalanda.
20. Corpre-cruphini—Corprecrunpchimi.
21. Corbre fadmoir—Corbre fil. Admoir.
796, l. 1. Eterſceail—Eterſcenil.
Eogam—Eogami.
l. 4. Aramni—Arami.
6. Firatbrig—Firaibrig.
7. Elela-caſſiacleg—Elelacaſiaclaig.
Conliach—Conlaich.
8. Coabtaig-coelbreg—Cobthaigcoelbreg.
Ugane-more—Iugamemoir.
9. Eedaigluadaig—Ecdaigbuadaig.
11. Brigt, *adde*, fil. Emidib, f. Edom, f. Glais, f. Miadat, f. Ail, f. Elchadaolchaim, f. Sirna, f. Dem, f. Demail, f. Rodchada, f. Ogmaich, f. Oenguſſa, f. Olmochada, f. Fiachrachlaibrinne, f. Sinergnaid, f. Sinereta, f. Enmocha, f. Tigernaig, f. Fallaig, f. Etheoir, f. Jair, f. Dermeom, f. Meledeſpain, f. Bili, f. Nema, f. Brige, f. Brigomd, f. Bracha, f. Theacha, f. Ercchada, f. Aldoit, f. Noda, f. Nonailthemir, f. Goildilglais, f. Nenil, f. Fenius farſaid, f. Eogani, f. Glumid, f. Janind, f. Etheoir, f. Jair, f. Agmemnom, f. Thri, f. Boi, f. Sem, f. Mair, f. Eſro, f. Aduir, f. Hieridach, f. Aoth, f. Sran, f. Eſro, f. Boid, f. Riafich, f. Gomur, f. Jafeth, f. Noe, f. Lameth, f. Matuſaalem, f. Enoc, f. Jarech, f. Malalechel, f. Caman, f. Enos, f. Sed, f. Adam, f. Dei vivi.

NUMBER X. *The First Part of the* Chronicon Pictorum, *with the Contractions, &c. of the original MS.*

MS. du Roi de France, No. 4126.

(*Folio recto* 27 : 2*de colonne.*)

Cronica
de origine antiquoꝝ pictoꝝ
picti ꝑpa ling̃ nomen
ħt a picto corꝑe eo q.
aqileis ferreis cũ atram̃to
uariaꝝ figuraꝝ ſtiugmate
ãnotantur. Scotti q̇ nũc cor
rupte uocantur hib'nienſes
q̇i ſciti qꝛ a ſcithia regione ue
n̄unt 7 inde originẽ duxer̃t
ſiue a ſcotta filia pharaoĩs
(*au verſo* 1*ere colonne*)
regis egypti que fuit ut fert-
regina ſcocie. Sciend' u eſt q.
b̄tonesĩ ĩ ꝉcia mũdi etati abi
tãniam uenũt ſcite a'. i. ſcotti
ĩ quarta etate ſcociã ſiue hi
b̄niam obtinuerũt gẽtes
ſcitie alb̄o c̄ne naſcũt ab aſſi

duis niuibꝫ 7 ipī⁹ capilli co
lor gēti nom̄ dedit 7 īde di
cūtur albani de quibꝫ origi
nem duxerūt ſcoti 7 picti
hoꝫ glauca ocl'is. i. picta ī ē
pupilla adeo ut nocte pl⁹ q̄.
die cernāt albani uicini
amazonibꝫ fūnt gothi a
magog filio iapheth noīati
putāt de ſimilitudīe ultime
ſilabe q. uet'is gci magis
gethas q̄. gotos uocaūūt
gēs fortis 7 potētiſſima corp
ū mole ardua armoꝫ gene
t̄ribil'. de q̄bꝫ lucan⁹ hinc da
cus p̄mat īde gethi īcurrat
hib'is. daci ā gottoꝫ ſoboles
fuerūt 7 dictos putāt dacos
q̄i dagos q̄ de gottoꝫ ſtirpe c⁹
ati sūt. de quibꝫ ille ibis arcos
pcul uſqꝫ dacos. Scithe 7 go
thi a magog originē traxe
rūt ſcithia q̄ꝫ 7 gothia ab eod'
magog filio japhet fertur
ognominata: cuius tra olī
īgēs fuit. nā aboriēte ī die
a ſeptētōine: p paludes meoti
das īt' danubiū 7 oceanū uſq
ad ḡmanie fines porigebat'

(ade

(2de colonne)

poſtea minor effecta ē ad ext' ori
entis pte q̄ occeanus ſiric⁹ 9ditur
uſ̄ ad mare caſpiū q̄. ē ad occasū
dehinc a meridie uſ̄ ad caucaſi
iugū deducta eſt cui ſubjacet
hircania ab occaſu. hn̄s ꝑiter
gētes ml'tas ꝑꝑ t'raꝝ ĩfecūdita
tē late uagantes. ex q̄bus q̄dā a
gs icolūt q̄dā portētuoſe ac trces
carnibꝫ humaīs 7 eoꝝ sāgne ui
uūt ſcithie plures t're sī locu
pletes īhītabiles tū plures. nā
qꝫ in pleriſq. locis auro 7 gem̄is
affluant griphorū īmaītate
acceſſus hoīm rarus ē ſmarag
dis a' optimis h' pata eſt ciane⁹
quoqꝫ lapis 7 criſtallus pīſſim⁹
ſcithie ē. ħt 7 flumina magna
oſcoꝝ faſidē 7 araxen ꝑma euro
pe regio ſcithia īcipiēs it' danu
biū 7 occeanū ſeptētionalē uſqꝫ
ad g̃maniā porrigitur q̄ tra ge
n̄alit' ꝑꝑ barbaros gētes q̄bꝫ ī
hītatur barbarica dz hui⁹ ꝑs
ꝑma alania eſt q̄ ad meotidas
paludes ptīgit. poſt hāc dacia
u 7 gothia. deīde g̃mania ubi

plurimā ptem sueui incoluerūt
in partes asiatice scithie sūt
gentes q̄ post'os se iasoīs cdūt
albo cne nascūt' ab assiduis ni
uibꝫ. de hiis ista sufficiūt
Cruidne filius cinge p2 pic
toꝫ hītāciū ī hac īsula. c.
ānis regnauit. vii filios ha
(*fol.* 28, 1*ere colonne*)
buit hec sūt noīa eoꝫ fiv.
fidach. floclaid. fortreim. got
eecircum. circui lx. reg. fidaich
xl. fortreim lxx. floclaid xxx.
got xij. Ce xv. fivaid xxiiij.
gedeolgudach. lxxx. denbecan. c.
olfinecta. lx. guididgaedbrecha
ch. l. gestgurtich. xl. wurgest
xxx. brudebout a q̊ xxx. bru
de regnaūunt hib'niā 7 albaniā
ꝑ centū. l. ānoꝫ fpaciū. xl. viii ā
nis regn̄. i. brude pant. b. urpāt
b. leo. b. leo. b' uleo. b. gant. b.'
urgant. b.' guith. b.' urguith. b.'
fecir. b.' urfecir. b.' cal. b'. urcal. b'.
ciut b' urciut b' fec. b.' urfec. b.
ru beru bgart 7 urgart b cinid
b' urenid b' iup. b' 7 uriup b'grid
b' urgrid. b' mūd b' urmūd.
gilgidi c. j. an̄ reḡ. tharam

c.

c. morleo. xv. deociſunŏ
xl. cimoiod filius arcois vij. deo
ord. l. bliesblitirth. v. dectotrĩç. fr
diu xl. uſconbuts. xxx. carvorſt
xl. deoartavois. xx. viſt. l. ru. c.
gartnaithloc a quo gartnait. iiii.
regna. vere. ix. ā. reg̃. breth filiꝰ
buthut. vii. vipoignamet xxx
an. reg̃ canutulachama. iiij. an.
reg̃. wradechuecla. iv. añ regn̄.
gartnaichdi uberr. lx añ reg̃. ta
lore filiꝰ achiuir lxxv. ān regn
druſt filiꝰ erp. c. ān reg̃ 7 c. bella
pegit. ix decimo āno regni ejus
pat'cius ſpc sc̄s ad hib'niā pueīt
īsulā. talore filiꝰ aniel iiij ān reg̃.

(2de colonne)

nectŏ morbet filiꝰ erip xxiiii
reg̃ t'cio āno regni eius dar
lugdach abbatiſſa cille darade hib'
nia exulat px ad btāniā ſcdo
añ aduentus āno ſui īmolau
nectonius aburnethige deo 7
sc̄e brigide p̄ſente dairlugtach
q̄ cātauit all'a ſup iſtā hoſtiā
optulit g nectoīus mag
nus filiꝰ wirp rex oīm
puinciaꝝ pictoꝝ apurnethige
ſcē brigide uſq ad diē iudicii cū

cū ſuis finibꝫ q̄ poſite ſt a lapide
ī apurfeirt uſꝫ ad lapidē iſtt'
cairfuill. i. lethfoſ 7 īde ī altū
uſq; ad athan cauſa aū oblacōis
hec eſt. nectoīs ī uita iulie m
nens fre ſuo druſto expulsāte
ſe uſꝫ ad hib'niā brigidā ſcām
petiuit ut poſtulaſſet deū p ſe
orās a' p illo dixit. Si pueres
ad pat'am tuā dns miſerebit'
tui regnū pictoꝝ ī pace poſſideb'
dreſt gurthinmoch. xxx.
ān regnū. Galananetilich
xij an reg. dadreſt. i. dreſt fili⁹
gyrom. i. dreſt fili⁹ wdroſt. v.
an 9regn. dreſt filiꝰ girom ſol⁹
v. ān. reg. gartnach fili⁹ girom
vii. an reg'. gailtram fili⁹ girom
uno āno reg.' talorg fili⁹ muir
cholaich. xi. ān. reg. dreſt filiꝰ
munait uno āno. reg. galam
cennaleph uno ano reg. cū b'ri
duo. i. āno bridei fili⁹ mailcō
xxx ān. reg. in octauo āno reg

(*fol.* 28 *verſo, 1ere colonne*)

eius baptizatus eſt sco a colūba
gartnait. f'domelch xi. ān reg
nectu nepos uerb xx. ān reg.
cineoch. fili⁹ lutn. xix. ān reg.

garnard.

garnard. filiꝰ wid. iiii ān. ān reḡ.
breidei. filiꝰ wid. v. ān reḡ. ta
lore fr̄ eoꝝ xii. ān r̄g. tallorcē
filiꝰ enfret. iiij ān reḡ. gartnait
filiꝰ donnel. vi. ān reḡ. 7 dimi
diū dreſt fr̄ eꝰ vij. r̄g. bre
dei filiꝰ bili. xxi. an r̄g. tarā
fꝰ entifidich. iiij ān. r̄g. bredei
fiꝰ derelei xi. aṇ r̄g. nēcthō fꝰ
derelei. xv. ā r̄g. dreſt 7 elpin
cōggaūūt v. ā. onniſt fiꝰ
urguiſt. xxx. reḡ. bredei filiꝰ
wirguiſt ii. ān. reḡ. Ciniod fꝰ
wredech. xij ān reḡ. elpin fiꝰ
wroid. iij. ān. reḡ. 7 dimidiū
dreſt fiꝰ talorgen iiij. l'v. ān.
reḡ. talorgen. fiꝰ onniſt. ii. ā.
7 dimidiū r̄g. Canaul. filiꝰ tarl'a
v. ā. r̄g Caſtantin. fiꝰ wrguiſt
xxx. v. ā r̄g. unuiſt fiꝰ wrguiſt
xij. ā. reḡ. dreſt fiꝰ ꝯſtātini 7 ta
lorgen fiꝰ wthoil. iii. ān. a'ꝯgga
ūnt uuen. fiꝰ v. nuiſt. iij. ā.
reḡ. wrad. f bargoit iii. 7 bred
uno āno reḡ.
c̄nadius ḡ filiꝰ alpini
p'mus ſcottoꝝ rexit. (*&c. as Innes, No.* III.)

(*Signed*) VAN PRAET,
de la bibl. du Roi.

NUMBER XI. *The* Chronicon Pictorum, *complete, collated with the* MS.

[Written about A. D. 1020.]

Cronica.

De origine antiquorum Pictorum.

PICTI propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore; eo quod, aculeis ferreis cum atramento, variarum figurarum ſtigmate annotantur. Scotti, (qui nunc corruptè vocantur Hibernienſes) quaſi Sciti, quia a Scithia regione venerunt, et inde originem duxerunt; ſive a Scotta filia Pharaonis regis Ægypti, quæ fuit ut fertur regina Scottorum,

Sciendum vero eſt quod Britones in tertia mundi ætate ad Britanniam venerunt. Scitæ autem, id eſt Scotti, in quarta ætate Scociam, ſive Hiberniam obtinuerunt.

Gentes Scitiæ albo crine naſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus; et ipſius capilli color genti nomen dedit, et inde dicuntur Albani: de quibus originem duxerunt Scotti et Picti. Horum glauca oculis (id eſt picta) ineſt pupilla, adeo ut nocte pluſquam die cernant. Albani autem vicini Amazonibus fuerunt.

Gothi a Magog filio Japheth nominati putantur, de ſimilitudine ultimæ ſyllabæ; quos veteres Græci magis Gethas, quam Gothos, vocaverunt. Gens fortis et potentiſſima, corporum mole ardua, armorum genere terribilis. De quibus Lucanus,

Hinc Dacus premat, inde Gethi incurrant Hiberis *.

Daci autem Gothorum ſoboles fuerunt: et dictos putant Dacos quaſi Dagos quia de Gothorum ſtirpe creati ſunt: de quibus ille,

* Hinc Dacus premat, inde Getes: occurrat Iberis Alter. *Pharſal.* II. 54.

Ibis

Ibis arcos procul uſque Dacos.

Scithæ et Gothi a Magog originem traxerunt. Scithia, quoque et Gothia, ab eodem Magog filio Japhet fertur cognominata: cujus terra olim ingens fuit; nam ab oriente Indiæ, a ſeptentrione, per paludes Mæotidas, inter Danubium et oceanum, uſque ad Germaniæ fines, porrigebatur. Poſtea miror effecta eſt a dextra orientis parte qui oceanus Siricus conditur *, uſque ad mare Caſpium, quod eſt ad occaſum. Dehinc a meridie uſque ad Caucaſum jugum deducta eſt; cui ſubjacet Hircania: ab occaſu habens pariter gentes multas, propter terrarum infecunditatem late vagantes, ex quibus quædam agros incolunt; quædam portentuoſæ, ac truces, carnibus humanis, et eorum ſanguine, vivunt.

Scithiæ plures terræ ſunt locupletes, inhabitabiles tum plures. Namque in pleriſque locis auro et gemmis affluant; Griphorum immanitate acceſſus hominum rarus eſt. Smaragdis autem optimis hæc patria eſt. Cianeus quoque lapis, et criſtallus puriſſimus Scithiæ eſt. Habent et flumina magna, Oſcorim, Faſidem, et Araxen. Prima Europæ regio Scithia †, incipiens inter Danubium et oceanum ſeptentrionalem, uſque ad Germaniam porrigitur: quæ terra generaliter propter barbaras gentes quibus inhabitatur Barbarica dicitur. Hujus pars prima Alania eſt, quæ ad Mæotidas paludes pertingit. Poſt hanc Dacia, ubi et Gothia: deinde Germania, ubi plurimam partem Suevi incoluerunt. In partes Aſiaticæ Scithiæ ſunt gentes, quæ poſteros ſe Jaſonis credunt: albo crine naſcuntur ab aſſiduis nivibus. De his iſta ſufficiunt.

1. Cruidne filius Cinge, pater Pictorum habitantium in hac inſula, c. annis regnavit: vii filios habuit. Hæc ſunt nomina eorum; Fiv, Fidach, Floclaid, Fortreim, Got, Ce, Circum.
2. Circui lx. reg.
3. Fidaich xl.
4. Fortreim lxx.
5. Floclaid xxx.
6. Got xij.
7. Ce xv.
8. Fivaid xxiiij.
9. Gedeolgudach lxxx.

* Locus corruptus, et obſcurus.

† Scythiæ inferior quæ a Mæotidis paludibus incipiens. *Innes.*

10. Den-

10. Denbecan c.
11. Olfinecta lx.
12. Guidid gaedbrechach l.
13. Geſtgurtich xl.
14. Wurgeſt xxx *.
15. Brude bout (a quo xxx. Brude regnaverunt Hiberniam et Albaniam, per centum l. annorum ſpacium) xlviij annis regnavit. Id eſt Brude Pant, Brude Urpant, Brude Leo, B. Uleo, B. Gant, B. Urgant, B. Guith, B. Urguith, B. Fecir, B. Urfecir, B. Cal, B. Urcal, B. Ciut, B. Urciut, B. Fec, B. Urfec, B. Ru, B. Eru, B. Gart, B. Urgart, B. Cinid, B. Urcinid, B. Iup, B. Uriup, B. Grid, B. Urgrid, B. Mund, B. Urmund.
16. Gilgidi ci. an. reg.
17. Tharam c.
18. Morleo xv.
19. Deocilunon xl.
20. Cimoiod filius Arcois vij.
21. Deoord l.
22. Blieſblitirth v.
23. Dectoteric frater Diu xl.
24. Uſconbuts xxx.
25. Carvorſt xl.
26. Deoartavois xx.
27. Viſt l.
28. Ru c.
29. Gartnaith loc, a quo Garnait, iiij regna.
30. Vere ix an. reg.
31. Breth filius Buthut vij.
32. Vipoig namet xxx. an. reg.
33. Canut ulachama iiij. an. reg.
34. Wradech vecla iv. † an reg.
35. Gartnaich di Uberr lx. an. reg.
36. Talore filius Achivir lxxv. an. reg.
37. DRUST filius Erp c. an. reg. et c. bella peregit. ix decimo anno regni ejus Patricius epiſcopus ſanctus ad Hiberniam pervenit inſulam.
38. Talore filius Aniel iiij an. reg.
39. Necton morbet filius Erp xxiiij. reg. Tertio anno regni ejus Darlugdach, abbatiſſa cillæ Daradæ, Hibernia exulat proxime ad Britanniam. Se-

* Sic. Inneſius habet xl.
† Sic. Innes ii.

eundo anno adventus ſui immolavit Nectonius Aburnethige Deo et Sanctæ Brigidæ, præſente Dairlugtach, quæ cantavit Alleluia ſuper iſtam hoſtiam. Optulit igitur Nectonius magnus filius Wirp, rex omnium provinciarum Pictorum, Apurnethige ſanctæ Brigidæ, uſque ad diem judicii; cum ſuis finibus, quæ poſitæ ſunt a lapide in Apurſeirt, uſque ad lapidem juxta Cairfuill, id eſt, Lethfoſs; et inde in altum uſque ad Athan. Cauſa autem oblationis hæc eſt. Nectonius in Vita Juliæ * manens, fratre ſuo Druſto expulſante ſe uſque ad Hiberniam, Brigidam ſanctam petivit, ut poſtulaſſet Deum pro ſe. Orans autem pro illo dixit: "Si pervenies ad patriam tuam "Dominus miſerebitur tui: regnum Picto"rum in pace poſſidebis."

40. Dreſt gurthinmoch xxx. an. reg.
41. Galan anetilich xij. an. reg.
42. Dadreſt i.
43. Dreſt filius Girom i. Dreſt filius Udroſt v. an. conregnaverunt. Dreſt filius Girom ſolus v. an. reg.
44. Gartnach filius Girom vij. an. reg.
45. Gailtram † filius Girom uno anno reg.
46. Talorg filius Muircholaich xi. an. reg.
47. Dreſt filius Munait uno anno reg.
48. Galam cennaleph ‡ uno anno reg. cum Briduo i. anno.
49. Bridei filius Mailcon xxx. an. reg. in octavo anno regni ejus baptizatus ſancto a Columba.
50. Gartnait fil. Domelch xi. an. reg.
51. Nectu nepos Verb xx. an. reg.
52. Cineoch filius Lutrin xix. * an. reg.
53. Garnard filius Wid iiij. an. reg.
54. Breidei filius Wid v. an. reg.
55. Talore frater eorum xii. an. reg.
56. Tallorcen filius Enfret iiij. an. reg.
57. Gartnait filius Donnel vj. an. reg. et dimidium.
58. Dreſt frater ejus vij. an. reg.

* Sic. Videtur latina interpretatio alicujus nominis Hibernici.
† Sic. *Innes* Cealtraim.
‡ Sic. *Innes* Galam cum Aleph: male, nam hic rex *Kennaleb* a Tigbernaco nominatur.
* Sic certiſſime in MS. Innes, xi.

59. Bredei

59. Bredei filius Bili xxi. an. reg.
60. Taran filius Entifidich iiij. an. reg.
61. Bredei filius Derelei xi. an. reg.
62. Necthon filius Derelei xv. an. reg.
63. Dreſt et Elpin conregnaverunt v. an.
64. Onniſt filius Urguiſt xxx. reg.
65. Bredei filius Wirguiſt ij. an. reg.
66. Ciniod filius Wredech xij. an. reg.
67. Elpin filius Wroid iij. an. reg. et dimidium.
68. Dreſt filius Talorgen iiij. vel. v. an. reg.
69. Talorgen filius Onniſt ij. an. et dimidium, reg.
70. Canaul filius Tarla v. an. reg.
71. Caſtantin filius Wrguiſt xxx. v. * an. reg.
72. Unuiſt filius Wrguiſt xij an. reg.
73. Dreſt filius Conſtantini, et Talorgen filius Wthoil, iij an. conregnaverunt.
74. Uven filius Unuiſt iij. an. reg.
75. Wrad filius Bargoit iii. et,
76. Bred uno anno reg.
77. Cinadius igitur filius Alpini, primus Scottorum, rexit feliciter iſtam annis xvi. Pictaviam. Pictavia autem a Pictis eſt nominata; quos, ut diximus †, Cinadius delevit. Deus enim eos pro merito ſuæ malitiæ, alienos ac otioſos hæreditate dignatus eſt facere: quia illi non ſolum Deum, miſſam ac præceptum, ſpreverunt; ſed et in jure æquitatis aliis æqui pariter noluerunt. Iſte vero, biennio antequam veniret Pictaviam, Dalrietæ regnum ſuſcepit. Septimo anno regni, reliquias S. Columbæ tranſportavit ad eccleſiam quam conſtruxit. Et invaſit ſexies Saxoniam; et concremavit Dunbarre atque Malros uſurpata. Britanni autem concremaverunt Dulblaan. Atque Danari vaſtaverunt Pictaviam, ad Cluanan, et Duncalden. Mortuus eſt tandem tumore ani, Id. Febr. feria tertia, in palacio Fothuirtabaicht.
78. Dunevaldus, frater ejus, tenuit idem regnum quatuor annis. In hujus tempore jura, ac leges regni, Edi filii Ecdach, fecerunt Goedeli cum

* Sic. ſed chronologia tantum xxx. patitur, ut Innesius habet: v. forte ſignificat *vere* vel *vero*, nam dividitur à xxx. Secundum Tighernacum et Annal Ulton. Conſtantinus regnat ab A. 789 ad 819, hoc eſt 30 annis.

† Haud apparet. Locus forſan interpolatus.

rege

rege ſuo in Fothiurthabaicht. Obiit in palacio ſuo Belachoir, Id. April.

79. Conſtantinus fil. Cinadi regnavit annis xvi. Primo ejus anno Mael Sechnaill, rex Hybernenſium, obiit; et Aed fil. Niel tenuit regnum. Et poſt duos annos vaſtavit Amlaib, cum gentibus ſuis, Pictaviam, et habitantes eam, a kal. Januar. uſque ad feſtum S. Patricii. Tertio iterum anno Amlaib, trahens cetum *, a Conſtantino occiſus eſt. Paulo poſt ab eo † bello, in xiv. ejus facto, in Dolair inter Danarios et Scottos, occiſi Scotti in Coachcochlam. Normanni annum integrum degerunt in Pictavia.

80. Edus tenuit idem uno anno. Ejus autem brevitas nil hiſtoriæ memoriæ commendavit: ſed in civitate Uturim eſt occiſus.

81. Eochodius autem, filius Ku regis Britannorum, nepos Cinadei ex filia, regn. an. xi. Licet Ciricium fil. alii dicunt hîc regnaſſe; eo quod alumpnus, ordinatorque, Eochodio fiebat. Cujus ſecundo anno Aed fil. Niel moritur. Ac in nono anno, ipſo die Cirici eclipſis ſolis facta eſt. Eochodius, cum alumno ſuo, expulſus eſt nunc de regno.

82. Donivaldus fil. Conſtantini tenuit regnum xi. annis. Normanni tunc vaſtaverunt Pictaviam. In hujus regno bellum autem factum in Vifidcollan, inter Danarios et Scottos: Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Opidum Fother occiſum eſt a gentibus.

83. Conſtantinus fil. Edii tenuit regnum xl. annis. Cujus tertio anno Normanni prædaverunt Duncalden, omnemque Albaniam. In ſequenti utique anno occiſi ſunt in Fraith heremi Normanni. Ac in vi. an. Conſtantinus rex, et Cellachus epiſcopus, leges, diſciplinaſque fidei, atque jura eccleſiarum, evangeliorumque, pariter cum Scottis, in Colle Credulitatis, prope regali civitate Scoan, devoverunt cuſtodiri. Ab hoc die collis hoc meruit nomen, i. e. Collis Credulitatis. Et in ſuo viii. anno cecidit excelſiſſimus rex Hybernenſium,

* Phraſis Hibernica: *colligens exercitum.*

† Locus corruptus.

et

et archiepiſcopus, apud Laignechos, i. Cormace filius Culenan. Et mortui ſunt, in tempore hujus, Dovenaldus rex Britanorum, et Dovenaldus filius Ed rex eligitur *: et Flann filius Mael Sethnail, et Niall fil. Ede, qui regnavit III. annos, poſt Flann, &c. Bellum Tinemore factum eſt, in XVIII. anno, inter Conſtantinum et Regnall: et Scotti habuerunt victoriam. Et bellum Dunbrunde, in XXXIV. ejus anno; ubi cecidit filius Conſtantini. Et poſt unum annum mortuus eſt Dubucan, fil. Indrechtaig, Mormair Oenguſa. Adelſtan fil. Advar, rig Saxan †; et Eochaid fil. Alpin; mortui ſunt. Et in ſenectute decrepitus [R. Conſtantinus] baculum cepit, et Domino ſervivit: et regnum mandavit Mael filio Domnail.

84. Maelcolaim fil. Domnail XI. an. regn. Cum exercitu ſuo Maelcolaim perexit in Moreb, et occidit Celach. In VII. anno regni ſui prædavit Anglos ad annem Theſis; et multitudinem rapuit hominum, et multa armenta pecorum: quam prædam vocaverunt Scotti prædam Albidoſorum, i. e. Nauudiſi. Alii autem dicunt Conſtantinum feciſſe hanc prædam, quærens a rege, i. Maelcolaim, regnum dari ſibi ad tempus hebdomadis, ut viſitaret Anglos. Verumtamen non Maelcolam fecit hanc prædam, ſed inſtigavit eum Conſtantinus, ut dixi. Mortuus eſt autem Conſtantinus in X. ejus anno, ſub corona pœnitenti, in ſenectute bona. Et occiderunt viri na ‡ Moerne Malcolaim in Fodreſach, i. in Claideom.

85. Indulfus tenuit regnum octo annis. In hujus tempore oppidum Eden vacuatum eſt, ac relictum eſt Scottis uſque in hodiernum diem. Claſſi Somarlidiorum occiſi ſunt in Bucham.

86. Niger fil. Maelcolaim regn. quinque annis. Fothach epiſcopus pauſavit, [Bellum] inter Niger et Caniculum §, ſuper Dorſum Crup, in quo Niger habuit victoriam: ubi cecidit

*. *MS.* elig.
† Phraſis Hibernica, *rex Saxonum.*
‡ Vox Hibernica, *de.*
§ Niger Hibernicè *Duff*: Caniculus, *Culen.*

Duchad

Duchad Abbas Duncalden, et Dubdou Satrapas Athochlach. Expulsus Niger de regno, et tenuit Caniculus brevi tempore. Domnall fil. Canill mortuus est.

87. Culen Ring quinque annis regn. Marcan fil. Breodalaig occisus est in ecclesia S. Michaelis. Leot et Sluagadach exierunt ad Romam. Maelbrigd episcopus pausavit; Cellach fil. Ferdalaig regnavit. Maelbrigde fil. Dubican obiit. Culen, et frater ejus Eochodius, occisi sunt a Britonibus.

88. Cinadius fil. Maelcolami regn. an. Statim prædavit Britanniam: ex parte pedestres Cinadi occisi sunt maxima cæde in Moni Vacornar. Scotti prædaverunt Saxoniam ad Stammoir, et ad Cluiam, et ad Stang na Deram. Cinadius autem vallavit ripas vadorum Forthin. Primo * anno perexit Cinadius, et prædavit Saxoniam, et traduxit filium regis Saxonum. Hic est qui tribuit magnam civitatem Brechne Domino.

* Sic. *forte* proximo.

NUMBER XII. *On the devotion to St. Andrew among the Picts.* From the ſame MS. fol. r. 31.

Qualiter acciderit quod memoria Sancti Andreæ Apoſtoli amplius in Regione Pictorum, quæ nunc Scotia dicitur, quam in cæteris regionibus ſit: et quomodo contigerit quod tantæ abbatiæ ibi factæ antiquitus fuerint, quas multi adhuc ſeculares viri jure hæreditario poſſident.

ANDREAS, qui interpretatur, ſecundum Hebream Ethimologiam *, Decoris ſive Reſpondens, ſermone enim Græco, a viro, Virilis interpretatur, germanus beati Petri Apoſtoli, choeres autem ejus gratiæ; ſecundum Joannem Evangeliſtam primus Apoſtolus a Chriſto Jheſu Domino noſtro electus; ſecundum vero Matheum, Marcumque, ſecundus. Hic ſorte prædicationis aquilonales nationes Cithias †, Pictoneſque; poſtremè Achaidas, ipſamque civitatem nomine Patras, accepit. In qua etiam cruci ſuſpenſus eſt, 11. Kalendarum Deſcimbrium, ibique obcubuit. Et in qua cuſtodita ſunt oſſa illius, uſque ad tempus Conſtantini Magni, filii Helenæ, atque filiorum ejus Conſtantini cum Conſtante; quaſi ſpatio cclxxtorum annorum. In quorum regno a Conſtantinopolitanis, miro famoſoque ductu, inde ſuſcepta, atque tranſlata ſunt Conſtantinopolim; et cum magna gloria et maximo honore ibidem recondita ſunt: et manſerunt ſemper uſque ad tempus Theodotionis, Chriſtiani Imperatoris, ſpatio ſcilicet cx annorum.

Tunc divino inſtinctu Rex Pictorum, nomine Ungus filius Urguiſt, cum exercitu magno conſurgens, Britannicas nationes dexteram ‡ ejus inſulæ inhabitantes, crudeliſſima vaſtatione interficiens, poſtremo pervenit uſque ad Campum Merc, illic hiemavit. Eo tempore

* Orthographia MS. ſervatur.
† Scythas.
‡ Partem auſtralem.

omnes

omnes pene totius insulæ gentes, unanimo impetu venientes, circumdederunt eum, volentes cum exercitu suo penitus delere. Altera autem die evenit Regi prædicto, cum septem comitibus amicissimis, ambulare: et circumfulsit eos divina lux; et proni in facies suas, non valentes eam sustinere, ceciderunt in terram. Et ecce vox de cœlo audita est: "Ungus, Ungus, audi me "Apostolum Christi, Andream nomine, qui missus "sum ad te defendendum, atque custodiendum. Sci- "licet vide signum crucis Christi, quod stat in aiere; "atque procedat contra inimicos tuos. Verumptamen "decimam partem hæreditatis tuæ, et elemosinam Deo "omnipotenti, et in honore Sancti Andreæ ejus, offer."

Tertia autem die, divina voce ammonitus, suum exercitum in XII turmas divisit: et signum crucis unamquamque partem præcedebat; lux autem divina de uniuscujusque signi capite fulgebat. Tunc victores facti; Deo omnipotenti, atque Sancto Andreæ Apostolo, gratias egerunt. Patriam autem venientes incolumes, decimam suæ hereditatis partem Deo, et Sancto Andreæ Apostolo venerabili, volentes offerre, implendo quod scriptum est, Date elemosinam, et omnia munda sunt vobis. Incertum vero habebant in quo loco specialiter vectigalem Deo, principalem civitatem Sancto Andreo Apostolo, ordinarent.

Tunc, inito concilio, binis, ternis, quatriduanis, diebus, jejunantes; atque Dei omnipotentis misericordiam postulantes; unus custodientium corpus Sancti Andreæ Apostoli Constantinopoli, visione divina et revelatione ammonitus atque instructus est, dicente; "Exi de terra "tua, et de cognatione tua, et de domo tua, et vade in "terram quam monstravero tibi." Tunc venit, Angelo comitante, atque viam illius custodiente.

Prospere pervenit ad verticem Montis Regis, id est Rigmond. Eadem autem hora, qua illic lassus sederet cum suis septem comitibus, lux circumfulsit divina Regem Pictorum, venientem cum suo exercitu ad specialem locum, qui dicitur Kartenau; et claritatem non ferentes ceciderunt in facies suas. Et sanati sunt claudi, et cæci, numero septem; et unus a nativitate cæcus illuminatus est. Et inde vidit locum plenum visitatione angelorum. Postremo Dei ordinatione Rex, cum suo exercitu, venit ad locum, quem Dominus illo cæco qui illuminatus fuerat ostendit.

Regulus vero monachus, a Conſtantinopolitana urbe peregrinus, Regi obviavit, cum reliquiis Sancti Andreæ Apoſtoli, quas ſecum hinc huc adduxerat, ad portam quæ dicitur Matha, id eſt Mordurus. Salutaverunt ſe invicem cives et hoſpites; atque tentoria ibi fixerunt, ubi nunc eſt aula Regia. Rex vero Ungus hunc locum, et hanc civitatem, Deo Omnipotenti, Sanctoque Andreæ Apoſtolo, ea ſemper libertate dedit, ut ſit caput et mater omnium eccleſiarum, quæ ſunt in regno Pictorum. Ad iſtam enim civitatem conveniunt peregrini palmarii de Jeruſalem, Romani, Græci, Armenii, Theutonii, Almanni, Saxones, Daci, Gallicani, Galli, Anglici, Britones; viri et fœminæ; divites et pauperes; ſani corpore et ægri; claudi; cæci. In equis et curribus debiles huc deferuntur; atque per Dei miſericordias, ad honorem et gloriam ſui ſummi Sancti Apoſtoli Andreæ, infeſtiſſime curantur. Virtutes, et ſigna, et innumerabilia prodigia, per ſuum ſanctum Apoſtolum Andream, Dominus fecit hîc, facit, et facturus eſt, quæ hîc non poſſint ſcribi. Regulus vero abbas, atque monachus, cum ſuis charis comitibus, habitavit in loco iſto, in monachica vita; ſerviens Deo, die ac nocte, in ſanctitate et juſtitia, cunctis diebus vitæ ſuæ. Quorum corpora hîc requieſcunt.

ISTE Regulus tertiam partem tocius Scotiæ in manu ſua, et poteſtate habuit, et per Abbatias ordinavit atque diſtribuit. Patria illa ſiquidem Pictis, Scottis, Dacis, Norvagenſibus, ceteriſque qui ad vaſtandum inſulam applicuerant, ſitu locorum, amenitatique, paverat*. Et ſi aliquando refugii opus fuiſſet, tutum receptaculum eis ſemper præſtabat; et ſeſe infra eam quaſi in propria caſtra receperunt †.

* *forte* placuerat.

† Talis eſt prima et rudis delineatio fabulæ de Regulo. Vide Excerpta Reg. St. And.

NUMBER XIII. Verſus de præſtantia Regni Scotorum. (*or rather a fooliſh prophecy concerning the Welch and Scots, written about* 1310.) From the ſame MS. fol. 9, v.

REGNUM Scotorum fuit, inter cætera regna
Terrarum, quondam nobile, forte, potens.
Reges magnifici, Bruti de ſtirpe, regebant
Fortiter, egregiè, Scotica regna prius.
Ex Albanacto, trinepote potentis Eneæ,
Dicitur Albania: littera priſca probat.
A Scota, nata Pharaonis regis Egypti,
Ut veteres tradunt, Scotia nomen habet.
Poſt Britones, Danaos, Pictos, Dacoſque, repulſos,
Nobiliter Scoti jus tenuere ſuum.

Facta ducis celebris, ſuper omnia, Scotia flebit;
Qui loca ſepta ſalo junget ubique ſibi.
Principe magnifico tellus viduata vacabit;
Annis bis ternis, menſibus atque novem.
Antiquos reges, juſtos, largos, locupletes,
Formoſos, fortes, Scotia mœſta luget.
Ut Verilinus ait, poſt reges victorioſos,
Regis more carens, regia ſceptra foret.
Serviet Angligeno regi per tempore quondam,
(Proh dolor!) Albania; fraude ſubacta ſua.
Quod reſpirabit, poſt funus regis avari,
Verſibus antiquis priſca Sibylla canit.
Rex Borealis enim, numeroſa claſſe potitus,
Affliget Scotos enſe, furore, fame:
Extera gens tandem Scotorum fraude peribit;
In bello princeps Noricus ille cadet.
Gallia quem gignit, qui gazis regna replebit,
O dolor! O gemitus! primus ab enſe cadet.
Candidus Albanus, patriotis cauſa ruinæ,
Traditione ſua Scotica regna premet.
Poſteritas Bruti, Albanis aſſociata,
Anglica regna premet morte, labore, fame.
Quem Britonum fundet Albani juncta juventus;
Sanguine Saxonico tincta rubebit humus.

Flumina manabunt, hoſtili tincta cruore,
Perfida gens omni lite ſubacta ruet.
Regnabunt Britones, Albani gentis amici;
Antiquum nomen inſula tota feret.
Ut aquila profert, veteri de turre locata,
Cum Scotis Britones regna paterna regent.
Regnabunt pariter, in proſperitate quieta,
Hoſtibus expulſis, Judicis uſque diem.
Hiſtoriæ veteris Gildas luculentus orator,
Quem retulit, parvo carmine plura notans:
MENS, cor, cur capiunt; lex Chriſti vera jocunda,
Primam cunctorum tibi dat formam futurorum.
Draco draconem rubens album ſuperabit;
Anglorum nomen tollet; rubei renovabit.

Solis in occaſu leopardi viſcera frigent;
Vertices et cerebrum Cambria tollet ei.
Quo duce ſublato, tria ovantia regna peribunt,
Saxoniæ ſoboli lilia frena dabunt.
Virtus Germanici leopardi tincta veneno
Lilia vincendi fugere preſto cadet.
Eufrates, et Tigris, Forth rever *, atque Niſus,
Per mundi metas lilia ſubtus erunt.

* foxth reū. *MS.*

NUMBER XIV. *The Origin of the Piks; extracted from the Book of Ballymote.*

EGO Nennius Elvodugi diſcip̄ls a q̄ diſcerpta ſcribere curavi, i. e. Ro deithnigiuſa coro ſcribaid airoile dolo martha, & me Nennius deaſcupal Elvodaigh daigh rodramaid beas & aenach na nam Brethnac ſeanchaſa & buanda na ceat daine conafileadh ifāitne iſcribeanaib na leabrib miſi ħ ro coimthinoilius na ſeancuſa in analtaib na Romān & ic croinicib na ſrutha naom, i. e. es Suidir (Suidas) & Cirine & Euſebius & ahanaltaib Gaedil & anafuarus athidhnacul arnairſata de bunadh Crutneach and ſeo.

Cruithne.
m̄c Cinge.
m̄c Luctai.
m̄c Partolan.
m̄c Agnoin.
mc Mais.
mc Fathecht.
mc Jafet.
mc Noe.
Iſe athair Cruitneach & cet b̄la do irrighe.
Secht mic Cruithneaeh an ſo i. e. Fib. Fidach. Fodla-fortreand. Cathac. Cait. Ce. Cirig. agus ſecht randaib ro roindſet in fearann *ut dixit* Colum Cilli:
Moirſeiſir do Cruithne clainn
Randſet Albain i ſecht rainn.
Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathac, clann,
Fib, Fidach, Fotla fortreand.

Acus iſe ainm gac fir dib.
Fib 34 ḃla irrige.
Fidach 40. Bruide pont
Fortreand 70 ḃl Urpont.
Cait 2 ḃla ar xx Uleo.
Cirig 80 ḃl B. gant.
Ce 12 ḃl. B. uleo.
Aenbeccann īm B. urgant.
Caith 30 b. B. gnith.
Finecta 60 bl. B. urgnith.
Guidid gad bre B. feth. 1. Geis. ibl.
B. urfeichir geaſt gīd 40 b. B. cal.
Urgeas 30 bl. B. Urcal.

Bruide pont 30. B. cint ri Uladh. 51 Urcint dedḃtea fri B fet, gach fir dib, & B. urfeth randa na fearann B. ruaile ro gabſadar 50. *ut eſt* illeabraib na Cruitneach. Bruide ero. B. gart B. Urgart. B. cind. B. urcind. B. uip. B. uruip. B. grith. B. urgrith. B. muin, B. urmuin.

Britannnia inſola, a Britone filio Iſicon ḋca eſt (dicta eſt) i. e. Briton mc Iſicon ro ainīgheadh. 1. m̄. c. conſul ro bai ir Romanaib Ailbion ro be c. aim idſi Breatain da ç. mile alleithi. Ocht pm̄ cathraca 20 indti & iſiatſo ſis. Caer Goirthighirnd Caer Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

de Cruithneacaib *incipit*.

A tir Tracia tangadar Cruithnigh. 1. Clanda Geleoin mc̄ Ercoil iad. Agathyrſi anaīmanda. Seiſur brathar tangadar toiſeac. 1. Solen. Ulſa. Neachtan. Droſtan. Aengus. Letcind.

Fatha-a-tiactana. 1. Policornus ri Tragia do rad gradh da ſiar, co ro triall abreth gan tocra. Lodar carſin tar Romanchu co Frangcu & cūmtaigit cathar an. 1. Pictavis a pictis 1. an armtaib. Acus do rac ri Fīngcu gradh dia ſiar. Lodar formuir iarneg in tſeiſeadh brathar. 1. Letcind. Ic and dalaa iarndul formuir at bath a ſiur, gabſat Cruitnigh inḃ. Slaine im Uib-Ceinnſelaigh.

Atḃt

Atbt riu Creamthand Sciathbal Ri Laighen do bad failti doib ar dichur Tuaithe fidhbha. Adbt Droſtan Drui Cruitneac 1. Bleogan. ſechtfighit bo find do dhortugh maile is fearfaidh im̄ cath do ronnadh indi ſin, & do ronnadh im̄ cath doib. 1. Cath arda leamnacta im Uib Ceindſellagh, gac aen no ghontis, no laighed iſin leamnact, ni cumgadh a neimh ni doneocaib.

Romarbtha dam̄ iartain Tuatha fidhbha. Mairbceathra do Cruitneacaib carſin Droſtan, Solen, Neactan, Ulfa. Gabais gub & am̄c. 1. Cathluan neart mor an Ern̄ go ionarbar Erimoin. & go tarda mna na fear ro baitea im̄maille fond doib. 1. mā breſſe, & buamaiſſe. &c. &c. Anais ſeis dib os Breagmaigh. Is uadibh gac geiſs, gac ſen, gac ſreod, & gotha en & gac mna. Cathluan ba aird-ri orro uile & iſe c. ri rogabh dib an Albain. LXX righdibh f Albain o Cathluan gu Conſtantin & iſe Cruithneac deidhenac. Ro ſcab dam̄c. 1. Catinolodor & Catinolocan imda curadh. Lin mc Pirn & Cind athair Cruthne. Crus m̄e Cirigh, amilid Uaiſnem afilid, Cruithne a ceard. Domnal m̄e Ailpin, iſe toiſeac go ro marb Britus indſi Iſicon. Clanna Neimidh ro gabſat iarm Britus. 1. iarglun. Cruithne ro gabſat iarſin iarteact doib a Heirinn. Gaedil im ro gabſat iarſin. 1. mc Eirc. mc Eacdach.

TRANSLATION*.

I Nennius, diſciple of Elvodug, from whom I have carefully made the following extracts; viz. the origin and

* This fooliſh piece from the Book of Ballymote, written in the 14th or 15th century, is partly copied from the *Chronicon Pictorum*,

and manners of the ancient Britons, ſupported by the beſt authority. I H. * well ſkilled in the antiquities and annals of the Romans, and in the chronicles of pure authors, viz. Suidir, Cirin, Euſebius; and in the Iriſh annals; and I find ſufficient evidence for the origin of the Cruitne, in manner following, viz. Cruitne, ſon of [illegible]inge. S. Luctai, S. Partolan, S. Agnoin, S. Mais, S. Fathecht, ſon of Japhet, ſon of Noah.

He was the father of the Cruitne, and ruled 100 years.

Cruitne had ſeven ſons, viz. Fib, Fideach, Fodlafortreand, Cathac, Cait, Ce, Cirig; and they divided the kingdom into ſeven parts, as ſays Colum Kill.

The ſeven ſons of Cruitne, into ſeven parts divided Alban;

Cait, Ce, Cirigh, Ceathec, Fib, Fideach, Fotlafortreand.

And theſe are their names (*and reigns*).

Fib 34 years kings.

Fidach 40 Bruide pont (&c. *ſee original*).

Bruide pont 30 years, &c. &c. &c. Bruide Cint K. of Ulſter, 51 years. Urcint made war on Bruidefeth and deſtroyed every one of the Clann, and Bruide Urſeth divided the land. Bruide Ruaile ruled 50 years, as in the books of the Cruitne, &c. &c.

The iſland of Briton was ſo called from Briton, ſon of Iſicon, viz. in the firſt conſulſhip of the Romans; its firſt name was Albion; it is 200 miles in breadth, and contains 28 chief cities, viz. Caer-Goirthighernd. Caer-Gutais, &c. &c. &c.

Here begins the hiſtory of the Cruitne.

The Cruitne came from Thrace; they were the ſons or clann of Gelon of Hercules: they were called Agathyrſi. Six brothers came over chiefs or leaders; viz. Solen, Ulſa, Neachtan, Droſten, Aengus, Letcind.

Fatha-atiactana, alias Policornus, king of Thrace, fell in love with their ſiſter, and endeavoured to ſeduce her, without ſettling a dowry on her. Then they

but corrupted with errors and groſs fable. The name of Nennius is uſed by the weak forger of it, to give it more authority. It is a good ſpecimen of Iriſh fabulous hiſtory; and as it makes the Piks proceed from Ireland to North Britain, in oppoſition to all ancient authorities, it is no wonder that the Iriſh fabuliſts ſhould inſiſt that the modern Scots (who are the ſame people antiently called Piks) came from Ireland.

* Say N. that is Nennius.

paſſed

paſſed through the (country of the) Romans to that of the Franks, and there built a city, viz. Pictavis, ſo called from Pictis, that is a kind of arms or weapons. And the king of the Franks fell in love with their ſiſter. Then the ſixth brother Letcind, dying, they roamed about the ſeas, and it ſo happened that the ſiſter dying on ſhipboard, the Cruitne made for Inver Slaine in Hy-Kinſillagh (in Leinſter).

Creamthan Sciathbal king of Leinſter told them, they ſhould be welcome, provided they would free him of the *tribe* widows. Droſtan, alias Bleogan, a prieſt or Druid of the Cruitne, replied, to-morrow at the riſing of the ſun (the milk of) ſeven ſcore white cows ſhall be ſpilt; this occaſioned an engagement, and they fought the battle of Arda leamnacta in Hy-Kinſilligh; where not one eſcaped being wounded or ſpeared, receiving no ſupport from their horſes or * * * *.

Then all the widows died: after that died Droſtan, Solen, Neachtan, Ulfa of the Cruitne.

Cathluan began to gather great ſtrength and power in Ireland, till he was expelled by Erimon, who gave his people women and land; and they ſettled in Breagmaigh: they were in want of order or diſtinction; had neither ſpears (for hunting) nets (for fowling) or women.

Cathluan was chief over all; and he firſt led them to Alban.

LXX Kings over Alban from Cathluan to Conſtanſtane; and he was the laſt of the Cruitinian (kings). He left two ſons, Catinolodar and Catinolocan, both in great diſtreſs. Lin, ſon of Pirn, and Cind Athair Cruitne, Crus mc Cirigh, Uaiſneim the File, Cruitne the mechanic, Donald mc Alpin was chief when Britus, ſon of Iſicon, died. The Clanna Neimid ruled after Britus, (i. e. his deſcendants). The Cruitne ruled next, coming from Ireland. The Gaedhal came next, viz. mc Eirc mc Eacdach *.

* In another Iriſh poem in the book of Ballymote, which ſeems to be a tranſcript of Nennius put into Iriſh Verſe, it is ſaid

Agathyrſi anamann. amrann Erctbi
Ocearptar dia cuctli adbtar iad Picti.

"They were called Agathyrſi, and from a kind of ſlaughtering weapon they were called Picti." *Tranſlator.*

NUMBER

NUMBER XV. *Pikiſh kings, from Lynche's* Cambrenſis Everſus, *London*, 1662, fol. p. 93.

IN Hibernica Nennii verſione, penes me, catalogus eſt Regum Pictorum, cujus partem hic exhibeo; ut lectori conſtat vel diverſos ejuſdem nominis reges Pictis et Scotis imperaſſe, vel quod ego contendo Scotos Pictorum reges ſibi arrogaſſe.

Brudeus filius Melchon (cujus nono regni S. Columbam in Britanniam veniſſe Beda ſcribit), regnavit annis 30. Garnad filius Domnach 11. Neckan nepos Verp 20. Kenethus filius Luthrin 19. Garnaid filius Vaid 7. Brudeus filius Vaid 5. Tolore frater eorum 12. Talorcan filius Enfret 4. Gornad filius Donel 6 et dimidio an Druſe frater ejus 7. Brudeus filius Fili 20. Taran filius Enfidi 4. Breitef filius Derilei 11. Nectonus filius Derilei 10. Dreſtus et Alpinus conregnaverunt 5. Onuis fil. Urguſt 30. Brete fil. Urguſt 15. Kenethus fil. Viredeg 12. Alpinus filius Vrod 3. et dimidio an. Dreſt fil. Tolorcen 11. Tolorcen fil. Druſten 5 vel 15. Tolercen fil. Uniuſt 12. et dimidio. Canul fil. Tang 5. Cuaſtain fil Urguſt 35. Vidaniſt fil. Urguſt 12. Dreſt fil. Conſtantin et Talorgus fil. Uthol conregnaverunt 3. Unen fil. Unuſt 3. Urard fil. Bargot 3. Bread 1. Kenethus fil. Alpini 16. Domhnal fil. Alpini 4. Conſtantinus fil. Aedi 45. Moelcolumb fil. Domnalli 9. Culen fil. Illdolbh fili Conſtantini 4. Kenethus fil. Moelcolumb 24. Conſtantin fil. Culen uno et medio anno. Kenethus filius Dubh 8. Moelcolumb fil. Keneti 30. Donatus nepos vel filius Moelcolumbi 6. Macleathad fil. Finlaigh 16. Luboch quinque menſes. Moelcolumb fil. Donati poſtea.

NUMBER

NUMBER XVI. *Commentary on an obſcure paſſage in the* Chronicon Rhythmicum.

THE *Chronicon Rhythmicum*, to be found at the end of many MSS. of Fordun, has the following paſſage, concerning the time when the Piks and Scots ſettled in Britain.

Quod jam promiſi, tempus ſic ecce reliſi;
Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, ſed minus uno
Anno, quo ſumpſit primos Ergadia Scotos,
Ut referunt iſti, fuit incarnatio Chriſti.
Annorum ſumma, Pictis præoccupatorum,
Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
Et annos quindecim; tres menſes jungito quidem.
Tunc Scoti quærunt quot anni præterierunt,
Poſtquam vicerunt Pictos, qui tunc coluerunt
Albaniam, citro Drumalban, ſed minus ultra.
Ut Scoti valeant memoratum tempus habere,
Par Scotiam totam quo ceperunt reſidere
[*Qui Picti terram rexere mille ducentis,*
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem, menſibus atque novem.]
Pictis amotis, datur hæc reſponſio Scotis:
D. ſemel et ter C.; poſt X. ter; et X. quater inde;
Iſtorum numeri monſtrant quo tempore Chriſti,
Sed trans Dun-Alban, coepit regnare Kenedus.

* * *

Sed cum ſeptenis Kened regnaverat annis,

* * *

Ex tunc Albaniæ regnum totale regebat.

Before commenting on this obſcure paſſage, it will be proper to offer a few remarks on the ideas of ſome other old Scotiſh writers relating to this ſubject.

Innes has obſerved, in his critical Eſſay, that after the year 1301, when the diſpute with Edward I. aroſe, we firſt find the Scotiſh writers claiming a priority of ſettlement, for the Iriſh Scots, over the Piks.

Baldred

Baldred Biſſet, in his Memorial to the Pope, 1301, aſſerts wildly that the Scots had thirty-ſix catholic kings before the Engliſh were converted.

A writer in Fordun's Scotichronicon, IV. 10, ſays the Scots had twenty-three kings, before the Piks came into Britain; which by his account was about 200 years before Chriſt.

The letter of the Scotiſh nobility to the Pope, 1320, ſays that Robert Bruce was the 113th king of Scots. But this number, as appears from Innes, p. 712, extends from Simon Brec, firſt king of the Scots in Ireland.

Winton, Book IV. informs us:

Four hundreth winter, and fourty,
And twa, to rekkyne evynly,
Before the bliſt nativitie, &c.
As in our ſtorie written is,
Than in Scotland the Scottis
Begouth to ring, and to ſteir;
Twa hundreth fullie, and forty yeir,
Five winteir, and moneths thrie,
Gif that all ſuld rekkynit be,
Or the Peychtis into Scotland
Cam, and in it were regnand.

He alſo ſays that when Kenneth * vanquiſhed the Piks, the later had been ſovereigns of Scotland,

A thouſand, ane and ſixty yheres.

And, ſome chapters after, he dates the coming of the Piks from Scythia to Scotland,

Twa hundreth wintyr, and na mair,
Or that the madyn Marie bair.

Fordun, I. 31, ſays that, according to an old chronicle, the Scots came to Scotland 1543 years before Chriſt: the Scots reigned before the Piks 249 years, 3 months: and the Pikiſh kingdom laſted 1061 years: but by other accounts, 1224 years, 9 months. In book I. cap. ult. he remarks that ſome accounts bore that the Scots reigned before the Piks 265 years, 3 months: others 317 years under 23 kings. In IV. 10, he repeats theſe remarks. But he himſelf allows, I. 37, that the Piks and Scots were in Britain about one and the ſame time.

* Winton gives no poſitive date for this event. Alpin's reign he dates 840, Kenneth's 843 (in Dalriada), Kenneth's death 859.

Giraldus

Giraldus Cambrenſis, in his *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, ſays, that ſome made the Pikiſh kingdom laſt 1070, others 1360, years.

Theſe obſervations being premiſed, the above obſcure paſſage remains to be conſidered.

> Bis bis centeno, quater endeca, ſed minus uno
> Anno, quo ſumpſit primos Ergadia Scotos,
> Ut referunt iſti, fuit incarnatio Chriſti.

Bis bis centeno is 'the twice two hundredth', that is 400: *quater endeca* 'four times eleven' is 44; *minus uno* 'leſs by one' leaves for the ſum 443 years. After *anno* ſupply *a*, and the clear ſenſe is, 443 years after the Scots arrived in Argyle was the Incarnation of Chriſt; that is the Scots came to Argyle 443 years before Chriſt. Winton reckons only 442, in the above paſſage. Fordun no where expreſſly marks the year when the Scots came in; but ſuppoſes them to have been in Britain ſome time before Fergus I. whoſe reign he dates, II. 12, in the 330th year before Chriſt.

> Annorum ſumma, Pictis præoccupatorum,
> Hic dat Scotorum, deca quinque centibinorum,
> Et annos quindecim; tres menſes jungito quidem.

Deca quinque 'five tens' fifty: *centibinorum* 'two hundred:' *quindecim, tres menſes*; in all 265 years 3 months, as Fordun above interprets. But Winton has 245.

> Qui Picti terram rexere mille, ducentis,
> Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
> Ut verum renovem, menſibus atque novem.

Fordun interprets this 1224 years, 3 months.

D. ſemel; et ter C.; poſt X. ter; et X. quater inde.

ſeems to denote that Kenneth began to reign in Dalriada, (*ſed trans Dunalban,*) in 844: and he vanquiſhed the Piks, *ſeptennis annis*, or ſeven years after, as our poem ſays. Fordun dates Kenneth's reign in Dalriada 834; Winton 843.

The firſt paſſage tells us that the Scots came to Britain 443 years before Chriſt. The ſecond that they preceded the Piks 265 years, 3 months. That is the Piks arrived 177 years, 9 months, before Chriſt.

The third ſays the Piks had ruled 1224 years, 9 months, when in 851 they were vanquiſhed by Kenneth. It follows that the Piks began to rule 373 years, 9 months,

9 months, before Chriſt. How can this be reconciled? The difference is juſt 196 years.

And how reconcile this piece with the *Deſcriptio Albaniæ*, which bears that ſome extended the duration of the Pikiſh kingdom to 1070; others to 1360 years? The numbers are ſo diſcordant, that it is utterly impoſſible to reconcile them; and if it were poſſible, the labour were very ill beſtowed, as the different accounts are equally viſionary and fantaſtic.

But the intention of this little comment was merely to ſhew, that the numbers even in this poem are irreconcileable. And the reaſon is that Innes has groſſly miſtaken it's nature. He ſuppoſes, p. 609, that all the part down to Alexander III. is written in his time; and all after by another hand. Yet in his notes on the piece itſelf, p. 816, when he comes to the pretended Second Part, he obſerves *Hactenus continentur quæ* AUCTOR *ex ſcriptis, ſive priſcis chronicis, deſumpſerat. Hic incipit deſcribere quæ vel ipſe per ſe, vel ex coævorum relatione, noverat: hinc addendum cenſuimus titulum hunc Secunda Pars.* Here we find only one author mentioned: and how he could have lived in different ages is ſubmitted to the reader. The fact is, that he lived and wrote in the year 1447; as he tells us in his concluding lines.

This poem can only be found in the end of Fordun; and is, as the preface ſays, an abſtract of his chronicle; or rather of the Scotiſh chronicle, or hiſtory, in general. It is never quoted, nor referred to, either by Fordun or Winton, tho they quote the *Chronicon Elegiacum* often: ſo that certainly it was not written before their time. The ſuppoſed Second Part is a mere imagination of Innes. The whole is of one form, and complection. The ſame confuſed kind of verſe, ſometimes riming at the middle and end; ſometimes in couplet; ſometimes not riming at all; juſt as the rude compoſer could make it, occurs thro-out.

What miſled Innes is, 1. That the author, according to the Paris MS. from which Innes publiſhed this piece, ſays in his preface he compoſed it, '*ſcripto veteri metrico, et novo ad propoſitum reſpondente*;' but the Paiſley MS. reads '*partim ex metris veteribus, partim ex recentibus ad propoſitum facientibus.*' Innes, following the former reading, ſuppoſes diſtinct parts are implied. But the ſecond reading explains the firſt to mean only that the author inſerted ſome old rimes. Which he really has; and with wonderful addreſs! For the three lines,

Qui

Qui Picti terram rexere mille, ducentis,
Et pariter junctis viginti quatuor annis,
Ut verum renovem; mensibus atque novem.

are taken literatim from Fordun, who quotes them, I. 31. And our sagacious poetaster breaks a chasm for them, between two lines so closely connected, as not even to admit a comma: and without once perceiving that they totally confute what he had just said. At same time these *three* lines, and a few marked by Innes as interpolated, p. 813, are the only ones in the whole poem, to be found quoted in Fordun, or any where else before 1447; and it is clear that Fordun did not take them from this poem, but the poem from Fordun.

2. The grand reason, which induced Innes to infer that this poem is more ancient than Fordun, was, that the list of our early kings, to be found in it, differs from Fordun's new scheme; and is consonant with our old chronicles: for it omits all Fordun's fictitious monarchs, beginning only at Fergus son of Erc, and passing over Fordun's interpolated kings. As the author calls his poem an abstract of Fordun, this is indeed surprizing. But as he has confessedly told us one falsehood, in calling his poem an abstract of a writer, whom he contradicts; so we know not where, or how, to believe him; for he who deceives us in one instance, may in others. Innes also falls into another contradiction, when he supposes the first part of this piece written in the time of Alexander III. yet says that the idea of the Scots being in Britain before the Piks, was adopted after his reign; while this very poem asserts the Scots to have been in Britain before the Piks. That there are some scraps in this misbegotten piece, older than 1447, seems clear: but there is no reason to infer that there is a line in it, written before 1320. And it was in 1447 so altered, and interpolated, that no more reliance can be placed on it, than if it were wholly written at that time. So that it cannot be ranked as an early, or authentic, monument of our history.

Innes was anxious for proofs that Fergus son of Erc, and not the fabulous Fergus I. was really first king of the Scots in Dalriada. This is sufficiently clear from the other two ancient catalogues of our kings, produced by him; and from the Irish Annals: so that there was no occasion to give this piece a mock antiquity, to enforce the truth. And as this truth is now allowed on all

hands, it is of no moment that the *Chronicon Rhythmicum* ſhould be received in the new point of view, in which Innes has placed it. There ſeems little doubt, from the ſimilar manner of marking the numerals, down to the very end 1447, that the liſt of early monarchs is not an old fragment, but really written in 1447. It indeed differs from Fordun; but we are not to conceive that Fordun's new ſcheme was univerſally received: and perhaps this difference was owing merely to the indolence of the author, who, inſtead of turning over Fordun's vaſt maſs, for the little ſcraps concerning our early kings, found it eaſier to take one of the ſhort catalogues ready made to his hands, and turn it into verſe.

Theſe remarks are here given, becauſe had this piece been a real monument of our early hiſtory, it would have been proper to have conſidered it in Part III. ch. 4, of this work, concerning the epoch of the Pikiſh ſettlement in Britain.

NUMBER XVII. *Inſtrumentum poſſeſſionum Eccleſiæ* Glaſcuenſis *. [*circa A.* 1118.]

IGITUR quandoquidem predeceſſorum inſtituta mortalium literarum oſtentatione, et ſcribarum deliberatione, ad memoriam revocantur, nos Cumbrenſium quædam geſta nobilium preſentibus apicibus memoriæ commendamus. In Cumbria itaque, regione quadam inter Angliam et Scotiam ſita, fide Catholica in illis climatibus exuberante ac propagante, domeſtici filii, ac proceres regni, cum rege provinciæ cooperante, in honore Dei, et Sanctæ Mariæ piæ genetricis, Eccleſiam Glaſguenſem, ſedem ſcilicet Pontificalem Cumbrenſis Regionis, fundaverunt; et dignis ſanctionibus, pro priſtina ſanctorum religione patrum, ſolidaverunt. Hæc vero pulchris initialibus, et eccleſiaſticis inſtitutionibus, ſanctæ quoque fidei rudimentis, inolevit; et diſpoſitione divina Sanctum Kentigernum in epiſcopum admiſit, qui celeſtis affluentia doctrinæ fidentibus propinaret; et cibum ſpiritualem, ut fidelis diſpenſator, eſurientibus miniſtraret. Verum enimvero fraudulentus exterminator ſupradictam eccleſiam diu inviolabiliter conſtare ingemiſcens, conſuetis verſutiis ſuis, poſt multa temporum curricula, ſcandala intolerabilia Cumbrenſium eccleſiæ machinavit. Dicto namque Kentigerno pluribus ſucceſſoribus, ſub piæ religionis perſeverantia, ad Dominum tranſmigratis, diverſæ ſeditiones circumquaque inſurgentes, non ſolum eccleſiam, et ejus poſſeſſiones, deſtruxerunt; verum etiam totam regionem vaſtantes, ejus habitatores exilio tradiderunt. Sic ergo omnibus bonis exterminatis, magnis temporum intervallis tranſactis, diverſæ tribus diverſarum nationum, ex diverſis partibus affluentes, deſertam regionem præfatam habitaverunt; ſed diſpari gente, et diſſimili lingua, et

* From the Appendix to Sir James Dalrymple's Collections; compared with that in the Appendix to Gibſon's Hiſtory of Glaſgow, publiſhed from a copy of the Chartulary, in the library of Glaſgow Univerſity.

vario more viventes; haut facile ſeſe conſentientes, Gentilitatem potius quam Fidei Cultum tenuerunt. Quos infelices damnatæ habitationis habitatores, more pecudum irrationabiliter degentes, dignatus eſt Dominus, qui neminem vult perire, propitiatione ſua viſitare: tempore nimirum Henrici Regis Angliæ, Alexandro Scotorum regè in Scotia regnantè, miſit iis Deus David predicti regis Scotiæ germanum, in Principem et Ducem, qui eorum impudica et ſcelerata contagia corrigeret; et animi nobilitate, et inflexibili ſeveritate, contumelioſam eorum contumaciam refrenaret. Hic nempe bene vivendi ſtudio fervidus, prophanæ multitudinis miſeriæ condolens, ut paſtorali ſollicitudine, qua diutius caruerunt, eorum opprobria deleret, Divino inſtigatus hortamine, Joannem quendam religioſum virum, qui eum educaverat, vitamque ejus Deo non imbeciliter devotum noverat, conſilio peritorum, clericorumque ſuorum auxilio, in Epiſcopum elegit. Sed cum Epiſcopus cognita infelicis populi feritate, et abhominabili vitiorum multiplicitate, utpotè perterritus, Hieruſalem proficiſci diſpoſuiſſet, ab Apoſtolico Paſchali *, licet invitus, conſecratus, officium ſuſceptæ ſollicitudinis nullatenus differre voluit; ſed cum gaudio, ſub plebis alacritate, a principe, et a proceribus regni receptus verbum predicationis, Spiritu Sancto largiſſime operante, per Cumbrenſem parochiam diffudit. David vero Cumbrenſis regionis princeps, amore præcipue Dei, partim quoque religionis dilectione et admonitione, terras Eccleſiæ Glaſcuenſi pertinentes, ſingulis Cumbriæ provinciis, quæ ſub dominio et poteſtate ejus erant, non enim toti Cumbrenſi regioni dominabatur, inquirere fecit; ut avidus ipſius eccleſiæ reſtaurationis, poſſeſſionum earum, quas antiquitus tenuerat, poſteris et ſequacibus ſuis certitudinem relinqueret. Has vero auxilio et inveſtigatione ſeniorum hominum et ſapientiorum totius Cumbriæ, pro poſſe ſuo, inveſtigavit; quæ inferius ſubſcribuntur †: Carlemen, Cavicas, Cavicatlethein, Len-

* Papa II. A. D. 1115. *Keith.*

† In Gibſon's copy the lands are: 'Carlevien, Camcau, Cametheyn, Lengartheyn, Pathel, Aſſerhe, Canclut, [Chefernenuat, Carnetheyn, Carvil, Quendal, Abercarf, Meeheyn,] Planmichel, Stobo, Pentiacob, Alnerumba, Keveronum, Lilleſeliva, Hodelm, Edyngahum, Abermele, Driveſdale, Colchtam, Kevertrole, Aſchib, Brumeſheyd, Keveſigyrt; in Peblis una carruc. terræ et eccleſia; in Kincayrd una car. et eccleſiæ; in Mereboda una car. et eccleſia.' Sir James has ſurely omitted a line: in G. *Aſchecheyre* is wanting.

gartheyn,

gartheyn, Patelanthe, Cunclut, Pamichel, Stobetis, Pentejacob, Alnecromha, Kenecoun, Lileſcliva, Aſchecheyrc, Hodelm, Edingaheyin, Abermelio, Driniſdal, Colchtaim, Kenercrold, Aſchebi, Brumerhede, Kenergilt. Lii Peebles una carrucata terræ et eccleſia. Lii Kenegryd una acra et eccleſia. Lii Mereboda una carrucata et eccleſia. Has terras juraverunt fore pertinentes eccleſiæ Glaſguenſi rogatu et imperio predicti principis Uchtrede filius Waldef, Guil. filius Boed. Leyſing et Ogga Cumbrenſes judices, Halden filius Eadulf. Hujus rei teſtes ſunt, ut audientes et videntes, Matildis Comitiſſa quæ ex parte conceſſit ſua, Willielmus nepos ipſius Principis, Coſpatricius frater Delphini, Waldef frater ſuus, Coſpatricius filius Uchtred, Coſpatricius filius Alden, Oſolf filius Eadmer, Maccus filius Undneyn, Uchtred filius Scot, Ulchel filius Alſtan, Hugo de Morevil, Paganus de Brauſa, Oſber de Ardenna, Gervaſius Riddel, Guido de Caynes, Berengarius Engarn, Robertus Corbitts, Walterus de Lindeſaya, Robertus de Burnevilla, Renaldus Denninſtans, Walterus filius Winemarii, Gulielmus Venator, Alanus de Parci, Walterus de Bron.

NUMBER XVIII. *Kings of Northumbria.*

Bernicia.	*Deira.*
547. Ida ſon of Eoppa, 12 years over both kingdoms.	
559. Adda, or Odda, his ſon 5.	559. Ella, another ſon of Ida, 30.
564. Clappa 7.	
571. Theodulf 1.	
572. Freothulf 7.	
579. Theodoric 7.	
588. Æthelric 2.	
Theſe two laſt were alſo ſons of Ida; and reigned while Ella was king of Deira.	589. Edwin ſon of Ella, expelled by Athelfrid king of Bernicia, who ruled both k. 14 years. Then Edwin reſtored.
593. Athelfrid 24, over both kingdoms 14.	
617. Edwin ſon of Ella 17 over both kingdoms. On his death they were ſeparated.	
634. Oſric ſon of Athelfrid.	634. Eanfred ſon of Athelfrid.
Both ſlain in one year.	
634. Oſwald brother of Eanfred 9 over both kingdoms.	
642. Oſwi brother of Oſwald, 9 in Bernicia.	644. Oſwi ſon of Oſric in Deira 7: ſlain by Oſwi of Bernicia.
	652. Adelwalt 4.
	660. Alfred, baſtard ſon of Oſwi, is made king of Deira by his father 10.
The Kingdoms finally united.	
670. Egfrid,	

670. Egfrid, ſon of Oſwi, 15.
685. Alfred, baſtard ſon of Oſwi, 19.
704. Eandulf an uſurper, 2 months. *Malmſb. Geſta Pont.* Lib. III. fol. v. 152.
704. Oſred, ſon of Alfred, a child, 11.
715. Kenred, kinſman of Oſred, 2.
717. Oſric, brother of Kenred, 11.
728. Ceolwulf kinſman of Kenred, 8. To him Beda dedicates his hiſtory. He turned monk.
736. Egbert couſin german to Ceolwulf, 20. Turned monk, as many Saxon monarchs did.
756. Oſwald, 1.
757. Ethelwald, ſurnamed Mollo, an uſurper, 11.
768. Alred, 11.
779. Ethelred ſon of Mollo, 5.
784. Athelwold, 11.
796. Oſred, 1.
Ethelred reſtored, 4. *Follow 40 years of civil wars.*
Eardulf.
Alfwold.
Eandred.
Ethelred.
Redulf.
840. Oſbrecht.
Ella ſlain at York by the Danes.
860. Ricſig, *a Dane.*
871. Egbert, a Saxon.
Guthrun, Dane, 11.
894. Ricſig II. Dane.
903. Regnald and Nial, Danes.
914. Sihtric, a Dane.
919. Inguald, a Dane.
926. Guthfert, a Dane.
Anlaf,
Anlaf II. expelled by Edmund. Reſtored in 944: expelled by Eadred 947.
948. Eric, laſt king, to 950.

*** The hiſtory of Northumbria is very obſcure from the year 800; and a long diſſertation would be required to adjuſt it.

NUMBER

NUMBER XIX. *Earls of Northumbria.*

Bib. Cotton. Dom. D. VIII. *Various Chronicles*, &c.

[De Succeſſione Comitum Northumbrenſium poſt Eiricum ultimum regem. *Catal.*] Sæc. 12, vel 13.

PRIMUS comitum poſt EIRICUM, quem ultimum regem habuerunt Northanimbrenſes, *Oſulf* provincias omnes Northanymbrorum, ſub EDREDO rege procuravit. Deinde, ſub EADGARO rege, *Oſlac* præficitur comes Eboraco, et locis ejus pertinentibus; et *Eadulf* cognomento *Yvelchild* a Teiſa uſque Myreford, præponitur Northymbris. Iſti duo comites, cum Aelffio, qui apud Sanctum Cuthbertum epiſcopus fuerat, perduxerunt KYNET regem Scottorum ad Regem EADGARUM. Qui cum illi feciſſet hominium, dedit ei rex EADGARUS Lodonenum; et multo cum honore remiſit ad propria. Hiis comitibus ſucceſſit in comitatum *Walthef*, ille ſenior, regnante ATHELREDO. Deinde *Uctredus* filius Walteſi, adminiſtravit comitatum omnium Northannymbrorum provinciarum. Huic rex ATHELREDUS ſuam filiam Ælgeonam dederat uxorem; ex qua filiam habens Aldgitham, dedit in conjugium prædiviti cuidam *Maldredo*, filio Crinani, de qua habuit *Coſpatricium* comitem, patrem Dolphini, Walteſi, et Coſpatrici. Occiſo autem Uctredo a Turebrando cognomine Hold, per voluntatem CNUTONIS regis, frater ejus *Eadulf Cudel* adminiſtravit comitatum. Et poſt eum *Aldred*, filius Uctredi præfati, quem habuerat ex filia Alduini epiſcopi, antequam duceret filiam regis ATHELREDI. Habuit etiam alios filios ex alio conjugio, Coſpatricium et Eadulfum. Coſpatrici erat filius Uctredus, de quo genitus eſt Eadulf Rus, qui princeps erat et autor illorum qui interfecerunt Walcherum epiſcopum. Interfecto

vero Aldredo comite a Carl, cujus prænomen, ſcilicet Turebrandum prædictum, ipſe Aldredus occiderat in ultionem ſui patris Uctredi Comitis, ab ipſo Turebrando interfecti, ſucceſſit illi frater ſuus junior *Eadulfus*. Qui poſtmodum, regnante ÆDWARDO, occiſus eſt a *Siwardo*; qui, poſt illum, totius Northanimbrorum comitatum, HOC EST AB HUMERA USQUE TUVEODAM, ſuſcepit comitatum. Mortuo autem Siuvardo rex ÆDUVARDUS comitatum tradidit *Toſtio*, fratri Haroldi regis. Dehinc ipſo Toſtio, ab univerſis ſui comitatus, propter nimiam ejus violentiam, projecto de comitatu, et exlegato, Eduvinus et Morkarus, quibus rex EDUVARDUS comitatus ipſius curam delegaverat, filio Eadulfi comitis fratris Aldredi comitis, nomine *Oſulfo*, Comitatum A TINA USQUE TUVEDAM * commiſerunt. Sed poſtea *Copſi*, a WILLIELMO rege ſuſcipiens præpoſituram comitatus, expulit de comitatu Oſulfum. At ille, collectis poſtmodum viribus, eundem Copſi in introitu eccleſiæ de Niweburne interfecit. Ipſe quoque poſt paucos menſes, dum impetu equi currentis ferretur in lanceam obviantis ſibi latronis, delatus ſtatim moritur. Deinde *Coſpatricius*, ex nepte regis ÆTHELREDI progenitus, ut ſupra dictum eſt, emtum a rege WILLIELMO comitatum adminiſtravit. Quem poſtea idem rex, ei auferens, dedit *Waldefo*, filio Siwardi comitis, quem ipſe habuerat ex Ælfleda filia Aldredi comitis. Waltefo vero capto et occiſo, commiſit rex comitatum *Walchero* epiſcopo. Quo occiſo, dedit comitatum cuidam *Albrio*. Illo vero relinquente comitatum, datus eſt cuidam *Roberto de Mulbreio*. A quo rex WILLIELMUS JUNIOR offenſus, dum eum vi cepiſſet, ipſe in ſua manu retinuit comitatum: hodieque frater ejus HENRICUS rex retinet. Tu autem Domine. Explicit.

* So that the preſent extent of Northumberland began in the time of Earl Oſulf, about the year 1065: till which time it comprized all Yorkſhire, and Durham.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

1. Cruidne f
2. Kircu.
3. Fidaich.
4. Fortreim.
5. Floclaid.
6. Got.
7. Ke.
8. Fivaid.
9. Gedeol G
10. Denbecan
11. Olfinecta
12. Guidid G
13. Geſtgurti
14. Wurgeſt.
15. Brudi I.
16. Gilgidi.
17. Tharan I
18. Morleo.
19. Deokil L
20. Kimoiod
21. Deoord.
22. Blies Bliti
23. Dectoteri
24. Uſconbut
25. Carvorſt.
26. Deoar T
27. Viſt.
28. Ru.
29. Garnat B
30. Vere.
31. Breth.
32. Vipoig N

33. Canut U
34. Wradech

35. Garnaich

36. Talore f

Iriſh Nennius.	*Tighernach.*
	Kennaleth.
Brudeus f. Melchon.	Bruidi Mac Malcon.
Garnad f. Domnach.	
Neckan n. Verp.	
Kenethus f. Luthrin.	Cinedh f. Luthreni.
Garnaid f. Vaid.	Gartnaith m. Oith.
Brudeus f. Vaid.	Bruidi f. Foith.
Tolore	Dolairg m. Foith.
Tolorcan f. Enfret.	Dolargain m. Anfrith.
Gornad f. Donel.	Gartnaidh f. Donaldi.
Druſe.	Droſt f. Domnail.
Brudeus f. Fili.	Bruide m. Bile.
Taran f. Enfidi.	Taracin.
Breite f. Derilei.	Brude m. Derile.
Nectonus f. Derilei.	Netan m. Derile.
Dreſtus et Alpinus.	Droſt. Elpin.
on. Onuis f. Urguſt.	Aongus m. Ferguſa.
Brete f. Urguſt.	Bruide.
Kenethus f. Viredeg.	Cinaoh.
Alpinus f. Vrod.	
Dreſt f. Talorcen.	
Tolorcen f. Druſten.	
Tolorcen f. Unuſt.	
Canul f. Tang.	Conal m. Teige.
Cuaſtain f. Urguſt.	Conſtantin m. Fergus
Vidaniſt f. Urguſt.	Aongus m. Fergus.
Druſt f. Couſtantin.	
Talorgus f Uthol.	
Uven f. Unuſt.	Owen m. Aongus.
Urard f. Bargot.	
Bread.	

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